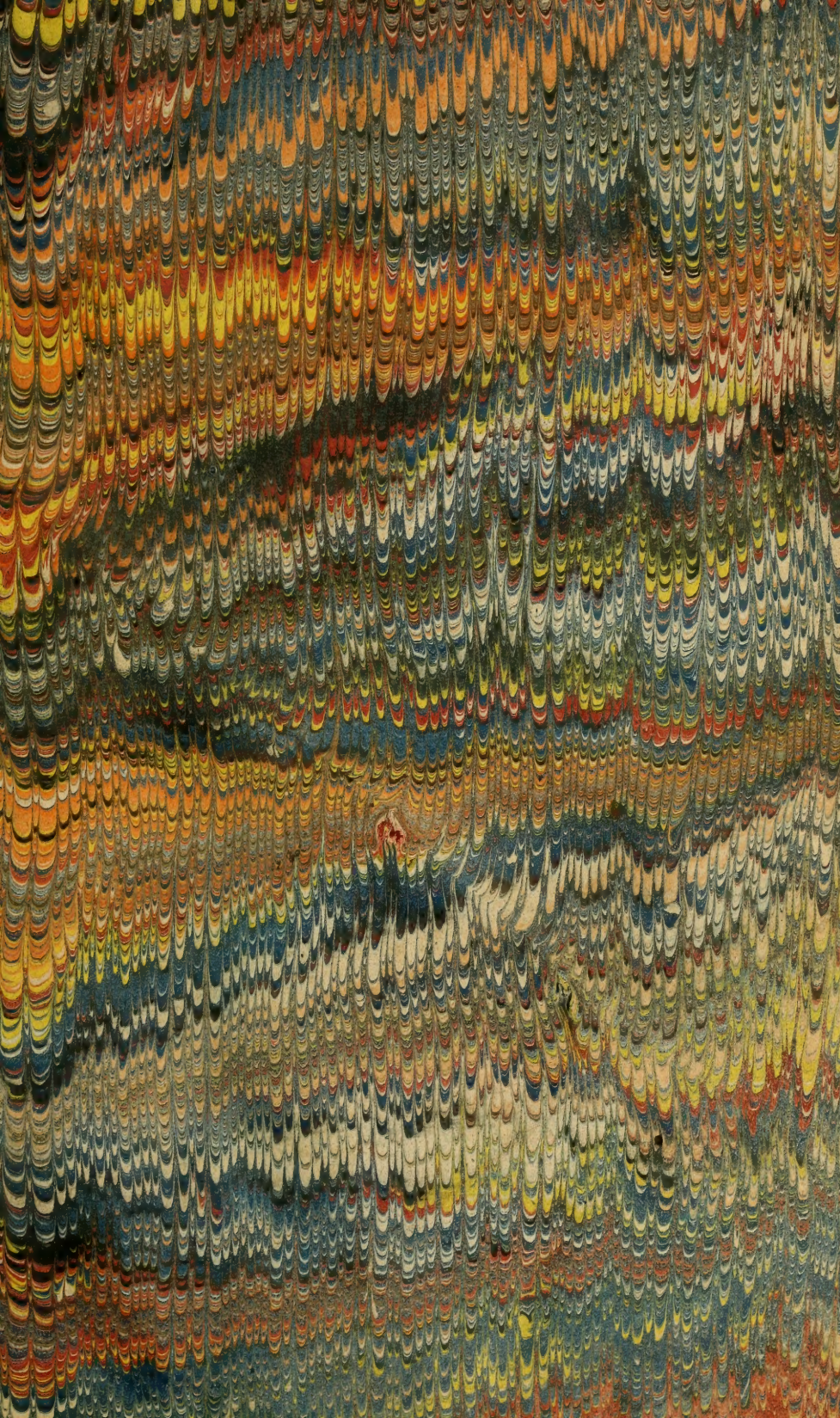


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The History of the Popes





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THE
HISTORY OF THE POPES.

FROM THE
FOUNDATION OF THE SEE OF ROME TO A. D. 1758;

BY

ARCHIBALD BOWER, ESQ.

FORMERLY PUBLIC PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC, HISTORY, AND PHILOSOPHY, IN THE UNIVERSITIES
OF ROME, FERMO, AND MACERATA, AND IN THE LATTER PLACE
COUNSELLOR OF THE INQUISITION.

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION,

AND

A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME:

BY

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OF

THE POPES,

FROM A. D. 1265 TO A. D. 1846.

VOLUME III.

	Election.	Death.	Page.		Election.	Death.	Page.
Alexander V.	A.D. 1409	A.D. 1410	167	Innocent IX.	A.D. 1591	A.D. 1591	326
Alexander VI.	1492	1503	259	Innocent X.	1644	1655	330
Alexander VII.	1655	1667	331	Innocent XI.	1676	1689	333
Alexander VIII.	1689	1691	334	Innocent XII.	1691	1700	335
				Innocent XIII.	1721	1724	338
Boniface VIII.	1294	1303	43				
Benedict XI.	1303	1304	56	John XXI.	1276	1277	25
Benedict XII.	1334	1342	88	John XXII.	1314	1334	73
Boniface IX.	1389	1404	143	John XXIII.	1410	Deposed 1417	171
Benedict XIII.	1724	1730	339	Julius II.	1503	1513	278
Benedict XIV.	1740	1758	341	Julius III.	1549	1555	317
Clement IV.	1265	1268	9	Leo X.	1513	1521	291
Celestine V.	1294	1294	40	Leo XI.	1605	1605	327
Clement V.	1304	1314	58	Leo XII.	1823	1829	434
Clement VI.	1342	1352	93				
Calixtus III.	1455	1458	238	Martin IV.	1280	1285	29
Clement VII.	1523	1534	302	Martin V.	1417	1431	201
Clement VIII.	1592	1605	326	Marcellus II.	1555	1555	318
Clement IX.	1667	1669	332				
Clement X.	1670	1676	332	Nicholas III.	1277	1280	26
Clement XI.	1700	1721	335	Nicholas IV.	1288	1292	37
Clement XII.	1730	1740	340	Nicholas V.	1447	1455	235
Clement XIII.	1758	1769	347				
Clement XIV.	1769	1774	359	Pius II.	1458	1464	241
				Paul II.	1464	1471	244
Eugenius IV.	1431	1447	218	Pius III.	1503	1503	277
				Paul III.	1534	1549	311
Gregory X.	1271	1276	15	Paul IV.	1555	1559	318
Gregory XI.	1371	1378	116	Pius IV.	1560	1565	319
Gregory XII.	1406	Deposed 1409	157	Pius V.	1566	1572	320
Gregory XIII.	1572	1585	321	Paul V.	1605	1621	327
Gregory XIV.	1590	1591	325	Pius VI.	1775	1799	390
Gregory XV.	1621	1623	328	Pius VII.	1800	1823	419
Gregory XVI.	1831	Still reigning.	470	Pius VIII.	1829	1831	464
Hadrian V.	1276	1276	24	Sixtus IV.	1471	1484	248
Honorius IV.	1285	1287	35	Sixtus V.	1585	1590	322
Hadrian VI.	1522	1523	299				
Innocent V.	1276	1276	23	Urban V.	1362	1371	109
Innocent VI.	1352	1362	104	Urban VI.	1378	1389	124
Innocent VII.	1404	1406	153	Urban VII.	1590	1590	325
Innocent VIII.	1484	1492	254	Urban VIII.	1623	1644	329

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.

CLEMENT IV., THE HUNDRED AND EIGHTIETH BISHOP OF ROME.

[MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—RICHARD, *Earl of Cornwall*, ALPHONSUS, *King of Castile, Kings of the Romans*.]

Clement IV. elected;—[Year of Christ, 1265.] His birth, education, employments, &c. His behavior to his relations.

[Year of Christ, 1265.] The death of Urban was followed by a vacancy of the see for the space of about five months, occasioned by the disagreement of the cardinals, all aspiring to that dignity. However they agreed at last, and chose with one voice Guido, cardinal of Sabina, though then absent. The circulatory letters he wrote to acquaint the Christian princes with his promotion are dated the 22d of February, 1265; and he must therefore have been elected but a few days before. He was a native of St. Gilles, on the Rhone, in the province of Narbonne, descended from the illustrious family Le Gros, the son of Fulcodius, who upon the death of his wife took the monastic habit among the Carthusians, and of Germana, who is said to have led a most holy life, and to have even been favored by heaven with extraordinary gifts. Guido in his youth followed the military profession, but afterwards applied himself to the study of the law, and soon became one of the best civilians of his time, and as such was frequently consulted by Lewis IX. of France, and honored with a place in his council. He had formerly been married, and had two daughters; but his wife dying, he entered into holy orders, was soon after made archdeacon of Puy in Velai, then preferred to that bishopric, and in 1259 raised to the archiepiscopal see of Narbonne. Urban IV. his predecessor, created him cardinal bishop of Sabina in the promotion of 1261, and in 1263 sent him with the character of his legate *a Latere* into England to mediate a reconciliation between the king and the barons, then at open war. But, not being allowed to enter the kingdom, he stopped at Boulogne, and having summoned thither some

of the English bishops, he solemnly excommunicated, in their presence, all who should thenceforth disturb the public peace of the kingdom, and ordered the bishops to publish that sentence and see it carried into execution.¹ Guido then set out from Boulogne on his return to Italy, and on his journey received the news of his election, which he carefully concealed, travelling in the disguise of a merchant, or of a mendicant friar, as some will have it, to avoid the snares which he was told Manfred had laid for him. He arrived safe at Perugia, and was there, or, according to some, at Viterbo consecrated and crowned, taking on that occasion the name of Clement, because he was born on St. Clement's day, as we read in the congratulatory letter written to him upon his promotion by Alphonsus, king of Castile.²

The preceding popes had, generally speaking, made it their study to enrich and aggrandize their families at the expense of the church. But Clement from the very beginning of his pontificate took care to let his relations know that they must expect nothing from him as pope, but content themselves with the wealth as well as the rank they enjoyed before his promotion. The letter he wrote upon this subject to his nephew Peter le Gros, deserves particular notice; and I shall therefore give it in his own words. "Many," says he, "rejoice at our promotion; but to us, who are to bear so heavy a burthen, it is no matter of joy, but of grief and concern. From hence therefore learn to be more humble and more complaisant to all than you were before. We will not

¹ Rainald. ad ann. 1265. Martinus Polonus, Nangius, Continuator Paris, Westmonasteriensis, &c.

² Rainald. ad ann. 1265. Num. 9.

Charles of Anjou arrives at Rome. Is invested and proclaimed king of Sicily.

have you, nor your brother, nor any of our relations to come to us without our particular order; if you do, you will return disappointed and confused. Think not of marrying your sister more advantageously on our account. For neither she, nor her husband must expect any thing from us above her former condition. If she marries the son of a gentleman (*Militis*) I propose giving her three hundred livres of silver, but nothing at all if she aspires at a higher rank. Let none but your mother know what I now write to you. It would grieve us to find any of our relations elated with our promotion. Let *Maßilla* and *Cecilia* (the pope's two daughters) be satisfied with the husbands they would have chosen had we no preferment at all." The pope closes his letter with forbidding his daughters to recommend to him any person whatsoever, and assuring them, that their recommendation would not be attended with any the least advantage to those they recommended, but would prove hurtful to them, especially if their recommendation had been procured with presents.¹ This letter is dated from *Perugia*, the 27th of March, 1265, that is, little more than a month after his promotion. *Hocsemius*, a canon of *Liege*, who has written the lives of the bishops of that city from the year 1147 to the year 1348, in which he flourished, tells us, that as many persons of great distinction courted *Cecilia*, *Clement* told them joking, that it was not *Cecilia* they courted, but the pope; that she was not the pope's daughter, but the daughter of *Guido Fulcodius*, whose daughter they never would have courted. And he could never be prevailed upon to consent to their marrying any of a superior rank to their own. They therefore both retired to a monastery, and there passed the remainder of their lives. The same writer adds, that *Clement* had a brother, rector of a parochial church, and that all he could be persuaded to do for him was, to transfer him from that church to one somewhat richer. Of all things he abhorred, says *Trithemius*, plurality of benefices as a most scandalous abuse, and obliged even his own nephew, who had three, to resign two of them, only allowing him to choose which of the three he pleased. As some interposed in his favor, telling his holiness that he should rather add a fourth benefice to the three that one so nearly related to him already enjoyed, and had been thought to deserve, the pope answered, that if his nephew was not satisfied with one benefice, he deserved none, and should have none.²

Clement, though a man in every other respect of a most unexceptionable character, yet treading in the steps of his predecessors, made it the whole business of his pontificate

utterly to extirpate the family of *Frederic*, to drive *Manfred* from the kingdom of *Sicily*, and settle *Charles* of *Anjou* upon the throne. *Charles* had accepted the offer that was made him of it by pope *Urban*, as has been related in the life of that pope. *Clement*, therefore, approving and confirming all the measures of his predecessor, wrote immediately upon his promotion to acquaint *Charles* with it, and press him to hasten into *Italy*. Upon the receipt of that letter *Charles*, having kept his *Easter* at *Paris*, which fell in the present year, 1265, on the 5th of *April*, he set out for *Rome*, attended by his wife *Beatrice*, and a great many knights and commanders who had distinguished themselves in other wars. These went by land, while *Charles* himself with his wife embarked at *Marseilles*; and they had the good luck to escape *Manfred's* fleet, consisting of eighty galleys, that lay in wait for them, and to arrive safe at *Rome* on the eve of *Whitsuntide*. As he had been created by *Urban* senator of *Rome*, a dignity to which great power was annexed at this time, he was received by the *Roman* people with the greatest demonstrations of joy, and took, amidst the loud acclamations of men of all ranks, possession of his new dignity.

Charles, a few days after his arrival, received the investiture of the kingdom of *Sicily* at the hands of four cardinals, appointed by the pope, who still was at *Perugia*, his legates for that purpose. The investiture was clogged with so many conditions, unknown to the *Norman* as well as the *Suevian* princes, that *Charles*, in effect, became tributary of the apostolic see. *Clement* endeavored, as his predecessor had done before him, to persuade *Charles* to cede the whole province of *Terra Laboris*, with the city of *Naples* and the adjacent islands to the apostolic see. But *Charles* declaring that he would by no means undertake the expedition, as he was to carry it on at his own expense, unless the whole kingdom of *Sicily*, with all the provinces on this side the straits of *Messina*, to the confines of the state of the church, were granted to him, except the city of *Benevento*, with its territory, the pope yielded at last, and the investiture extended to all the provinces on this and the other side the straits of *Messina*, (or the narrow channel separating *Italy* from *Sicily*), which other kings ever had enjoyed. Such, however, were the conditions imposed upon the new king, and sworn to by him, as confined his power within very narrow bounds, especially with respect to ecclesiastical matters. The articles or conditions most worthy of notice were: I. That *Charles* should take an oath of fealty and do homage to *Clement*, and his successors lawfully elected. II. That neither *Charles* nor his successors should ever suffer themselves to be elected kings of *Germany*, or emperors, or aspire at the sove-

¹ Rainald. ad ann. 1265. Papirius, Masso, Onuph. &c.

² Joann. Trithem. in Chron. Hirsau. ad ann. 1269.

Charles is crowned at Rome;—[Year of Christ, 1266.] The pope's answer to Charles, requiring a new supply of money. Charles marches against Manfred.

reignty of Tuscany or Lombardy. III. That he should restore to the churches of the kingdom whatever had been taken from them. IV. That all who had been banished Sicily, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, should be allowed to return, as his holiness should direct. V. That neither Charles nor his successors should ever intermeddle in ecclesiastical elections. VI. That all ecclesiastical causes should be tried and determined by ecclesiastics, or by an appeal to the apostolic see. VII. That the clergy, neither in civil nor criminal cases, should be obliged to appear before a lay judge. VIII. That the king should not claim the rents of vacant churches. IX. That the king should pay yearly to the apostolic see, on St. Peter and St. Paul's day, that is, on the 29th of June, eight thousand ounces of gold, and present his holiness with a fine and good white horse, "*unum Palafrænum pulchrum et bonum.*" X. That the king should keep constantly on foot one thousand horsemen, well accounted, to be employed by the pope in the holy war, or in defence of the church. These articles being agreed and sworn to by Charles, he received the investiture, and was proclaimed king of Sicily in the Lateran basilic, on the 29th of May of the present year, 1265, the first of Clement's pontificate.¹

In the mean time Charles's troops being all arrived, he wrote to the pope to acquaint him therewith, expressing in his letter a great desire of receiving the crown at his holiness's hands, and pressing him to come to Rome to perform that ceremony himself, and bless his standards. That Clement declined, not trusting the Romans, among whom he knew Manfred had some powerful friends. He therefore sent five cardinals to perform the ceremony as his legates, and by them Charles, and his wife Beatrix, who had long panted for a crown, were, on the day of the Epiphany, on the 6th of January, 1266, solemnly crowned in the church of St. Peter. On this occasion Charles renewed the oaths he had taken when he received the investiture, and did homage to the cardinals as representing the pope. In the authentic records of the coronation Charles is said to have been crowned "*King of Sicily on this and on the other side the Phare,*" or the straits of Messina, "*Rex Siciliae citra et ultra Pharum;*" and from thence the modern title, "*Rex utriusque Siciliae;*"—king of both Sicilies, or of the two Sicilies, probably had its rise.

This undertaking was, it seems, no less expensive to the pope than to Charles himself. For from one of Clement's letters it appears, that he had contracted immense debts, and borrowed large sums of the merchants of Siena and Florence, of the earl of

Poitiers, and others, and had even been obliged to mortgage the possessions of most of the churches in Rome, for the payment of the principal and interest. However, Charles, when on the point of setting out from Rome upon his intended expedition, pressed his holiness with great earnestness for a new and speedy supply of money, without which, he said, he almost despaired of being able to carry his holiness's designs into execution. To that letter the pope returned the following answer: "*We have neither rivers nor mountains of gold, and therefore cannot possibly answer your demands. You have drained us of all the money we had. The merchants are quite tired with lending, and will lend us no more. Why then do you thus tease and torment me? Would you have me to work miracles, to convert earth and stones into gold? I am not worthy of that, nor of any other extraordinary gift.*"

Upon the receipt of this letter, Charles, sensible that he could not maintain his numerous army for any considerable time, resolved to march, without delay, against the enemy, and put an end at once to the war by a decisive battle. But on the other hand, Manfred was determined to avoid a battle, had placed strong garrisons in all the frontier towns, had caused the country, through which the enemy was to march, to be laid waste far and near, and all provisions to be conveyed to the fortified places. Thus he thought the French, not able to bear hunger and fatigue, would soon be sick of the undertaking, and disperse. And so it would, in all probability, have happened, had not the unhappy Manfred been betrayed by those in whom he chiefly confided. For, upon Charles's appearing on the opposite bank of the Garigliano, the count of Caserta, Manfred's brother-in-law, who had been placed there to dispute the passage of that river, retired; and Charles passed it with his whole army quite unmolested. At the same time many other persons, in different parts of the kingdom, openly declared for the pope and the king he had set over them, against Manfred as an excommunicated person, as a heretic, and a Saracen; for his army consisted chiefly of Saracens. Manfred, alarmed at this almost general revolt, and not knowing whom to trust, thought it advisable to come to an agreement with his competitor, and accordingly sent ambassadors to offer him the whole kingdom of Sicily on this side the Phare; which was to divide the kingdom with him. But Charles received the ambassadors in a very haughty manner, and being elated with his success, returned them the following insolent answer: "*Tell the sultan of Nocera (a city inhabited chiefly by Saracens) that I will come to no agreement*

¹ Summontius Hist. Neapol. l. 22.

² Ex Regist. Vatican. apud Pag. tom. 3. p. 375.

Manfred's army defeated, and he killed. How treated after his death. The whole kingdom submits to Charles. Soon tired of his government. Conradin invited.

with him, and that very soon I shall either send him to hell, or he shall send me to heaven."¹

Charles in the mean time advanced, and having taken by storm the city of St. Germano, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance he met with from the Saracens who garrisoned the place, and were all put to the sword, he marched straight to Benevento, whither Manfred had retired with the main body of his army, and drawing up his forces in the plains of that city, he offered him battle. Manfred was by no means for accepting the challenge, as he expected daily the arrival of a powerful reinforcement from Lombardy, and a body of Saracens from Africa. However he yielded at last to the pressing instances of his officers as well as his men; and an engagement thereupon ensued, as obstinate and bloody as any we read of in history. For many hours victory continued doubtful; and Manfred, say the contemporary writers, would have certainly carried the day, but for the treachery of his own men, of whom many either laid down their arms in the heat of the action, or turned them against him. The brave prince seeing himself thus betrayed, and determined not to outlive his defeat, rushed with a few men, as resolute as himself, into the thickest of the enemy's squadrons, and there fell amidst heaps of the enemy that had fallen by his hand. His army missing him, and concluding that he was either killed or made prisoner, betook themselves to a precipitate flight. But being closely pursued, most of them were either taken or put to the sword.

This memorable battle, that decided the fate of Sicily, was fought on Friday, the 26th of February 1266, as we learn from the letter written the following day by Charles to give the pope an account of it. As no news was heard of Manfred that day nor the next, it was generally believed that he had made his escape. But Charles having caused all the dead bodies that covered the field of battle to be carefully examined by those who knew him, his body was found and brought to the conqueror on Sunday the 28th. It appeared that he had received several wounds; and some of the French nobility, touched with compassion, begged he might be honorably interred, and the funeral rites, at which they would all assist, might be performed at his exequies. Charles was inclined to grant them their request, but was diverted from it by the pope's legate strongly remonstrating against any ceremonies of the church being performed at the funeral of one who had died excommunicated, or his being buried in consecrated ground. His body, therefore, was thrown into a ditch at the foot of the bridge of Benevento. It was not suffered to lie undis-

turbed even there; but by an order from the pope, procured by the archbishop of Cosenza, it was dug up, as unworthy to lie in ground that belonged to the holy church of Rome, and thrown into the river Viridis, now Marino. Manfred had built a magnificent city at the foot of Monte Gargano, where the old city of Sipontus had stood, and called it, from his own name, Manfredonia. That name the pope and Charles, out of hatred to Manfred, changed into the name of New Sipontus. But in spite of all their endeavors, it maintained and maintains to this day, the name of Manfredonia.¹ The poet Dante, who flourished in the beginning of the following century, places Manfred, not in hell, but in purgatory.²

The defeat and death of Manfred were followed by the submission of the whole kingdom. Charles was every where received with open arms, and proclaimed king amidst the loud acclamations of his new subjects, flattering themselves that under him they should be eased of the many taxes that the usurper, as they now called Manfred, had imposed upon them to maintain the power he had usurped. But Charles had contracted immense debts, and so had the pope, to deliver them from the tyranny of a merciless tyrant; and those debts were to be paid, as Charles told them, by those for whose benefit they had been contracted.—Thus were the taxes all doubled, and the payment of them exacted with greater rigor than ever. Besides, the French, who attended Charles in his progress through the kingdom, committed every where such disorders as entirely estranged the minds of the people both from him and them. Many of the barons, therefore, entering into an association, resolved to improve the present general discontent into an open rebellion, and with that view sent privately to invite Conrad, or, as he was called, Conradin, to come and take possession of his paternal and hereditary kingdom, which the pope had taken upon him to bestow, contrary to all the laws of justice, upon one who had not the least shadow of right to it. The deputies assured the young prince that the nobility, as well as the people, most cruelly oppressed by their new masters, were ready to join him as soon as he appeared among them.³

Conradin, though a youth at this time, not above fifteen years of age, readily accepted the invitation; and the duke of Austria, a youth of much the same age, promised to accompany him, and either to die with him or see him placed on the throne of his ancestors. The pope was soon informed of the plot, how secretly soever carried on, and having acquainted Charles with

¹ Summontius & Rainald. ad ann. 1266.

² Dante, Canto 3. del Purgatorio.

³ Anonym. ad ann. 1266.

Conradin enters Italy;—[Year of Christ 1267.] Is excommunicated by the pope;—[Year of Christ, 1268.] Sicily declares for Conradin. Conradin defeated and taken.

it, he published a bull in the church of Viterbo, on the 18th of November 1266, forbidding Conradin, on pain of excommunication, to assume the title of king of Sicily, or to set foot in Italy. At the same time all were forbidden, upon the same penalty, to acknowledge him for king, or lend him any assistance whatever against the prince whom the apostolic see had, for the good of the church, placed on the throne. The same prohibitions the pope renewed on Maunday Thursday, the following year, or on the 14th of April 1267, summoning Conradin to appear before him on or before the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, kept on the 29th of June. But Conradin paying no regard to the citations and menaces of the pope, entered Lombardy at the head of a body of twelve thousand horse, raised by himself and the young duke of Austria. Upon his arrival the Ghibeline cities all declared for him, and those of Siena and Pisa among the rest. He therefore advanced with all expedition to Pisa, and being received there with all possible marks of distinction, in spite of the pope's anathemas, he proceeded from thence on his march to Rome, in compliance with an invitation, which he little expected, from Henry, brother to Alphonsus, king of Castile, who had got himself chosen senator of Rome, and had not only declared against Charles, but driven all his friends and the pope's out of that city.¹

Conradin, on his arrival at Rome, was received there by the senator, by the nobility, and the people with the greatest demonstrations of joy; which so provoked the pope that on Maunday Thursday, which, in the present year, 1268, fell on the 5th of April, he thundered out the sentence of excommunication against Conradin, against Henry of Castile, and all who should any ways assist the one or the other; laymen were to forfeit their estates, and the clergy all their dignities and benefices; all places were interdicted that admitted Conradin, or any who favored him, within their walls; and Conradin himself was declared incapable of holding any kingdom, fief, or dignity whatever. Henry of Castile was not only excommunicated, but deprived of the senatorial dignity, and all were excommunicated as rebels to the church, who should obey him or serve under him. The Romans, however, not only received Conradin with all his men within their walls, but joined him in great numbers, and supplied his army, so long as they remained in their city, with all necessaries at their own expense. While Conradin was yet at Rome, he received the agreeable news of a victory gained in Sicily by Conradus Capecius, one of his generals. Capecius had passed over into Africa on board some Pisan vessels, and

having raised there a body of Saracens, landed with them in Sicily, attacked Fulk, Charles' lieutenant, when he least expected it, and having gained a complete victory over him, caused Conradin to be proclaimed king in all the chief cities of the island. The Sicilians, encouraged by this victory, declared every where for Conradin, their lawful sovereign, flocked from all quarters to join Capecius, and falling upon the few French that remained among them, obliged them to deliver up their arms and quit the island.¹

Conradin upon the news of this victory left Rome, in order to engage Charles, who having drawn all his troops together waited for him at the lake of Celano, called formerly Lacus Fucinus. There the two armies engaged, on Thursday, the 23d of August of the present year, when Charles, with an army vastly inferior in numbers to the enemy's, gained a complete victory over Conradin, as he had done two years before over Manfred. Some writers tell us, that Charles's army was after an obstinate resistance put to flight; but that while Conradin's men were busied in pursuing the fugitives, in carrying off the prisoners, and plundering the dead, thinking they had no enemy to contend with, Charles, putting himself at the head of a few squadrons, which he had placed in a valley, unexpectedly attacked them while thus dispersed, and entirely changed the fate of the day. Conradin, the duke of Austria, and Henry of Castile did all in their power to rally their men, but were themselves, in spite of all their endeavors, forced in the end to consult by flight their own safety. Conradin and the duke of Austria, travelling night and day in the disguise of peasants, were discovered at Astura, that belonged to the family of the Frangipani, and by them seized and delivered up to Charles, who sent them both prisoners to Naples. We are told, that of Conradin's numerous army very few had the good luck to escape the general slaughter, the French giving no quarter, but putting all, without distinction, to the sword who fell into their hands. Many of the cities that had declared for Conradin were, by Charles's order, first given up to be plundered, and then laid in ashes. The citizens who had sided with the rebels, as they were called, were either put to cruel deaths or confined for life.² The cruelties practised on this occasion by Charles and the French in general, inspired the inhabitants with such an aversion to their government, as afterwards produced the famous conspiracy called the Sicilian Vespers, of which I shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

Charles having now settled the affairs of the kingdom to his entire satisfaction, and

¹ Anonym. ad ann. 1266. et Rainald.

² Anonym. ad ann. 1266.

² Rainald. ad ann. 1268.

The death of Conradin not advised by the pope. Conradin publicly executed. Account of his death. Death of Clement. His character, writings, &c.

put it out of the power of his subjects, however disaffected, to raise new disturbances, began to consider with himself how he should dispose of his three illustrious captives, Conradin, the young duke of Austria, and Henry of Castile. But being at a loss what resolution to take concerning them, he applied to the pope, who, without the least hesitation, returned to those who were sent to consult him, the following laconic answer: "The life of Conradin is the death of Charles, and the death of Conradin is the life of Charles." Thus the more modern German writers.¹ But no notice is taken of this answer by any of the historians who lived nearer to those times, though some of them were Gibelines, and, consequently, no friends to the popes. Besides, it is very certain that Conradin was not put to death till near eleven months after the death of Clement; and it is highly improbable that had Clement given such advice to Charles, he would have delayed so long to put it in execution. John Villani, whose annals reach to the year 1348, supposing Clement to have been still living when Conradin was put to death, tells us, that it gave him great concern; and that Charles was, on that account, reprimanded with great severity both by the pope and the cardinals.² A plain proof this that Villani had never heard of the above advice as given by the pope.

The Sicilian and Neapolitan historians give us the following account of that unhappy prince's death: Charles, say they, apprehending that Conradin's friends, who were very numerous, and looked upon him as lawful heir to the crown, would, so long as he lived, lay hold of every opportunity to rescue him, and place him on the throne of his ancestors, thought it advisable to remove him out of the way, and prevent by that means all future disturbances. However, to color his iniquitous design with the name of justice, he assembled all the chief barons of the kingdom, as well as the French nobility that attended him, and after representing to them the danger of their being involved in new troubles, greater than those they had yet undergone, if the pretender to his crown were suffered to live, desired them to determine his fate and their own. Many of the French lords, and among the rest the earl of Flanders, Charles's son-in-law, were for sparing the young man's life, and only keeping him closely confined and well guarded. But the far greater part both of the French and Italians, to court the favor of their new king, and secure the tranquillity of the kingdom, were for putting him to death, and sacrificing the life of one man to the peace and happiness of thousands. Sentence of death was therefore pronounced

against him, as a disturber of the public peace, as a rebel to the church, and the usurper of a kingdom, which the pope had granted to another, and he therefore could have no claim to. When this sentence was read to him he heard it out with great composure, though not much above seventeen years of age, and then said, without betraying the least concern, "the duke of Anjou has no power over me, nor have they who with him, and to gratify him, have plotted my death." When he was brought to the scaffold (for he was beheaded at Naples in the public market-place) he declared in an harangue to the spectators, that he was no disturber of the public peace, no enemy either to the church or his holiness, but came into Italy to recover a kingdom, that by hereditary and undoubted right belonged to him, and had been given to another, when he had done nothing to forfeit it; which, he said, was trampling upon all laws of justice and religion; that they had disturbed the public peace, and not he, who had robbed him of a crown, which his ancestors had worn for many generations, and he alone had a right to wear; that as to the pretended crimes of his father Conrad, of his grandfather Frederic, and his uncle Manfred, it was the height of injustice to punish him for them, as he had been no ways accessory to them, &c. His speech, the comeliness of his person, and the constancy with which he suffered, though yet a youth, made a deep impression upon the minds of the people, and greatly increased the hatred they bore in their hearts to their new masters. With Conradin were beheaded the young duke of Austria, Girardus a nobleman of Pisa, and Hurnasius a German knight; and at the same time nine barons, all natives of the kingdom of Sicily, were hanged. Executions, says a French historian, that, to this day, must raise horror and indignation in all who read or hear of them.¹ Conradin was the last of the male descendants from the emperor Frederic II. to whom Celestine III. had granted the kingdom of Sicily in 1197, as has been related in the life of that pope. The only now surviving person of that illustrious family was Constantia, the daughter of Manfred, married, as has been said, in 1262, to Peter, the son of James king of Arragon.

Clement did not live to hear of these barbarous executions. His death is said by all the authors who speak of him, to have happened in the latter end of November 1268, on the 29th of that month, say some; whereas Conradin was, according to the same writers, beheaded on the 26th of October 1269.² Clement is, I may say, in a manner canonized by the writers of those times, as a man of most extraordinary sanctity. Indeed if

¹ Struvius Hist. German. p. 492.

² Villani ad ann. 1268.

¹ Mezeray Vie de S. Louis, p. 421.

² Vide Spodanum ad eund. ann.

The see vacant near three years. Gregory X. elected;—[Year of Christ, 1271.] Sets out from the Holy Land.

we overlook his implacable and unprovoked enmity to Conradin, and the measures he pursued to the entire ruin and destruction of the Swabian family, we shall find nothing in his conduct that does not deserve the highest commendations. He was a generous friend to the poor, made it his business to relieve all in distress, rewarded virtue and merit alone, and instead of raising and enriching his family, as other popes had done, at the expense of the church, he left them at his death in the same rank and condition they were in when he first embraced the ecclesiastical state. He died at Viterbo, and was buried there in the church of the preaching friars or Dominicans, where his tomb is still to be seen with the image of St. Hedwiges, duchess of Poland, whom he canon-

ized, and whose life he wrote. Several learned treatises upon the canons and canon law are ascribed to him. But some of them were certainly written by one Guido Papa, whom some have mistaken for pope Clement, named Guido before his promotion.¹ The life of Clement has been written in a very elegant style by the Jesuit Claudius Clemens, and was printed at Lyons in 1629. Clement, in a letter dated from Viterbo the 15th of November 1268, condemned the book of William de Sancto Amore against the mendicant friars, as containing doctrines repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, and the practice of the church. During his pontificate of three years and some months he created but one cardinal, viz. Aiglerius, a Benedictine monk and a native of France.

GREGORY X., THE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIRST BISHOP OF ROME.

[MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—RODULPH, *Count of Hapsburg, Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1271.] By the death of Clement the see remained vacant for the space of near three years; that is, from the 29th of November, 1268, to the 1st of September, 1271. The cardinals, though in all but fifteen, could not agree, each of them aspiring at that dignity, and opposing the election of any other. The cardinals were not then, as they are now, shut up till they had agreed, that is, till two parts in three had agreed in the election of a new pope, but met and voted once a day, either in St. Peter's church, or in the Lateran, if the pope died at Rome, or in the cathedral church of the city where he died. As Clement died at Viterbo, the cardinals met daily in that cathedral, and after voting returned to their respective habitations. But when after several months they had not yet come, nor was there any likelihood of their coming, to any agreement, Raynerius Gatto, prefect or governor of the city, and Albertus de Montebono, the podesta or first magistrate, ordered them to be all shut up in the bishop's palace, and to be kept there closely confined so long as by their disagreement the see remained vacant, and the church destitute of a pastor. We have a diploma, addressed by the cardinals thus confined, to the two above-mentioned magistrates, begging they will allow Henry, cardinal bishop of Ostia, greatly indisposed, to quit his confinement, as he has, in their presence, renounced his right of voting during the present vacancy. This diploma, as it is called, is dated from the Uncovered Palace—

Palatio Discooperto, of the bishop of Viterbo, the 8th of June, 1270, the apostolic see being vacant.² Panvinus tells us, that John of Toledo, cardinal bishop of Porto, seeing the cardinals praying daily the Holy Ghost to inspire them with the spirit of concord and union, and yet discord continuing to reign among them, said pleasantly, "Let us uncover the room, else the Holy Ghost will never get at us." When what he had said was told to the two magistrates, they immediately ordered the roof of the room where the cardinals met to be taken off, hoping that this new inconvenience would oblige them to hasten the election; but their obstinacy was proof against all inconveniences till the magistrates bethought themselves of daily lessening their subsistence, which had the wished-for effect. For being thus reduced to the alternative of starving or agreeing, they left the election by compromise to six of their number; and by them was chosen, on the 1st of September, 1271, Theald, viscount of Placentia, archdeacon of Liege, then in Syria with Edward prince of Wales.

The cardinals immediately dispatched some Franciscan and Dominican friars to acquaint Theald, or as some call him, Theobald, with his election, and beg, in their name, he would, without delay, set out for Italy, and hasten to Viterbo, whence they should not depart till his arrival. The friars found him at Ptolemais, now Acre, waiting

¹ Vide Labbeum de Script. Ecclesiast. in Clement IV.

² Ooldoin. in addition. ad Ciaconium.

Gregory arrives at Viterbo;—[Year of Christ, 1273.]
of the Christians in Palestine. Appoints a general

Writes from thence to the Christian princes in behalf
council to meet. Invites the Greek emperor to it.

there for a favorable opportunity of passing to Jerusalem and visiting the holy places there. But when the decree of his election was delivered to him, he resolved, in compliance with the request of the cardinals, to embark with all possible expedition for Italy. He preached to the Christians of Ptolemais the day before his departure, and in his sermon assured them of all the assistance he could possibly procure for them, repeating the words of the 137th psalm, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth. Yea, if I prefer not Jerusalem in my mirth." He embarked at Ptolemais in November 1271, and landed at Brindisi on the 1st of January 1272, and from thence proceeded, being attended by Charles king of Sicily, straight to Viterbo, where he arrived, and was received by the cardinals and the people with all possible marks of joy, on the 10th of February.¹

To make good the promise he had made to the Christians in Palestine he wrote, soon after his arrival at Viterbo and before his consecration, to most of the Christian states and princes, earnestly exhorting and entreating them to send, without delay, new supplies both of men and money; and he himself, to encourage them by his example, raised five hundred horse and a numerous body of foot, and hired the Venetian galleys to convey them into the East. As he had not yet been consecrated, in the letters he wrote on this occasion he styled himself only "Gregory, bishop elect, servant of the servants of God;" and thus dated them, "in the first year of our apostolic office," instead of "our pontificate." He closes his letter to Philip, king of France, with the following words: "Be not surprised at our name not being expressed on the bull, or seal, annexed to these our letters; for thus our predecessors have sealed their letters before their consecration." From these words it appears that Gregory had taken that name before his consecration, but that it was not customary for the popes to have their names expressed on their bulls, or seals, till that ceremony was performed. The seal, called bull, had on one side the effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul, and on the other the name of the pope for the time being; and that seal the popes used, as they still do, in writing to princes, or concerning public affairs. Letters to their friends, or concerning private grants, they sealed with the fisherman's seal, so called, because on that seal was engraved St. Peter fishing with his nets in a boat. Letters sealed with this seal are called briefs, and those sealed with the other, bulls. We find no mention made of these different seals till the pontificate of the preceding pope

Clement IV., though they were used by the popes before his time; for that pope closes the letter he wrote to his nephew Peter le Gros with the following words: "We write not to you nor to our familiar friends under the bull, but under the seal of the fisherman, which the Roman pontiffs use in their private letters." Both seals are used in the same manner by the popes to this day. At the same time Gregory declared all excommunicated, and unworthy of Christian burial, who should sell arms, timber, ships, or any warlike stores whatever to the Saracens, or any ways favor or assist them. This sentence or declaration, dated the 4th of March, he ordered to be publicly read in all the churches throughout Christendom.

From Viterbo the pope removed, with all the cardinals, to Rome, in order to be consecrated and crowned there, the Romans having earnestly entreated him to come and reside among them. Both ceremonies were performed on the 27th of March, and two days after the pope wrote to all the Christian princes, to acquaint them with his promotion, and exhort them to concur with him in reforming the abuses that had insensibly crept into the church. As Gregory's chief concern was for the Holy Land, he formed, from the very beginning of his pontificate, a design of uniting the Greek and Latin churches, that, all disagreement between the two empires being removed, they might, with joint forces, make war upon the Saracens, the avowed enemies of both. With that view he wrote, on the 1st of April of the present year, circulatory letters, addressed to all Christian princes, and all the prelates of the church, signifying to them his intention of assembling a general council on the 1st of May, 1274, and desiring they would be ready to attend it at the place he should appoint in due time. As Michael Palæologus, the Greek emperor, who, in 1261, had taken Constantinople, and put an end to the empire of the Latins in the East, was, or to court the protection of the pope against the Latins, pretended to be, desirous of uniting the two churches, and, in 1262, had sent ambassadors to treat with Urban IV. of an union, Gregory despatched four Minorites to Constantinople, to acquaint him with his design of convening a general council, and invite him to it. In the letter he wrote to the emperor on this occasion, he told him that he had nothing so much at heart as to see a perfect harmony established between the two churches; that nothing should be wanting on his side to complete so salutary a work, and therefore begged he would assist, if possible, in person, at a council assembled chiefly for that purpose; or, if his presence was absolutely necessary in the imperial city, he would send able and well-disposed men, with proper instructions, to assist at it in his name. The pope had left Rome, and was gone to Orvieto, when

¹ Rinald. ad ann. 1272.

Guido de Montfort excommunicated;—[Year of Christ, 1273.] He submits, Endeavors to reconcile the Guelfs and Gibelines at Florence;—[Year of Christ, 1274.] Interdicts that city; and likewise Milan.

he wrote this letter, for it is dated at that city the 24th of October, 1272.

During Gregory's stay at Orvieto, arrived in that city Edward, the son and successor of Henry III. of England, on his return from the Holy Land, where he had contracted an intimate acquaintance with his holiness. Being received by Gregory with all possible marks of esteem and affection, he complained to him of the cruel murder of his cousin Henry, the son of Richard, earl of Cornwall, and king of the Romans elect, begging he would exert all his apostolic authority in revenging his death upon the assassins. These were Simon and Guido, the sons of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, slain with his eldest son Henry and many of the barons in the battle of Evesham, fought on the 4th of August, 1265. Upon his death and the defeat of the barons, his two surviving sons, Simon and Guido, fled to Italy, and hearing that Henry, Richard's son, was at Viterbo, having been sent thither by his father, to engage the new pope in his interest, they repaired to that city in 1271, while the see was yet vacant, and one day falling upon Henry while he was assisting at divine service in the church of St. Lawrence, without any regard to the sacredness of the place, mortally wounded him, and then, dragging him by the hair out of the church, dispatched him with many wounds. In 1272, when king Edward arrived at Orvieto, Gregory had yet taken no notice of this barbarous and sacrilegious murder. But, being informed by the king of all the aggravating circumstances attending it, he summoned Guido, Simon being dead, and count Aldebrandino Rosso, his father-in-law, to whom he had fled for protection, to appear before him in a limited time. The count appeared, and satisfied the pope that he was no ways accessory to the murder. But by Guido no regard was paid to the summons; and he was therefore, the following year, not only excommunicated with unusual solemnity by the pope, but declared, with all his descendants to the fourth generation, infamous, incapable of bearing any honors, or making a will; all were anathematized who received, favored, or admitted him into their houses; the governors of towns and provinces were strictly enjoined to arrest him, and all cities, towns, or villages, where he should be suffered to live, were interdicted. This sentence was pronounced by Gregory on the 1st of April 1273. Guido, finding himself thus driven, like a wild beast, out of all human society, was in the end forced to deliver himself, lest he should by others be delivered up to the pope, in which case he could expect no mercy. While Gregory, therefore, was on his journey from Orvieto to Florence, Guido unexpectedly appeared before him on the road, stripped of all his garments to his shirt,

with a rope about his neck, attended by all his accomplices in the same condition, acknowledging their crime, begging for mercy, and submitting themselves entirely to the will of his holiness. Gregory granted them their lives, but delivered them all up to Charles, king of Sicily, to be kept by him closely confined to the hour of their death. As Guido, during his confinement, gave many tokens of a sincere repentance, the pope empowered the patriarch of Aquileia to absolve him from the excommunication, but could never be prevailed upon to remit any of the other punishments he had inflicted upon him.¹ All this Gregory notified to Edward, king of England, by a letter dated the 29th of November of the present year.²

Gregory was met, as has been said, by Guido, on his journey from Orvieto to Florence. That journey he had undertaken with a design to mediate a reconciliation between the Guelfs and Gibelines, whose enmity to each other was attended with daily murders, and had long kept that unhappy city involved in the utmost confusion. His pious endeavors had at first the wished-for success. A peace was agreed to by the leading men of both factions, and the Gibelines, who had been banished the city by the Guelfs, the stronger party, were all recalled. But this peace was short-lived. The Guelfs, soon after the return of the banished Gibelines, recommenced hostilities, and under various pretences drove them out anew. Gregory interposed in their behalf; but finding he could by no means prevail upon the Guelfs to recall them, nor to hearken to the terms he proposed, he put the whole city under an interdict, and left it, though he had determined, being taken with the pleasant situation of the place, to pass the summer there. As the Guelfs continued obstinate in their animosities against the Gibelines, and the pope could not be prevailed upon to take off the interdict till the two parties were reunited, the city remained interdicted during this whole pontificate, and no divine service was publicly performed there till the year 1276, when the party names of Guelf and Gibeline were abolished, and the citizens all reconciled by the mediation of Innocent V., the successor of Gregory.³

From Florence the pope went into Lombardy, to reconcile the cities of the two opposite factions there, that being united among themselves they might all join in the common cause, and rescue the Holy Land out of the hands of the common enemy. On the 3d of October, he arrived at Placentia, his native city, accompanied by Otho Visconti, whom Urban IV. had appointed archbishop of Milan, but the powerful family of the Turriani had driven from

¹ Rainald. ad ann. 1273. Math. Westmon. in Annal.

² Apud Rainald. ibid.

³ Joan. Vill. l. 7. c. 73. Len. Aretin. Hist. Flor. l. 3.

Rudolph of Hapsburg, elected king of the Romans. Gregory arrives at Lions, where the council was to meet. Motives that induced the pope to assemble the present council. The most numerous that had been held.

that see, and caused one of their own relations to be chosen in his room. The pope intended to take Otho with him to Milan, flattering himself that he should be able to prevail upon the Milanese to admit him into their city, and even to receive him as their lawful bishop. But being diverted from that resolution by Otho's friends representing to him the danger that prelate would be exposed to should he appear in Milan, where the party of the Turriani was so very powerful, he left him at Lodi, and entered Milan privately on the 8th of October. As he had lately raised one of the family of the Turriani to the patriarchal see of Aquileia, he was by them entertained during the three days he staid in Milan with the utmost magnificence. It does not appear that he ever so much as mentioned to them the affair of the archbishop. But to show his displeasure at the behavior of the people in general, he never appeared in public, granted no indulgences, admitted none to his presence but some few of the first distinction; staid only three days, and at his departure interdicted the city.¹ The disagreement between the two families Turriani and Visconti ended in a civil war, and the Visconti prevailing, became sovereign lords of Milan, and for some ages enjoyed that sovereignty.

Richard, earl of Cornwall, and king of the Romans elect, dying on the 2d of April, 1271, and the pretensions of his competitor Alphonsus, king of Castile, appearing to Gregory very precarious, he wrote to the electors, both ecclesiastical and secular, commanding the former on pain of forfeiting their office, and the latter on pain of excommunication, to proceed, without delay, to the election of a new king of the Romans, else he would name one himself. Upon the receipt of this letter the electors met at Francfort, and about the beginning of October of the present year, 1273, Rudolph, count of Hapsburg, in the diocese of Constance, was unanimously elected, though absent, king of the Romans, chiefly by the management and intrigues of Wernerus, archbishop of Mentz, his particular friend. He was soon after crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle king of the Romans, all the princes of the empire taking the usual oath of allegiance to him as such.² From this Rudolph is descended the present family of Austria. For Rudolph having, by the defeat and death of Othocarus, king of Bohemia, made himself master of Austria, he gave it to his son Albert, who, upon his accession to the imperial crown, exchanged the obscure name of Hapsburg for that of Austria.

Gregory having left Milan about the 12th of October, proceeded from thence straight to Lions, where he had appointed the gene-

ral council to meet, and arrived in that city about the middle of November, but so indisposed that he could not assist at the solemn mass that was yearly said on the 18th of that month, the festival of the dedication of St. Peter's church. He was visited soon after his arrival by Philip, surnamed the Bold, king of France, who, in 1270, had succeeded his father, Lewis IX., in that kingdom. The king at his departure left Imbert, one nearly related to him, with a strong body of men to attend the pope, and prevent any disturbances that might happen while the council was sitting.¹ Gregory in the letters he wrote, in 1271, to acquaint the Christian princes and the prelates of the church with his intention of assembling a general council, had named no place, but only desired them to be ready to repair to the place that he should appoint. By other letters therefore, dated from Orvieto the 13th of April 1273, he informed them that the city of Lions, in the kingdom of France, was the place he had chosen, as in many respects the most convenient for men to meet at from all parts of the world. He added, that the city of Lions being situated in the kingdom of the most Christian king Philip, they might promise themselves all assistance and protection from so pious and so generous a prince.² Besides, Gregory had a particular regard for the city of Lions, having been originally canon of that church.³

The pope in his circulatory letters acquainted those to whom they were directed, with the motives that induced him to assemble a general council, and would, he doubted not, induce them to undergo the trouble of assisting at it. These motives were, the deplorable state of the affairs in the East, of which he was an eye-witness; the uniting of the Greek and Latin churches, which the Greeks seemed not averse to, and their emperor was inclined to promote; the reformation of manners; and the prescribing of some method to be observed in the election of a new pope, that might oblige the electors to proceed with all possible expedition in an affair of such infinite importance. At this council all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and abbots were required to assist, if not prevented by sickness or old age, and in that case to send their deputies. All cathedrals, chapters, and collegiate churches were likewise ordered to depute one of their respective bodies to represent them; and in each province one bishop, or, at the most, two were to remain, in order to perform the episcopal functions. Thus did this council prove by far the most numerous of all the councils that had yet been held in the church. For it consisted of five hundred bishops, of seventy abbots, and a thousand inferior dignitaries. Men

¹ Sigonius, l. 2. et Corius in Hist. Mediolan.

² Naucerus Generat. 43. Eberandus in Annal.

¹ Nangius in Philippo.

² Paradin. Hist. Lugdun. l. 2. c. 2.

³ Idem ibid.

Embassadors sent to the council of Lions by all the Christian states and princes. The first session;—[Year of Christ, 1274.] Second session—Embassadors sent by the Greek emperor to assist at the council. Third session.

renowned for their learning were invited to it from all parts of the world, and among the rest the famous Thomas Aquinas of the Dominican order, and Bonaventura, general of the Minorites, reputed the two most learned men at that time in the church. Aquinas died in the monastery of Fossa Nova, on his way to the council. But Bonaventura, whom the pope had created cardinal the year before, was not only present, but dictated most of the decisions. Aquinas, and Bonaventura, who died while the council was yet sitting, have both since been canonized, and are now known, the former by the name of the Angelic, and the latter by that of the Seraphic Doctor.¹

At this council were present, besides ecclesiastics of all ranks, the grand masters of the Knights Templars and Hospitalers, and ambassadors from the kings of France, Germany, England, Sicily, and Cyprus, and from all the republics. The king of Arragon assisted at it in person. But Palæologus, the Greek emperor, though earnestly pressed by the pope to honour the council with his presence, contented himself with sending ambassadors, whom, he said, he had charged not to oppose, but promote, in his name, the union of the two churches. Most of the modern writers, copying Flavius Blondus, who flourished in 1440, will have the Greek emperor to have come in person to the council. But that Blondus was misinformed is evident from the pope's letter to that prince, dated from Lions the 28th of July, that is, after the last session, in which he gives him an account of the proceedings of the council from the first session to the last, which we cannot suppose he would have done had the emperor been present in person.²

The first session of this numerous council was held on Monday the 7th of May 1274, in the metropolitan church of St. John, and the pope opened it with a speech upon the words of our Saviour in St. Luke, "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I die." Luke xxii. 15. When he had done he acquainted the assembly with the motives that had induced him to call them together, repeating what he had said in his circulatory letter, and exhorting them to concur with him, to the utmost of their power, in procuring those salutary ends. He then appointed them to meet again on the following Monday, the 14th of May. During this interval, the pope and the cardinals, calling separately the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, to a private conference, persuaded them to grant, for the relief of the Christians in the East, the tenth part of their income for the space of six years, reckoning from St. John's day next, the 24th of June.

The fathers were to assemble again on

the 14th of May, but did not meet till the 18th of that month, the pope and the cardinals being, perhaps, employed in procuring of the bishops and abbots the above-mentioned subsidy. In this second session all the deputies of cathedrals, chapters, collegiate churches, all not mired abbots, and such in general as had not been particularly invited, were dismissed, and desired to return to their respective countries and employments, for the greater convenience of those whose presence was necessary. The pope had by this time received letters from the nuncios he had despatched to Constantinople, charged with letters inviting the emperor to assist in person at the council. By these letters the nuncios informed his holiness of the kind reception they had met with from the emperor, and the desire he had expressed of seeing the two churches happily united in his days. They added, that as he could not absent himself for any time from his capital, he had sent ambassadors with them to attend the council, to acknowledge his holiness, and complete the so long wished-for union in his name, and in the name of all the prelates subject to his empire. Upon the receipt of this letter the pope ordered all the bishops to meet in their pontifical habits, and the letters to be read to them in Greek and Latin; and on that occasion cardinal Bonaventura preached a sermon upon the union between the East and the West as, at last, upon the point of being re-established after so long a separation. At these two sessions James, king of Arragon, assisted in person; but he left Lions before the third, and returned to his own kingdom. In the acts of the council it is only said, that James, king of Arragon, was not present at the third session. But history informs us, that he came to the council chiefly with a view to be crowned by the pope, but that Gregory refused to perform that ceremony unless the king promised to pay the tribute that his father, king Peter, had bound himself and his posterity to pay yearly to the apostolic see, when he was crowned at Rome, in 1204, by Innocent III.; and that the king, thinking it derogatory to his royal dignity to pay tribute for a kingdom which his ancestors had acquired by their valor alone, rejected, with the utmost indignation, the pope's demand, and left Lions abruptly, without so much as taking leave of his holiness.¹

The council was appointed to meet again on the 28th of May, but the pope, expecting daily the arrival of the Greek ambassadors, prorogued it till the 7th of June, and on that day it was held, as the time of their arrival was quite uncertain. In this session several decrees were issued, relating to ecclesiastical

¹ Concil. t. 11. p. 955, & seq. ² Idem, t. 11. p. 971.

¹ Acta Concil. Surita. in Reg. Arragon. Indiciis, Gombes, lib. 19. Mariana, lib. 13. c. 22.

Arrival of the Greek ambassadors. Letters from the emperor and Greek bishops to the pope. They receive the Constantinopolitan symbol as received by the Latins. The bishop of Liege deposed, and why.

elections, to the immunity of churches, the disposal of the revenues of vacant sees, and against usury. These constitutions being approved by the council, leave was granted to the bishops to retire to what place they pleased in the country, not above six leagues distance from Lions. As no farther tidings were yet received of the ambassadors, no time was fixed for the fourth session.¹

The ambassadors arrived, at last, on the 24th of June, to the inexpressible joy of the pope and the whole council. They had embarked at Constantinople in the beginning of the preceding March, but by contrary winds and stormy weather had been long tossed about in the sea. One of their galleys, loaded with rich presents from the emperor to the pope, was dashed to pieces, and the presents were all lost. However, the vessels that carried the pope's nuncios and the ambassadors arrived safe. The ambassadors were partly laymen and partly ecclesiastics, but all men of the first distinction in the empire. The laymen were sent by the emperor, and the ecclesiastics by the bishops, subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. As they approached Lions the whole council went out to meet them, with the pope's chamberlain and the vice-chancellor, attended by all the domestics of the pope, of the cardinals, and the bishops. Being thus conducted to the pope's palace, his holiness received them with all possible marks of distinction, and expressing great joy at their safe arrival, admitted them all to the kiss of peace. They, on the other hand, declared, in the hearing of all, that they were come to acknowledge the primacy of the Holy Roman Church, and profess the faith held and taught by that church. They then presented to the pope the emperor's letter, with the following direction: "To Gregory the most holy, the most blessed, the first and high pontiff of the apostolic see, the common father of all Christians, and the venerable father and lord of our empire, Michael Ducas Angelus Comnenus Palæologus, emperor, and the spiritual son of your holiness, wishes, with sincere and pure affection, all honor and reverence, and humbly begs your prayers." In the letter the emperor owned the primacy of the Roman church, declared that he held and professed the faith that was held and professed by that church, and acknowledged, in particular, the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son. The bishop's letter to the pope was signed by twenty-six metropolitans, all professing the faith of the Roman church, and consenting to the union.²

The ambassadors, having thus discharged the first duties of their embassy, were conducted to the palace assigned them for their habitation, and there was delivered to them

the next day the confession of faith which they were to profess in the name of those who had sent them. As they agreed to it, the pope, on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, the 29th of June, celebrated high mass in the cathedral, when the symbol, "I believe in one God," was first sung by him in Latin, and afterwards by all the Greeks, solemnly repeating three times aloud, "who proceeds from the Father and the Son." The ambassadors had already agreed, in the emperor's name and the name of the bishops, to the other three articles required by the pope, namely, that the Roman pontiff's name should be mentioned at mass with the names of the four other patriarchs; that appeals should be allowed, without restriction, to the apostolic see of Rome; and the primacy of that see be acknowledged by all. These were the terms of the union, and they were sworn to by the ambassadors, both of the emperor and the bishops.¹

Between this and the fourth session the pope obliged Henry, bishop of Liege, accused and convicted of many enormous crimes, to resign his bishopric. What crimes he was charged with, we learn from a letter the pope had writ to him some time before, exhorting him to reform his life, and become an example to his flock, not of vice, but of all goodness. "We hear, with great concern," says the pope in his letter, "that you are abandoned to incontinence and simony, and are the father of many children, some born before and some after your promotion to the episcopal dignity. You have taken an abbess of the order of St. Benedict for your concubine, and have boasted, at a public entertainment, of your having had fourteen children in the space of two-and-twenty months. To some of your children you have given benefices, and even trusted them, though under age, with the cure of souls. Others you have married advantageously at the expense of your bishopric. In one of your houses, called the Park, you keep a nun, and when you visit her you leave all your attendants at the gate. The abbess of a monastery in your diocese dying, you annulled the canonical election of another, and named in her room the daughter of a count whose son has married one of your daughters; and it is said that the new abbess has been brought to bed of a child by you. You load with undue exactions the clergy and religious of your diocese; and paying no regard to the ecclesiastic immunity, cause those who take shelter in the churches to be dragged from their sacred asylums. You suffer the nobles to usurp upon the rights of the churches under your jurisdiction; and dismiss, unpunished, thieves, murderers, and other malefactors, who can ransom

¹ Acta Concil. tom. 11.

² Acta Concil. t. 2

¹ Acta Concil. Wading. & Matth Westmon. ad ann. 1274.

Embassadors from the cham of Tartary. Fourth session—The conclave instituted. Regulations concerning the election of a pope. The constitution of the conclave instituted.

themselves with money. You say not, nor do you understand, being quite illiterate, your office; that is, the prayers that every priest is bound to say daily. You frequently appear dressed in scarlet, and look more like a knight than a prelate, &c." The pope closes his letter with seriously exhorting him to live up to his profession and become a new man, lest he should be obliged to proceed against him as he was directed by the canons.¹ The bishop, not hearkening to the pope's paternal exhortations, continued to lead the same lewd and irregular life as he had done before. He was therefore ordered to resign his bishopric, and at the same time his see was declared vacant, after he had held it twenty-seven years. He lived twelve years after his deposition, saw his see occupied, during that time, by three bishops successively, and made war upon them all; but he was killed at last by some nobleman, whose relation he had debauched, leaving behind him sixty-five natural children.²

On the 4th of July, before the fourth session, arrived at Lions ambassadors from Abagha, king of the Eastern Tartars. They were not sent about matters of religion, but only to conclude an alliance with the Christians. The pope, however, received them with the greatest marks of respect, and ordered them to be magnificently entertained at his expense. During their stay at Lions one of them, with two of his attendants, embraced the Christian religion, and was on the 16th of July baptised with great solemnity by Peter, cardinal bishop of Ostia.³

In the fourth session, held on the 6th of July, the pope, in a speech to the fathers, bestowed the highest commendations on the emperor Michael Palæologus and his son Andronicus, as the chief authors and promoters of the union so happily concluded. The *Te Deum* was then sung, and after it the symbol, "I believe in one God," &c. first by the pope in Latin, and afterwards in Greek by the Greeks; repeating twice the article relating to the procession of the Holy Ghost.⁴ Thus were the two churches at last united, and an end put to the schism. But this union was very short-lived. For upon the death of Michael, in 1283, Joseph, the Greek patriarch, who had declined assisting at the council of Lions, convened one at Constantinople; and by that council all the proceedings of the Latins, and the Greeks who had joined them, were declared null, and all their decrees reversed.⁵

The fathers were appointed to meet again on Monday, the 9th of the same month of July. But the pope having in the mean

time communicated to the cardinals the constitution which he intended to propose to the council, in order to accelerate the election of a new pope, and prevent the many evils attending such long vacancies as that which had preceded his election, a warm debate arose between him and them, which occasioned the putting off the fifth session from the 9th of July to the 16th. The cardinals opposed the constitution all to a man, and spared no pains to gain the bishops over to their party. But the pope having, in private conferences with the prelates, satisfied them of the reasonableness and necessity of obliging the cardinals by some means or other to come to a speedy election, he got them not only to approve his constitution, but to set their names and seals to it. And thus the cardinals were brought in the end to consent to it, so that it passed in the fifth session without opposition. The articles it contains are:

I. The new pope shall be elected in the place where his predecessor resided with his court at the time of his death. If he dies in a borough or village, where the electors cannot conveniently meet, let the election be made in the episcopal city, or in the nearest to it, if that city be under an interdict. II. Let the cardinals who are present wait ten days, at least, for those who are absent. III. No absent cardinal, on what account soever absent, shall have a right to vote. IV. Not only the absent cardinals, but men of every order and condition, may be elected. V. On the tenth day after the pontiff's death let the cardinals who are present be all shut up in one common room of the palace where the pope died, the room being divided into as many cells as there are cardinals, and having no outlet, except to the privy. The cardinals shall be attended each by one servant only, or, at the most, by two when thought absolutely necessary. No one shall be allowed to go into the common room or conclave, nor out of it, but in case of sickness, or on some other urgent occasion. VI. If they proceed to the election at Rome, let the door of the conclave, and all the avenues to it, be carefully guarded by the city guards, by the Roman nobility, by the ambassadors of princes, and by the bishops and conservators of the city. If the election is to be made out of Rome, the same duty is incumbent upon the temporal lords and magistrates of the place; and it is a duty common to them all to see that nothing be carried into the conclave, or out of it, that has the least tendency to retard or prevent a lawful election, narrowly examining, with that view, whatever is conveyed into it, even the necessary provisions. VII. No cardinal shall be allowed to go out of the conclave till the election is over. VIII. Cardinals coming at any time to the conclave, before the election, shall be admitted;

¹ Concil. tom. 11. p. 922. et Hocsemius in Vit. Ponti. Leod.

² Magnum Chron. Belgic.

³ Hayton, c. 35. Matth. Westmont. Concil. tom. 11. p. 874.

⁴ Acta Concil. p. 876.

⁵ Niceph. Gregor. l. 3. c. 11.

The sixth and last session—Gregory confirms the election of Rudolph. Has an interview with him at Lausanne;—[Year of Christ, 1275.]

and no cardinal shall be excluded upon any pretence whatsoever, not even they who are under sentence of excommunication. IX. If the election is not over in three days, the keepers of the conclave shall, for the following fortnight, suffer no more than one dish for dinner and one for supper to be conveyed to each cardinal, and that time being elapsed, they shall be allowed no sustenance but bread, wine, and water, till the election shall be made. X. None shall, on pain of excommunication, enter into any engagement, shall make or receive any presents, shall sell his own or purchase the suffrage of another. XI. He alone shall be deemed lawfully elected, in whose election two-thirds of the suffrages concur. XII. At the pontiff's death the power of all ecclesiastical magistrates expires, and all offices cease, except those of the penitentiaries and the chamberlain of the holy Roman church.¹

Such was the famous constitution of Gregory X., well calculated indeed to accelerate the election of a new pope. It was suspended by Hadrian V., Gregory's immediate successor, and abrogated by John XXI. But Celestine V. revived it, and being mitigated by the succeeding popes with respect to some articles, especially to the number of servants or attendants allowed to each cardinal, and their scanty sustenance, it is, as to most of the other regulations, observed to this day.

To return now to the council; the sixth and last session was held on the 17th of July, when several constitutions were read and approved by the council. By one of these constitutions they who have been twice married are declared incapable of any preferment in the church, and even forbidden to wear the clerical habit. By another, all mendicant orders, except the Franciscans and Dominicans, are suppressed, and the estates they had acquired are applied to the service of the Holy Land. The pope closed this session and the council with exhorting the clergy to reform their manners, and, not concerning themselves with secular affairs, to attend only to the functions of their office, which, he said, would soon produce a general reformation.²

While the council was yet sitting, ambassadors arrived at Lions from Rudolph, lately elected and crowned king of the Romans, to acquaint the pope with his election, and take in his name the usual oaths. Gregory, paying no regard to the pretensions of Alphonsus, king of Castile, received the ambassadors, and confirmed the election of Rudolph. Otho, chancellor of the empire, was at the head of this embassy, attended by most of the ecclesiastical electors, and by him was taken, in Rudolph's name, the following oath: That he should always invio-

lably maintain the privileges granted to the Roman church by the emperors Otho IV. and Frederic II.; that he should never invade the state of the church, but restore the territories which that church had a just claim to; and should not make war upon the king of Sicily. Alphonsus however continued to maintain his claim, till the pope, to prevent the disturbances he might raise in Germany, granted him the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices within his dominions, to be employed against the Moors, who were then at war with him, upon condition he renounced all claim to the empire. As the king stood, at that time, in great want of money, and could no longer either support his party in Germany, or withstand the Moors who had invaded his dominions, he thought it advisable to accept his holiness's offer; and he accordingly gave up, in a solemn manner, his claim to the imperial crown, and acknowledged Rudolph for lawful king of the Romans.³ Upon his renunciation the pope wrote to all the Christian princes, to acquaint them with the promotion of Rudolph, and at the same time to Rudolph himself, styling him, in the direction of his letter, "the illustrious king of the Romans;" and inviting him to come with all convenient speed to Rome, in order to receive the imperial crown at his hands. This letter is dated at Lions the 26th of September 1274.²

The pope did not leave Lions till the following year, when he set out on his return to Italy; but first visited some of the neighboring cities. From one of his letters we learn, that on the 26th of June he was at Beaucaire on the Rhone, and from another that he had not yet left that city on the 12th of September. From Beaucaire he went to Valence, and from thence to Vinne, where he united the bishopric of Die to that of Valence by a bull, dated at Vienne the 25th of September. These were then two distinct bishoprics held by two bishops; but Gregory decreed, that when either of them died the survivor should have both bishoprics, and be styled bishop of Valence and Die.³ From Vienne he repaired to Lausanne, where the king of the Romans had appointed to meet him, and take the oaths in person, which his ambassador had taken at Lions in his name. The king came, accompanied by the queen and his children, and being received by the pope with the greatest marks of kindness, he confirmed, two days after his arrival, that is, on the 20th of October, the oaths taken by his ambassador in his name, and besides promised to go to Rome as soon as his affairs would allow him to undertake that journey, and to

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1264. Num. 6. Mariana. Rer. Hispan. l. 13. c. 22.

² Raynald. *ibid.* Num. 55.

³ Greg. Epist. lib. 4. Epist. 58.

¹ Concil. tom. 11. p. 955.

² *Ibid.*

The pope returns to Italy. Dies at Arezzo;—[Year of Christ, 1276.] Innocent V. elected and consecrated at Rome. Restores peace to Italy.

repair from thence, without delay, to the Holy Land. The next day he published an edict, granting full liberty to the chapters to choose their own prelates, condemning, as an abuse, the custom of seizing the goods of deceased bishops, or the revenues of vacant sees, and permitting a free appeal to Rome in all ecclesiastical causes. At the same time he restored to the apostolic see the province of Romagna and the exarchate of Ravenna, promised never to invade either, but on the contrary to defend and protect them, as well as the patrimony of St. Peter, by whomsoever attacked or invaded.¹

The pope, on his part, assured the king of the protection of the apostolic see, confirmed all the privileges granted by the holy see to his predecessors, and declared all excommunicated who did not acknowledge him for king of the Romans lawfully elected, or should dispute his claim to the imperial crown. He then took his leave of the king, and pursuing his journey to Italy crossed the Alps and arrived at Milan before the 14th of November; for one of his letters, written from thence to the bishop of Verdun, bears that date. At Milan he celebrated the festival of the dedication of the church of St. Peter on the 18th of November, and continuing his journey to Rome, passed through Placentia and came to Florence. As he had interdicted that city two years before, and the interdict was not yet taken off, he had resolved not to enter it. But the Arno being greatly swelled and not fordable, he was

obliged to cross it on the bridge within the city. At his entering the gate he took off or suspended the interdict, and blessed the people as he passed, but renewed it as he went out, saying, with the words of the 32d Psalm, "Their mouth must be held in with bit and bridle."²

From Florence the pope pursued his journey to Perugia, where he intended to reside till Rudolph arrived at Rome, in order to receive there the imperial crown, and, as soon as he had performed that ceremony, to pass over to the Holy Land with him, with the kings of France, England, Sicily, and Arragon, who had all taken the cross. But upon his arrival at Arezzo, about thirty-three miles distant from Perugia, he was taken ill, and being quite spent with the fatigues he had undergone, died in a few days, when he had held the see, reckoning from the day of his election, four years four months and ten days, but from his consecration, three years nine months and fifteen days. The contemporary writers all speak of him as a man of extraordinary sanctity; and at Arezzo, where he died and was buried, he is honored to this day as a saint. Most of the letters written by this pope on different subjects are to be met with in the eleventh volume of the Councils, and his Constitutions in the sixth book of the Decretals. A "dialogue between Saul and Paul," is ascribed to him; but that piece has never yet appeared in print.

INNOCENT V., THE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SECOND BISHOP OF ROME.

[MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—RUDOLPH, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ 1276.] Gregory died on the 10th of January, and the cardinals, shutting themselves up in the conclave ten days after his death, pursuant to his Constitution, chose unanimously the very next day Peter de Tarantasia, so called from Tarantasia or Tarantaise on the Iserre in Burgundy, the place of his birth. He entered, when yet very young, into the Dominican order, and in process of time became one of the most learned divines of the age. In 1271 he was raised by his predecessor Gregory to the archiepiscopal see of Lions, and soon after created cardinal bishop of Ostia, and high penitentiary.² He took the name of Innocent before he was either crowned or conse-

crated, styling himself in the letters he wrote immediately after his election while he was yet at Arezzo, "Innocent, bishop elect, servant of the servants of God."² From Arezzo Innocent repaired at the pressing instances of the Romans to Rome, and was there crowned with the usual solemnity in the church of St. Peter, on the 22d of February of the present year 1276.

Innocent's first care was to reconcile the states and cities of Italy, still divided into the two opposite factions of Guelfs and Gibelines, and making war on each other. With that view he sent two legates into Tuscany; and by their interposition, as well as by that of the ambassadors sent for that purpose by Charles, king of Sicily, a peace was concluded, after a long and bloody war

¹ Annal. Colmar. ad ann. 1275. Guido in Chron. Rom. Pontif. Ptol. Lucensis in Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 23. c. 4.

² Raynald. ad ann. 1276. Num. 15 & 17. Panvinus.

¹ Raynald. Num. 45. Villani. l. 7. c. 50. Aretin. lib. 3.

² Apud Raynald. Num. 16.

Innocent dies. His writings. Election of Hadrian V.

between the two republics of Lucca and Pisa. Against the latter all Tuscany had conspired, but by the legates and the ambassadors tranquillity was restored throughout Tuscany; "per adventum legatorum et ambasciatorum omnia sunt pacificata in Tuscia," says Ptolemy of Lucca.¹

Innocent's next concern was to get the Greek emperor Michael Palæologus to confirm the union, and the articles of the union, agreed and sworn to by the Greek ambassadors in his name. For that purpose he designed to send a splendid legation into the East, and had formed many other great projects, but was prevented by death from carrying them into execution. He died on the

Sent, while cardinal, into England. Dies at Viterbo.

22d of June, after a short pontificate of five months and two days, says Ptolemy of Lucca, computing the day of his election and that of his death.¹ He was buried in the Lateran church, and Charles, king of Sicily, then at Rome, attended his funeral. He wrote before his promotion, an abridgement of the Divinity of those days, a commentary upon the four books of the Master of Sentences, and several commentaries upon the Scripture, mentioned by Trithemius. Many propositions in his works, above one hundred, were censured by the learned men of that age. But Thomas Aquinas, of the same order, undertook, by the command of the general, to defend them.²

HADRIAN V., THE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THIRD BISHOP OF ROME.

[MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—RUDOLPH, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1276.] By the death of Innocent the see remained vacant from the 22d of June to the 11th of July, when Ottoboni Fieschi, a native of Genoa, was unanimously elected. He was nephew to Innocent IV., and by that pope had been created cardinal deacon of St. Hadrian, which name he took. In 1254 he was sent, being then cardinal, by his uncle Innocent, into England, to make up the differences between Henry III. and the barons, headed by Simon de Montfort; and was employed again in the same legation by Clement IV., in 1265, and on that occasion held a council at Westminster, in which he thundered out the sentence of excommunication against all the king's enemies. But before his arrival, Simon de Montfort, his eldest son Henry, and the greater part of the barons who had joined them, were cut off by the king in the memorable battle of Evesham, fought in the beginning of August, 1265. The king, to do honor to the legate, not only admitted him to his table on St. Edward's day, the 5th of January, but placed him in his royal chair, and ordered him to be first served. In another council convened by him at Northampton, in 1266, he excommunicated all the bishops and other ecclesiastics who had any ways favored or assisted Simon de Montfort against the king.² He was, it seems, greatly

indisposed at the time of his election: for when his relations came to congratulate him upon his promotion, "I wish," he said, "you had found me a cardinal in good health, and not a dying pope."³

Hadrian leaving Rome immediately after his election, repaired to Viterbo, to settle some differences between Charles, king of Sicily, whom he had invited thither, and Rudolph, king of the Romans. But his illness increasing, he died soon after his arrival in that city, before he was consecrated, crowned, or even ordained priest, for he was only cardinal deacon. His death happened on the 18th of August, when he had sat in the chair one month and nine days.⁴ He had the affairs of the Holy Land as much at heart as his predecessor Gregory, and he sent, immediately after his election, a considerable sum to the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, for the building of galleys. He wrote at the same time to the Christians there, encouraging them with the promise of powerful succors, both in men and money. He designed to have altered and mitigated the constitution of Gregory with respect to the conclave, and in the mean time suspended it.⁵

¹ Ptol. Luc. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 23. c. 19.

² Paris ad ann. 1265, 1266, 1267.

³ Ptol. Luc. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 23. c. 19. et Guido in Chron. Roman. Pont.

⁴ Ludovic. Jacob in Biblioth. Pontific. et Aquinas in Opusculo.

⁵ Papir. Masson. in ejus Vit.

⁶ Nangius in Chron. Sanut. l. 3. part 12. c. 15.

⁷ Jordanus apud Raynald. Num. 26.

John XXI. elected. Revokes the constitution of Gregory concerning the conclave. His zeal for the Christians in the East. His death;—[Year of Christ, 1277.]

JOHN XXI., THE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FOURTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—RUDOLPH, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1276.] Upon the death of Hadrian, the cardinals, unwilling to be shut up in the conclave, pursuant to the constitution of Gregory, ordered the archbishop of Corinth to proclaim the suspending of that constitution by the deceased pope. But as Hadrian had suspended it, not by any bull, but only by word of mouth, the magistrates and people of Viterbo, giving no credit to the archbishop, and looking upon the suspension as a mere invention of the cardinals, used that prelate very roughly, and put the cardinals under more close confinement than was even enjoined by Gregory's constitution. The cardinals, being thus shut up, elected, after a vacancy of twenty-eight days, Peter, the son of Julian, whence he is called Petrus Juliani. He was a native of Lisbon, well versed in most sciences, but above all in physic. He was, after other ecclesiastical preferments, created by Gregory X. cardinal bishop of Tusculum, and promoted from thence to the see of Rome, on the 15th of September of the present year, 1276.¹ He is called by all the writers, except Nangius, John XXI., though in truth only the XX. of that name. John of Placentia, elected in opposition to the lawful pope, Gregory V., was, perhaps, reckoned by those writers among the popes. Of this, precedents are not wanting. For Leo the Great is called Leo IX., though the VIIIth of that name was never acknowledged by the church for lawful pope. Be that as it may, the cardinals themselves, by whom the present pope was elected, call him John XXI. in the letter they wrote to Rudolph, king of the Romans, after his death,² which sufficiently authorizes other writers to call him so.

The new pope was crowned and consecrated at Viterbo on the 20th of September; and soon after, that is, on the 30th of that month, he published a decree, revoking that of Gregory concerning the conclave, declaring that it had been suspended by his immediate predecessor Hadrian; and ordering those who had, nevertheless, confined the cardinals to be proceeded against with the utmost severity.³ Having as much at heart as any of his predecessors the relief of the Christians in the East, he sent, as soon as elected, the archbishop of Corinth into France, to procure such supplies as

might at least enable them to maintain the little they still possessed in the Holy Land, and wrote at the same time to the king of the Romans, to the king of Spain, and the king of Hungary, exhorting them to lay aside all animosities against each other, and join in the common cause. As a misunderstanding subsisted at this time between Philip the Bold of France and Alphonsus of Castile, the pope, apprehending it might end in an open rupture, and oblige both princes to employ their troops at home, dispatched John of Vercelli and Jerom of Ascoli, the one general of the Dominicans, the other of the Franciscans, to mediate a reconciliation between the two princes, empowering his nuncios to annul all treaties and engagements that might obstruct a peace, how solemnly soever sworn to. They were even enjoined to excommunicate either of the princes that did not acquiesce in the terms that should be judged reasonable by the apostolic see.¹ Simon de Brie, cardinal of St. Cecilia, and the legate of the holy see in France, was ordered to second the nuncios in their negotiations. But in the mean time the pope died, when he least expected it.

He flattered himself and even told to many that he should live long; whence some have concluded that he delighted in judicial astrology and the art of calculating nativities. If that be true, he was greatly mistaken in his calculations. For, having added a new room to his palace at Viterbo, the roof fell in while he was in it, and so bruised him that he died in a few days, after a pontificate of no more than eight months, if his death happened, as we are told it did, on the 16th of May, 1277.² Before his promotion he wrote a book of physic, styled "The Poor Man's Treasure."³ He is said to have been very inconsiderate in his speech; to have betrayed great ignorance in the management of temporal affairs, and to have been entirely governed by cardinal Caietan, preferred to the see upon his death. However, all allow him to have been a great encourager of learning, to have taken great delight in the company of the learned of what rank soever or condition, and to have set no bounds to his generosity in rewarding such as excelled in any branch of literature. As Ptolemy of Lucca and Martinus Polonus, both Domi-

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1277.

² Ptol. Lucensis. Brandon. Monarch. Lusitan. l. 15. c. 41.

³ Ptol. Lucensis. Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 23. c. 21.

¹ Martin Polon. Ptol. Luc. Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 23. c. 21.

² Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1277.

³ Ptol. Lucensis. *ibid*.

Visions concerning John's death. Election of Nicholas III. Ordained and crowned at Rome.

nicans, have made it their business to disparage this pope, Spondanus supposes him to have issued some decree not favorable to that order; the rather as we are told by the former of these writers, that he was no friend to the religious, but was meditating something against them at the time he was killed by the fall of his new-built room.

John Villani tells us, that a merchant at Florence, named Berto Forzetti, who used to see strange things in his sleep, and foretel them, being on a voyage from Florence to Acres, started suddenly out of his sleep, and alarmed his fellow passengers as well as the whole ship's company, crying out aloud, "I see a huge black cutting down with a huge club the pillar upon which rests the roof of the room. The roof is fallen in, and the pope is killed." All who heard him set down his words, marked the time, and upon their arrival at Acres found that the pope had been killed by the roof of his room falling in at that very instant of time. This Villani learned, as he declares, of witnesses who were present and worthy of credit; and adds, that in Florence the fact was notorious.¹ Jordanus, who flourished in the beginning of the following century, relates pretty much the same thing of a Franciscan friar or Minorite, who likewise saw in his sleep a black beating down the pope's palace with a huge hammer, and the pope buried in its ruins.² Father Pagi will not answer

for the authenticity of these visions. They were, no doubt, inventions of the friars, calculated to persuade the world that the death of the pope was owing to, and a punishment of, the little regard he had for them.

Petrus Maria Campi, canon of Placentia, upon the authority of a manuscript chronicle of that city, places cardinal Vicedominus de Vicedominis between Hadrian V. and John XXI. The words of the chronicle, as quoted by him, are, "In the said city of Placentia are the Vicedomini, a great and noble family: for there was a pope of that family, who held the papacy but one day, and died a friar Minorite." These words can only be understood of cardinal Vicedominus de Vicedominis, nephew to Gregory X., who lived at this time, and was bishop of Palestrina. He is mentioned in the manuscript annals of the city of Placentia, and all the preferences he enjoyed are there carefully marked; but not the least notice is taken of his pretended pontificate, nor is the least notice taken of it by any of the many authors who have writ the lives of the popes, till the year 1626, when Campi published the above-mentioned chronicle. As we cannot, therefore, suppose that the historians would have all passed over in silence so remarkable an event, if it had ever happened, we may well conclude from their having thus passed it over, that it never did happen.¹

NICHOLAS III., THE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIFTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—RUDOLPH, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1277.] As the constitution of Gregory concerning the conclave had been revoked by the late pope, the cardinals met only once a day, and then returned to their respective habitations. Thus they had passed two whole months, though in all but eight, without coming to any resolution, the Italians opposing the election of a Frenchman, and the French the election of an Italian. As there was no likelihood of their agreeing so long as they enjoyed their liberty, the magistrates of Viterbo took upon them to shut them all up in the town-house, and then it was not till after a vacancy of six months and eight days that they chose cardinal Caietan Ursini. He was elected, as he himself declares in his circulatory letter, on St. Catherine's day, that is, on the 25th of November of the present year, 1277.³ Caietan was a native of Rome, of the noble

family of the Ursini, and at the time of his election cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas, in Carcere Tulliano; and he took the name of that saint upon his promotion. We are told that his father, who, upon the death of his wife, had entered into the Franciscan order, offered this son to St. Francis; but that the saint would not receive him, saying he was chosen by heaven to protect the order, and to be one day lord of the universe.² He was accordingly a most zealous defender of the order against all their enemies, and a most generous benefactor while cardinal, and was at last raised to the pontificate, which made him in those days lord paramount of the universe. His whole behavior was so modest, so regular, that he was sur-named the "Composed."

Nicholas staid but a very short time at Viterbo after his election, as appears from

¹ Villani, l. 7. c. 50.

² Raynald, apud Pagi, in Joan. XXI.

³ Apud Raynald, ad ann. 1277. Num. 58.

¹ Wading. ad ann. 1276. et Pagi, vol. 3. p. 419, et seq.

² Wading. Annal. Minorum ad ann. 1222.

Nicholas writes to Rudolph. Receives the ambassadors of the Greek emperor;—[Year of Christ, 1278;]—and sends nuncios to Constantinople. Rudolph confirms all the grants made by former emperors to the apostolic see. Nicholas no friend to the king of Sicily.

several of his letters dated from Rome, whether he repaired in order to be ordained, as he was only in deacon's orders, and afterwards crowned; and both ceremonies were performed in the church of St. Peter, probably on the same day, the festival of St. Stephen, the 26th of December, which, in the present year, fell on a Sunday. Before his coronation he wrote to Rudolph, exhorting him not to disturb the peace of Italy, but to compose the differences between him and Charles, king of Sicily, in an amicable manner. Charles had been appointed by Clement IV. vicar of the empire in Tuscany during the dispute between the earl of Cornwall and the king of Castile, about the imperial dignity. As Rudolph was now acknowledged by all king of the Romans, he maintained that the office of vicar of the empire had ceased, and all the power annexed to it was devolved to him. But Charles refusing to part with that power, Rudolph was preparing to march into Tuscany against him, and drive him from thence by force. The pope, therefore, apprehending that the war would be thus rekindled in Italy, and the animosity of the two opposite parties revived, wrote, even before he was either ordained or crowned, most pressing letters to the king of the Romans to suspend his march, and refer the point in dispute to the judgment of the apostolic see, that would do him justice, and support his claim, if found to be just, with all its authority.¹

The following year arrived at Rome ambassadors sent by Michael Palæologus and his son Andronicus, to confirm the union agreed to in the council of Lyons between the two churches. Nicholas received them with all possible marks of respect and esteem, and they swore, in the name of the emperor and his son, to the primacy of the Roman church, to the belief of the symbol as received by that church, and to every other article that the former ambassadors had consented to in the above-mentioned council. Upon their return to Constantinople the pope sent with them the bishop of Grosseto, and three friars, Minorites, with letters to the emperor, to his son, to the Latin patriarch, and the bishops under the jurisdiction of his see, congratulating them upon the union so often attempted and at last so happily accomplished, and exhorting them to hold fast the doctrine which they had with so much maturity and so cheerfully embraced. The ambassadors had begged, in the emperor's name, that his holiness would connive, for the present, at the Greeks omitting, in their symbol, the words "and from the son," to avoid the disturbances that such an addition might be at-

tended with in the public service. But the pope ordered his nuncios absolutely to insist upon their adding that article, as the two churches could not be said to agree in their faith so long as they used different symbols or creeds in publicly professing it. They were likewise enjoined to require the emperor, as well as the bishops and the rest of the clergy, to abjure the schism upon oath without any limitation or restriction whatever; and to cause copies of the said oath, signed by them and sealed with their seals, to be lodged in the public archives.¹

The same year Nicholas obtained of Rudolph a confirmation of all the grants made, or said to have been made by former emperors to the apostolic see, and was thus put in possession of the whole exarchate of Ravenna, in the province of Remandiola, now Romagna, Rudolph declaring in his diploma, that is to be seen to this day in Castle St. Angelo, that though those territories had been claimed and possessed by his predecessors in the empire, they belonged of right, not unto them, but to the Roman church, to which he restored them. This diploma is dated at Vienna the 4th of May, in the first year of the pontificate of our lord pope Nicholas III.² This grant, or, as it is called, restitution, was confirmed, at the request of the pope, by all the electors. On the other hand, the pope, to gratify the emperor, obliged Charles, king of Sicily, to resign the vicariate of Tuscany, declaring all the power annexed to that office to be vested in Rudolph, lawfully elected king of the Romans, and the office itself to subsist no longer. Some writers tell us, that the above grants were confirmed by the emperor upon condition the pope absolved him from the oath he had taken at Lausanne to go in person to the Holy Land.³

Charles, though greatly favored, as we have seen, by the preceding popes, was upon ill terms with Nicholas, who not only deprived him of the vicariate of Tuscany, but obliged him to resign the dignity of senator of Rome, conferred upon him by Clement IV. Upon his resignation Nicholas issued a bull, forbidding any emperor, king, prince, duke, marquis, count, or baron, as well as their children, brothers, or nephews, to be thenceforth chosen senators of Rome. By the same bull or constitution it was ordained, that the senatorial dignity should be conferred on none for life, but only for the term of one year, at the end of which another should be chosen, unless the pontiff for the time being thought fit to continue the former in his dignity.⁴ Notwithstanding this constitution Nicholas got himself chosen by the Romans senator for life; and an un-

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1278. ² Idem ibid. Num. 47, &c.

³ Villani, l. 7. c. 52. Malaspina Hist. Flor. c. 204.

⁴ Raynald ibid. Num. 73.

The reason of the pope's opposition to the king. Privy to a conspiracy against him. His death:—[Year of Christ, 1280.] His immoderate desire of aggrandizing and enriching his family. A most zealous friend to the Franciscans.

limited power, in all temporal affairs, being then annexed to that office, he appointed some of his own family to exercise it as his deputies, by which means they became very powerful in Rome.¹

Nicholas, wholly intent upon aggrandizing his family, had, soon after his promotion, proposed a match between his nephew and a daughter of Charles. This proposal the king unadvisedly rejected with great indignation, saying, "though the pope wears red shoes, yet it would degrade the royal blood to be mixed with his." This haughty answer provoked the pope to the highest degree, and he thenceforth looked upon that prince with an evil eye, and on all occasions joined the emperor against him. Thus Ricordanus Malasпина, who lived at this very time, and could not but know what the behavior of this pope to Charles, so different from that of all other popes, was owing to.² Besides, Charles, while senator of Rome, had caused a Roman nobleman to be beheaded who had married the pope's niece, before he was raised to the papacy. The nobleman had sided with Conradin against Charles, and was on that account condemned and executed, though most of the Roman nobility, and amongst the rest the pope himself, then cardinal, had interceded for his life.³ But whatever his aversion to Charles was owing to, certain it is that his holiness was privy to the famous conspiracy formed by John of Procida and Peter king of Arragon to drive Charles out of the island of Sicily, and place the king of Arragon on that throne in his room. In this the contemporary writers all agree, all to a man; nay, the king of Arragon in a letter to Charles boasts of his having taken no step in that affair but what was previously approved by the holy pope Nicholas, who, he says, had even granted him the investiture, and privately acknowledged him for lawful king of the kingdom of Sicily.⁴ But before this conspiracy, one of the most shocking and barbarous recorded in history, was ripe for execution, Nicholas died.

His death happened on the 22d of August 1280, at a place called Suriano, about seven miles from Viterbo, when he had held the pontificate from the day of his election two years and nine months wanting one day. He is said to have been very generous to the poor, to have built or repaired a great many churches, to have undertaken nothing but upon the most mature deliberation, and to have caused the canons to be most strictly observed in all places immediately

subject to his see. He increased the number as well as the revenues of the canons of St. Peter, and built a most magnificent palace adjoining to that church for those who belonged to his court, especially the penitentiaries. He carried nepotism to a most extravagant excess, bestowing all the best and most lucrative employments upon his relations, and making it his business to raise and enrich them.¹ He had even formed a design of raising two of his family to the royal dignity, and dividing, with that view, the empire into four kingdoms, namely, of Germany, Vienne, Tuscany, and Lombardy; the first to be held by Rudolph and his posterity, the second by Charles Martel, the grandson of Charles, king of Sicily, who had married the daughter of Rudolph, and the other two by persons not named, says the historian; but who they were there is room to conjecture.² Other writers tell us, in express terms, that the kingdoms of Tuscany and Lombardy were designed for two of the pope's own relations; and that Nicholas was so bent upon thus aggrandizing his own family, and at the same time weakening the empire, that death alone could have prevented him from carrying his design into execution.³ He created nine cardinals at one promotion, but in what year is uncertain. Among these were two Dominicans, Latinus Frangipani, his sister's son, and Robert Kilwarly, a native of England; and two Franciscans, Bentivenga of Todi, and Jerom of Ascoli, who was afterwards raised to the pontificate under the name of Nicholas IV.⁴ Many privileges were granted in this pontificate to the religious orders, but above all to the Franciscans, whose protector Nicholas was while yet a cardinal, and a most zealous defender after his promotion to the pontifical chair. He found time, though engaged in many other most important affairs, to write in defence of their institution, showing nothing to be enjoined by their rules but what was lawful, nothing but what was practicable. In that piece all the objections against the fundamental laws of the order are answered; and the pope published it as a bull on the 14th of August 1279, forbidding any thenceforth to condemn what the apostolic see had, after the most mature deliberation, approved and confirmed.⁵ The immoderate desire this pope betrayed of enriching and aggrandizing his family, and the part he acted in the conspiracy against the king of Sicily, are indelible specks in his character, unexceptionable in all other respects.

¹ Nangius in Chron.

² Malasпина Hist. Florentin. c. 204.

³ Spondan. ad ann. 1278.

⁴ Apud Raynald. &c.

⁵ Apud Raynald. &c. ² Ptol. Lucens. ad ann. 1280.

³ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1280.

⁴ Ptol. Lucens. l. 23. c. 26.

⁵ Wadingus. ad ann. 1279.

Disturbances at Viterbo during the vacancy, Martin IV. elected ;—[Year of Christ, 1281.] Consecrated and crowned at Orvieto. Elected senator of Rome for life.

MARTIN IV., THE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SIXTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—RUDOLPH, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1280.] Nicholas dying in the neighborhood of Viterbo, the Cardinals met in that city in order to proceed to the election of his successor. They appointed Richard, of the family of the Hannibaldi, a family that rivalled in power that of the late pope, the Ursini, to guard the conclave, and maintain the liberty of the election. Richard, by an abuse of the power annexed to that office, immediately deposed Ursus de Ursini, whom the deceased pope, his uncle, had made governor of the city of Viterbo, pretending that the election could not be free so long as he continued in that employment: this the two cardinals of that family, Matheus Rubeus the late pope's nephew, and Jordanus, his brother, highly resented, and even declared, that they would suffer no pope to be elected till Ursus was restored to his former dignity. Hereupon the people of Viterbo breaking into the episcopal palace, where the cardinals were assembled, dragged from thence the two cardinals, and having treated them very roughly shut them up in a room of the palace. Jordanus they soon set at liberty, but the other they kept closely confined for several days, allowing him for some time no other food but bread and water; nor did they release him till he promised not to disturb the election. The two cardinals were thus treated by the people at the instigation of Richard Hannibaldi, a zealous friend to the king of Sicily, and consequently a sworn enemy to all the late pope's family. Some writers suppose the above-mentioned cardinals to have been kept under confinement till the election was made. However that be, as the constitution of Gregory was no longer in force the cardinals continued quarrelling among themselves till the 22d of February, when, after six month's vacancy, Simon de Brie, cardinal presbyter of St. Cecilia was unanimously elected.¹ He was a native of the province of Brie in France, and thence called Simon de Brie. As he had been for many years canon and treasurer of the church of St. Martin at Tours, he took, upon his promotion, the name of that Saint. He was only the second of that name; but most authors, confounding the name of Marinus, of which there were two popes, with that of Martinus, have called the present pontiff Martin IV. He was created cardinal by Urban IV. in 1261, and afterwards sent both by that pope and by Gregory X., with the character of

legate into France, where he is said to have convened several provincial synods, and to have issued, jointly with the bishops of the different provinces, many wholesome constitutions.¹

As the city of Viterbo was interdicted on account of the violence the inhabitants had offered to the two cardinals, the pope left that place immediately after his election, and Rome being at that time all in confusion, occasioned by the animosity of the two rival families against each other, the Hannibaldi and the Ursini, he repaired to Orvieto, in order to be consecrated and crowned there; and in that city both ceremonies were performed, with the usual solemnity, on the 23d of March, which in 1281 fell on a Sunday, the fourth Sunday in Lent.² Before his consecration, he acquainted the Christian princes and the bishops in their respective dominions with his promotion, telling them in the letters he wrote on that occasion, that he was elected so much against his will, that the cardinals were obliged to tear his habit of cardinal before they could prevail upon him to assume that of high pontiff.³

As the city of Rome continued still divided into two opposite factions, some siding with the Hannibaldi against the Ursini, and others with the Ursini against the Hannibaldi, and many murders were daily committed, the new pope did not think it advisable to go to Rome, but sent two cardinals to reconcile, if by any means they could, the two families, and restore tranquility to the city. At this time Peter de Comitibus, or Conti, and Gentilis Ursini, were both senators, the one having been chosen by the one party, and the other by the other. To them, therefore, the two cardinals applied, and representing to them the many evils attending an annual election, proposed their resigning their dignity in favor of the pope, and getting him elected senator for life. As for the constitution of Nicholas, forbidding that dignity to be conferred on any prince, or to be held by any person whatever, beyond the term of one year, Nicholas himself, said the cardinals, had revoked it in consenting to be elected senator for life, after he had issued it. The two senators not only agreed to the proposal, as the only means of preventing the disorders and tumults that were yearly raised on occasion of new elections, but prevailed on the Roman people to

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1281. Ptol. Lucen. Villani.

¹ Jordanus M. S. apud Raynald. ad ann. 1281.

² Idem ibid.

³ Idem ibid.

The pope excommunicates the Greek emperor. The famous conspiracy known by the name of the Sicilian vespers, by whom formed, and how carried on.

approve it: and with the approbation and consent of the whole body of the people, they publicly resigned, and yielded their dignity to the pope, to be held by him during his life, with full power of appointing one person or more, as he should think fit, to discharge that office in his name. The instrument, or decree, conferring that power on the pope, was read and approved by the people, assembled for that purpose, on the 10th of March, 1281, and is related at length by Raynaldus, in his annals.¹ The pope immediately appointed Charles, king of Sicily, who was then with him at Orvieto, to act as senator in his room; and thus restored that prince to the dignity which his predecessor had forced him to resign.

The pope soon after his coronation created six cardinals, among whom were Jerom of Ascoli, a Minorite, and Benedictus Cajetanus, both afterwards raised to the papacy. The same year he solemnly excommunicated the Greek emperor Michael Palæologus. But authors differ in accounting for such an unexpected proceeding against that prince. The words of the sentence are, "We pronounce and declare Michael Palæologus, called emperor of the Greeks, excommunicated, as a favourer of their schism and heresy: and we strictly forbid all kings, princes, lords and others of what condition soever, as well as all cities and communities, to enter into any confederacy with the said Michael Palæologus, or to lend him any assistance whatever, on pain of excommunication and other penalties to be incurred 'ipso facto.'" This sentence was pronounced with great solemnity at the gate of the cathedral of Orvieto, on the day of St. Peter's chair, or the 18th of November, and renewed the following year in the same place on Ascension-day, which in 1282 fell on the 7th of May.² As Charles, king of Sicily, had formed a design of making war upon the Greek emperor, and possessing himself of the city of Constantinople, which Palæologus had recovered from the Latins in 1261, it was, say the contemporary writers all to a man, to prevent the Latins from lending any assistance to the Greeks that the pope excommunicated that prince; pretending, that, notwithstanding the oath he had taken, he still continued to countenance the schismatics. The writers even most favorable to the pope tell us in express terms, that it was at the request of the king of Sicily he excommunicated the Greek emperor, and all who should favor or assist him.³ However that be, the famous conspiracy, known by the name of the Sicilian Vespers, entirely defeated the design of Charles upon Constantinople. Of that con-

spiracy historians give us the following account.

John of Procida, so called because lord of an island of that name lying off Sicily, being deprived of his estate and banished by Charles on account of his inviolable attachment to the Swabian family, repaired to the court of Peter, king of Arragon, who had married Constantia the daughter of Manfred, and was therefore looked upon by him as the lawful heir of the kingdom of Sicily in right of his wife, the only remaining issue of that royal family. The king received him with great kindness, and finding him to be a man of parts, of great penetration and address, he admitted him to all his councils, and even created him a baron of the kingdom. As John was an avowed enemy to Charles, and the whole family of Anjou, whom he deemed usurpers, he began to think of vindicating the undoubted right of Constantia to the kingdom of Sicily, and placing her and her husband upon the throne of that kingdom. This thought he communicated to both, representing to them at the same time the irreconcilable aversion he knew the Sicilians bore to their new masters, and would therefore readily join any who should attempt to redeem them from their present bondage, any, above all, of the Swabian family. The queen approved of the proposal, but the king was entirely averse to it, pleading his want of money to carry on a war that such an undertaking would necessarily engage him in, and the displeasure of the pope, which might be attended with fatal consequences both to him and his kingdom. But both these difficulties John undertook to remove; and as the Greek emperor expected daily to be attacked by Charles, he repaired in the disguise of a monk first to Sicily, and from thence, after engaging many of the chief lords in the conspiracy, to Constantinople. Being admitted in his disguise to a private audience of the emperor, he imparted to him the whole design, and representing to him that he could by no other means so effectually divert Charles from invading his dominions than by joining heartily in this undertaking, and assisting Peter with money, the only thing the king wanted, he obtained a promise of what money soever should be wanted to carry the design into execution; nay, the emperor offered to supply him with money to defray the whole expense of the war, and in the mean time sent him a very considerable sum by his secretary to equip a fleet, and purchase what military stores might be wanted. John set out from Constantinople with the secretary, and having acquainted some of the chief barons of the kingdom, who waited for him at Malta, with the success of his negotiations at the court of the emperor, and confirmed them in their resolution, he went from thence to Rome, to sound

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1281. Num. 15.

² Idem, Num. 8 et 25.

³ Jordanus M. S. apud Raynald. Num. 26.

The conspiracy carried into execution with the utmost barbarity. The king of Arragon crowned king of Sicily.

the disposition of the pope, Nicholas III. Being informed upon his arrival in that city, that his holiness had quarrelled with Charles, and deprived him of the administration of Tuscany as well as the senatorial dignity, he disclosed to him the whole affair. The pope not only approved of the design, but encouraged them to pursue it with vigor, promising to give the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily to the king of Arragon, and maintain him on the throne, as soon as he had driven the French out of that island. It was not therefore without reason that the king of Arragon boasted in a letter to Charles, that the kingdom of Sicily had been granted to him by the holy church, by his holiness and the venerable cardinals, as has been said above.

John of Procida having thus engaged the chief lords of Sicily, the Greek emperor, and the pope in the conspiracy, returned to Arragon, and having given, both to the king and the queen, a minute account of all his transactions, and the success attending them, it was agreed in a council, at which none were present besides the king, the queen, John of Procida, and the Greek emperor's secretary, that a fleet should be fitted out with all possible expedition, under pretence of making war upon the Saracens in Africa; that it should hover upon that coast, and be ready to sail for Sicily as soon as the conspiracy took place. We are told that Charles, hearing of the vast military preparations that were carrying on in all the ports of Arragon, sent to inquire against whom they were designed, and that being answered against the Saracens, he wished the king success, and sent him a considerable sum to forward the expedition.

In the mean time died pope Nicholas, and in his room was elected Martin IV., a Frenchman, who, from the very beginning of his pontificate, most zealously espoused the cause of Charles, restored him to the dignity of senator of Rome, and seemed to be governed entirely by his counsels; which would have disheartened the conspirators, and defeated all their measures, but for the unshaken constancy and indefatigable industry of John of Procida. For he no sooner heard of the death of Nicholas than he hastened to Sicily, to confirm the conspirators there, and settle with the chief men among them the method of carrying their design into execution. From Sicily he returned to Constantinople, and finding the emperor steady in his former resolution, he came back in great haste to Sicily, and travelling, in different disguises, all over the island, agreed with the heads of the conspiracy in all places where there were any French, that on the third day of Easter, at the ringing of the bells for vespers, or evening prayers, they should rise, and by a general massacre of all of that nation, revenge their

past grievances, and proclaim Peter of Arragon and his queen Constantia their lawful sovereigns. This barbarous design was every where executed at the time appointed, with such rage and fury, with such a lust of revenge, that no sex or age was spared. They even ripped up the bellies of the women that were with child by the French, and dashed out the brains of the unborn infants. Some were murdered in their houses, others in the streets, and some in the churches, and at the very altars, to which they had fled. In this cruel slaughter the clergy were not behind hand with the laity, nor were the friars and monks, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans, as is owned by Fazellus, who was himself a native of Sicily, and a Dominican. For they inhumanly butchered, and so did the clergy, (the foremost, generally speaking, in such bloody scenes), all their own brethren of the French nation. Thus, in the space of two hours, were the French of all ranks, conditions, and ages, to the number of eight thousand, massacred throughout the whole island. It is worthy of observation, that though this conspiracy was carried on for the space of two years in Sicily, in Arragon, at Rome, at Constantinople, and the Sicilians were almost all privy to it, yet neither Charles nor the pope, nor any of the French who were upon the spot, had ever the least intimation of it. This they all ascribe to the address and sagacity of its contriver, John of Procida. As the ringing of the bells for vespers was the signal agreed on for the conspirators to fall on the French, the conspiracy became famous all over the world, under the name of the "Sicilian Vespers."

The island being thus delivered from the French, John of Procida sent immediately, some say he went in person on board a galley, to acquaint the king of Arragon therewith, who was then on board his fleet on the coast of Africa, waiting for news from Sicily. Had the conspirators miscarried in their attempt, he was resolved to make war on the Saracens, and never own that he had been any ways concerned in such an attempt. But being informed that it had been attended with the wished-for success, he no longer concealed his design from the world, but sailed for Sicily, and landing at Trapani, proceeded from thence, attended by all the barons of that neighborhood, straight to Palermo, the metropolis of the island, and was there crowned with great solemnity by the bishop of Cephalania, the archbishop of Palermo being then absent. Great rejoicings were made all over the island, the cities, towns, and villages, resounding every where with the names of Peter of Arragon and queen Constantia. Such is the account the contemporary writers give of this famous revolution.

The archbishop of Montreale immediately

The king and all concerned in the conspiracy excommunicated by the pope. Charles besieges Messina. The king of Arragon's letter to Charles, and his answer. The two kings agree to decide their quarrel by single combat. Whether either appeared in the field.

acquainted the pope, by a letter, with the massacre of the French, and the revolt of the whole island; which Charles, who was then attending his holiness at Montefiascone, in Tuscany, was so struck with, that he could scarce utter a word. When he returned to himself he first engaged the pope to lend him all the assistance in his power, and then wrote an account of the whole to his nephew, Philip the Bold, king of France, entreating that prince to join him in revenging the inhuman massacre of so many of his brave countrymen. In the mean time the pope, at the request of Charles, thundered out most dreadful curses and anathemas against the Palermitans in particular, and all in general who should invade or any ways assist those who invaded the kingdom of Sicily, a fief of the Holy Roman Church.¹ The pope, it seems, had yet only heard of the massacre of the French, and the revolt of the Sicilians. But when he was informed that Peter of Arragon was at the bottom of the whole, that he had landed in Sicily, and had been crowned king of the island as belonging to him in right of his wife, he wrote several threatening letters to that prince, commanding him, on pain of excommunication, and the forfeiture of his own kingdom, to quit that of Sicily, to which he had no shadow of right, it having been bestowed by the apostolic see, of which it was a fief, upon a prince who had rescued it, at his own expense and the danger of his life, out of the hands of an usurper and tyrant, meaning Manfred, the father of Constantia. But Peter, paying no regard to the holy father's commands or menaces, his holiness, with great solemnity, excommunicated him by name; and all of what nation or condition soever who should join or assist him, declared him an enemy to the church, and put all his dominions under an interdict. This sentence was pronounced on the 18th of November of the present year, at the door of the church of St. Flavianus, in Monte Fiascone, in the presence of all the cardinals, of the magistrates of the place, and a multitude of people.²

In the mean time Charles, embarking at Naples on board the fleet which he had fitted out with a design to attack Constantinople, sailed to Sicily, and laid close siege to Messina. Peter, hearing of his arrival before that city, left Palermo, and advancing to Randazzo, at a small distance from Messina, wrote from thence a letter to Charles, to acquaint him that the kingdom of Sicily belonged to him in right of his wife, queen Constantia, the only surviving issue of the Swabian family; that the Roman church, the cardinals, and the late holy pope, had

yielded it to him; and he therefore commanded him immediately to depart the island, and let his new subjects enjoy undisturbed the liberty and other blessings of which he had tyrannically deprived them. To this haughty letter Charles returned a no less haughty answer, calling the king of Arragon an assassin, and a traitor to God and his holy church. The liberty both kings took in bestowing injurious names upon one another ended in a challenge, and both agreed to decide their quarrel by single combat. By the articles that were drawn up and sworn to by the two kings, they were to meet on the 1st day of June, 1283, at Bourdeaux, which then belonged to Edward, king of England, a neutral prince, and nearly related to both. They were to engage there, each being attended by an hundred knights, in the place that the king of England should judge the most proper. Most historians, who mention this combat, tell us that Charles appeared with his hundred knights, in the field of battle, at the time appointed; that he continued riding up and down the field from the rising to the setting of the sun, ordering his herald to call frequently upon the king of Arragon; and that upon his not appearing, he left Bourdeaux that very evening, proud, says an historian, of having shown himself in the field of battle, but laughed at for having lost a campaign: for it was only to gain time, as the pope observed in a letter to Charles, that the king of Arragon accepted the challenge. That prince, however, to save appearances, showed himself, according to some historians, in the field of battle the very evening Charles left the place. But others say that he never appeared, nor ever intended it, being the whole time busied in making the necessary preparations to maintain himself in the possession of his new kingdom. That such a challenge passed and was agreed to by both kings, upon certain conditions, is not to be doubted. But all that is said of Charles's appearing in the field of battle may, perhaps, be looked upon as altogether fabulous. For the pope no sooner heard of the challenge, and his accepting it, than he wrote a very sharp letter to him, reprimanding him on that account with great severity, condemned that method of deciding any dispute or controversy, as rash, desperate, and repugnant to the law of God and the church, annulled the oath he had taken to appear in the field of battle as wicked and unlawful, and commanded him, on pain of excommunication, to lay aside all thoughts of pursuing a design so criminal in itself, and so dangerous to him. At the same time he declared all excommunicated, by what dignity soever distinguished, kings themselves not excepted, who should any ways aid, countenance, or assist him in the

¹ Apud Raymund, Numb. 13.

² Idem, Num. 23. Ricordanus Malespina Hist. Flor. c. 217. Spicil. t. 2. p. 649.

The king of Arragon deprived by the pope of his kingdom. Granted to Charles de Valois, and upon what conditions. In Arragon no regard had to the sentence of the pope against the king.

execution of such a design. This letter is dated at Orvieto, the 6th of February, in the second year of Martin's pontificate, that is, in 1283,¹ near four months before the time of the combat. Now, it is highly improbable, and altogether incredible, that Charles, who depended entirely upon the protection, assistance, and favor of the pope, would, upon any consideration whatever, have incurred his displeasure, and forfeited his protection and favor. Besides, it appears from a letter written by king Edward to Charles, that Edward never consented to the fighting of the duel at Bourdeaux, as all authors suppose him to have done, but on the contrary declared that he would not suffer it to be fought in any part of his dominions, were he to gain by it the two kingdoms of Sicily and Arragon, nor any where else, were it in his power to prevent it.² Upon the whole, the truth is, that the two kings agreed to decide their quarrel by single combat at Bourdeaux; but the pope interposing, and the king of England not consenting to their fighting in his dominions, they proceeded no further; and whatever else has been said of this combat, seems to have been invented, probably, by the French historians, to paint Charles as a hero, and his rival, the king of Arragon, as a coward. "The behavior of the king of Arragon," says Mezeray, ironically, in speaking of that prince's not appearing in the field till Charles was gone, "was truly worthy of a prince upon whom his subjects have bestowed the surname of Great."³ Villani, Fazellus and Surita suppose the pope to have consented to that duel; nay, and to have excommunicated the king of Arragon for declining it, and declared him guilty of perjury in not fulfilling the conditions relating to it that he had solemnly sworn to.⁴ But the contrary is evident from the pope's letter quoted above, and related at length by Raynaldus.⁵

As the king of Arragon, far from paying any the least regard to the pope's anathemas or to the general interdict, obliged the clergy both in Sicily and Arragon to perform divine service as before, and instead of yielding up the island either to Charles or to the church, as commanded by the pope, continued to claim it as the inheritance of his wife, his holiness, not satisfied with renewing the former excommunication, deprived him, by a bull dated from Orvieto the 22d of March, 1283, of the kingdom of Arragon, as forfeited by his usurping, in contempt of the authority of the apostolic see, a kingdom which the holy Roman church alone had a right to dispose of. By the same bull the kingdom of Arragon, and the principalities of Catalonia and Valentia, were declared for-

feited to any prince that would seize them, all king Peter's subjects were absolved from their allegiance, and forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to obey him or to give him the title of king.¹ This sentence made no impression either upon the king or subjects; nay, the king made so little account of it, that he used thenceforth, by way of derision, to style himself, "Peter, a gentleman of Arragon, the father of two kings, and lord of the sea."²

The pope, having thus deprived, by his bull, the king of his dominions, left them at first a prey to any who would seize them; but he offered them soon after to Philip, king of France, for Charles de Valois his younger son, and sent cardinal Cholet into that kingdom to settle with Philip the conditions upon which his son was to hold them. These conditions are mentioned in the bull, conferring upon Charles and his descendants the kingdom of Arragon with all its appurtenances, and are as follows: I. The kingdom of Arragon shall be held by Charles de Valois, nephew by his mother to the late king Peter. II. It shall never be united to the kingdoms of France, Castile, Leon, or England, but continue a separate kingdom. III. The rights and liberties of the church shall be inviolably maintained, especially with respect to elections. IV. Neither the king of France, nor his son, nor his heirs and successors, shall enter into any treaty about the restitution of the kingdom of Arragon without the previous consent of the apostolic see. V. The new king and his successors shall swear fealty to the apostolic see, shall acknowledge themselves feudatories of the holy Roman church, and as such pay yearly five hundred lives into the apostolic chamber on St. Peter's day.³

While the pope was thus disposing of the kingdom of Arragon, the king was pursuing, with unrelenting vigor, the necessary measures to keep possession of the kingdom of Sicily. Having sent for queen Constantia, and his two sons James and Frederic, he left them as pledges with the Sicilians, and returned to Arragon to oppose, in person, the king of France and his son, should they attempt to invade that kingdom. At his departure he appointed Constantia regent, vesting in her all his authority, created John of Procida high chancellor of the kingdom of Sicily, and gave the command of the fleet quite uncontrolled to Roger de Loria, reputed the most experienced sea officer of that age. In Arragon he found all things quiet, and his subjects, notwithstanding the sentence pronounced against him at Rome, as zealously attached to him as ever, and as ready to assist him in asserting his right to the crown of Sicily. All who were able to bear arms cheerfully enlisted under his ban-

¹ Raymund, ad hunc ann.

² Rymer. Federa, Conventiones, &c. vol. 1. p. 239.

³ Mezeray Abregé Chron. tom. 3. p. 18.

⁴ Villani, l. 7. c. 86.

⁵ Ad ann. 1283. Num. 8.

¹ Apud Raynald. Num. 15.

² Villani, ubi supra.

³ Raymund. ubi supra.

Charles' fleet defeated, and his son taken prisoner. Charles dies. Martin dies;—[Year of Christ, 1285.]—
Miracles said to be wrought at his tomb.

ner, insomuch that he had, in a very short time, an army on foot to face the French, should they offer to enter the kingdom.

In the mean time Charles, going to Provence to raise new forces there, left his son Charles, prince of Salerno, at Naples to awe the inhabitants of that city, no better affected to him and his government than the Sicilians. In his absence Roger de Loria, having first defeated part of his fleet off the island of Malta, sailed from thence to the bay of Naples, where the rest of the fleet was riding at anchor, and offered them battle. The French admiral, James de Bruson, was not for accepting the challenge; but as his fleet was greatly superior in the number of galleys to the enemy's, prince Charles, sure, as he thought, of victory, offered to go on board the fleet himself, and take upon him the consequences, be what they would. The French admiral then put to sea, and a bloody engagement ensued, which, after a most obstinate combat of many hours, ended in the total defeat of the French fleet. The prince himself was taken prisoner, with the admiral and the flower of the French nobility, and few of their galleys had the good luck to escape. Loria treated the captive prince with the utmost respect, but insisted upon his sending an immediate order to the governor of Naples to set at liberty Beatrix, the sister of Constantia, who had been kept fifteen years confined in one of the castles of that city, and send her on board his galley. The order being sent and complied with, the admiral set sail for Sicily, and arriving at Palermo entered that city amidst the loud acclamations of men of all ranks, and presented to the queen her sister at liberty and the prince of Salerno her prisoner. The Sicilians were for treating prince Charles as his father had treated young Conrad, whom he had caused to be publicly beheaded. That the humane princess would not consent to; but sent him, with the other prisoners of distinction, to the king, then in Arragon. Charles received the news of the defeat and captivity of his son at Gaeta, on his return from Provence. But, notwithstanding the concern it gave him, he pursued his journey to Naples with a design to assemble all his forces at Brundisium, and transport them from thence into Sicily. But in his way from Naples to that place he was taken ill at Foggia, and, overcome with grief and fa-

tigue, died there on the 7th of January, 1284.¹ Such was the end of the first king of Sicily of the family of Anjou.

Charles being dead, and his son Charles, prince of Salerno, who was to succeed him, kept prisoner in Arragon, Gerard, cardinal of Parma, was appointed by the pope as lord paramount of the kingdom, to govern it till the prince should be set at liberty. To him was joined by Philip, king of France, his son Robert, earl of Artois; and we have a letter of the pope allowing to the earl a thousand ounces of gold a year out of the revenues of the kingdom during his administration. The letter is dated the 27th of February, in the fourth year of Martin's pontificate; that is, in the year 1285.² Martin had resolved to cause a general crusade to be preached against the king of Arragon and the Sicilians: but death prevented him from carrying that design into execution. Having celebrated mass at Perugia on Easter day, which in 1285 fell on the 25th of March, and dined with his chaplains, he was taken ill after dinner, and, though his physicians did not apprehend him to be in any danger, he died on the 29th of that month, after a pontificate of four years and six days. Most authors place his death on the 28th of the same month. But Honorius IV. his immediate successor, in the circulatory letter he wrote upon his promotion, says he was elected in the room of his holy predecessor Martin, who on the fourth of the calends of April, that is, on the 29th of March, passed from the miseries of this life to the joys of heaven.³ He died at Perugia, and desired to be buried in the habit of a Minorite, of which order he was a most zealous patron and generous benefactor. He was buried in the church of St. Lawrence at Perugia, and many miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb. The blind by his intercession recovered their sight, the deaf their hearing, and the dumb their speech. Thus the continuator of Martinus Polonus, who was at this time at Perugia, wrote but two months after the pontiff's death, and was, he says, an eye witness of what he wrote, as were many both of the clergy and the laity. He is honored in Perugia as a saint, but never has been canonized.

¹ Malaspina, Villani, Nangius, &c.

² In Registro, Num. 15. ³ Apud Raynald. Num. 17.

Honorius IV. elected. His letter to Rudolph. King of Arragon dies. His two sons excommunicated ;—[Year of Christ, 1286.] Negotiations about procuring prince Charles' liberty.

HONORIUS IV., THE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[ANDRONICUS, *Emperor of the East.*—RUDOLPH, *Emperor of the West.*]

[Year of Christ, 1285.] The cardinals having performed the exequies of the deceased pope, met on the 1st of April, to proceed to the election of a new pope, and though not shut up in the conclave, the constitution of Gregory being repealed, they, on the very next day, the 2d of that month, unanimously elected James Sabelli, cardinal deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedina. He set out, soon after his election, from Perugia to Rome, and was there first ordained priest, being only in deacon's orders, and afterwards crowned with the usual solemnity in the church of St. Peter on the 15th of April, assuming on that occasion the name of Honorius IV.¹ He was descended from the family of the Sabelli, or Savelli, one of the most illustrious in Rome, had studied in the university of Paris, was first canon of Chalons on the Marne, and after several other preferments, created cardinal by Urban IV., with six others, in 1261. He was so afflicted with the gout as to have almost entirely lost the use of his hands and feet, so that he was often obliged to celebrate mass sitting, and to use certain instruments in the celebration. That distemper was common to him with others of his family, especially his brother, named Pandulphus, of whom the Roman people entertained so high an opinion, that when they wanted to clear the city from thieves and other disturbers of the public peace, they chose him for senator, saying, it was not the hands nor the feet that governed, but the head.²

Rudolph, king of the Romans, whom Honorius had acquainted by letter, as well as the other princes, with his promotion, assured his holiness in his answer to that letter, that he was resolved to espouse the cause of the heirs of the late king of Sicily, and support them to the utmost of his power, in their just claim to that crown. As Honorius, though a native of Italy, was no less zealously attached to the family of Anjou than his predecessor, he wrote to Rudolph anew, encouraging him in that resolution, and exhorting him to acquiesce in the taxes laid by his predecessor upon all ecclesiastics in the dioceses of Liege, Metz, Verdun, and Bastle, subject to the empire, as the money accruing from thence was to be employed in the holy war against Peter of Arragon, an avowed enemy of the church,

and would be wanted but for a short time.¹ This letter is dated at Tivoli the first of August of the present year.

In the mean time a crusade being preached all over France against the king of Arragon, and a powerful army raised by that means, king Philip, taking the command of it upon himself, entered Arragon, and being met by Peter, gained, after a most obstinate combat, a complete victory over him. The king of Arragon died soon after the loss of this battle, leaving four sons, Alphonsus, James, Frederic, and Peter, and two daughters, Isabel and Violante. To Alphonsus he bequeathed the kingdom of Arragon, and that of Sicily to James, who was to succeed to both kingdoms if his elder brother left no issue male behind him. About the same time died Philip, king of France, and was succeeded by his son Philip, surnamed the Fair. The pope no sooner heard of the death of the king of Arragon, and his last will, than he issued a bull, commanding Alphonsus to release, without delay, Charles prince of Salerno, and James to quit the island of Sicily, and deliver it up to that prince as the lawful heir. As no regard was had by either of those princes to his holiness's command, he solemnly excommunicated them the following year at three different times, on Maunday Thursday, on Ascension day, and on the day of the dedication of the church of St. Peter.² This sentence extended to queen Constantia, for countenancing her son James in the usurpation of a kingdom that belonged to the apostolic see, and to all who should lend him any assistance whatever, or serve under him. The whole island was interdicted, and as he had been crowned at Palermo by the two bishops of Cefalonia and Nicastro, both prelates were summoned to appear at Rome on All-Saints day.

Charles, in the mean time, growing tired of his confinement, and finding that all the pope's endeavours to procure him his liberty proved ineffectual, had recourse to Edward, king of England; and a negotiation was begun between the ambassadors of that prince and those of king Alphonsus at Oleron in Bearn. After a few days' conferences the following articles were agreed to by the ambassadors, and approved by both kings. I. That Charles should yield the

¹ Ptol. Lucen. Continuator Martin Poloni.

² Ptol. Lucen. Platina Westmonast. &c.

¹ Apud Raynald. Num. 23.

² Raynald. ad ann. 1286.

The conditions for procuring Charles' liberty rejected by the pope. The apostolical brethren condemned. Honorius dies;—[Year of Christ, 1287.] Penance enjoined by him for the murder of a bishop.

kingdom of Sicily to James the brother of Alphonsus. II. That Charles de Valois, as well as the king of France, and his brother, should renounce all claim to the kingdom of Arragon, notwithstanding the investiture granted him by Martin IV., and should restore all the places that his father had taken. III. That Charles should pay to Alphonsus thirty thousand marks of silver, and should get the king of France to conclude a three years' truce, both with the king of Arragon and his brother the king of Sicily. IV. That Charles, before he set foot out of the borders of Arragon, should deliver up three of his sons as hostages with sixty Provensale knights, whom the king of Arragon should name: And that if all these conditions were not performed within the term of three years, he should return to his prison. To these conditions, hard as they were, Charles consented, so desirous was he of recovering his liberty; and it was at his desire and request that the king of England approved them. But when they were communicated to Honorius, he not only rejected them with the utmost indignation, but wrote to Charles in very sharp terms, reprimanding him for presuming to enter into any treaty or agreement with the enemies of the church, the anathematized Arragonians, about a kingdom that belonged to the apostolic see, without the knowledge and consent of that see. By the same letter he declared all the conditions which he had agreed, or even sworn to, void and null, and strictly enjoined him to avoid for the future entering into any negotiation or treaty whatever concerning the kingdom of Sicily without his consent.¹ This letter is dated at Rome the 4th of March, in the second year of the pontificate of Honorius, that is, in 1286.

In the same year Honorius condemned and suppressed by a constitution, addressed to all bishops, a new order of mendicants, founded by one Gerardus Segarellus, a native of Parma, who styled themselves "the order of the apostles," and "the apostolical brethren." They wandered about the world barefooted and bareheaded, wearing a long white garment tied round them with a rope, preaching repentance, and living upon charity. The doctrines they taught, or were charged with teaching, were, that neither the pope nor any body else had power over them; all the spiritual power and authority granted by Christ to his church, having been transferred to them as the only true followers of the apostles, who lived upon charity, and reserved nothing for the next day; that no pope who was not as holy as St. Peter, had power to absolve from sins; that the popes were all seducers and impostors; that none could be saved out of their society; that no tithes should be paid by the laity to the

priests, unless they were as perfect and holy as the apostles; that it was no sin for a man to indulge his lust and comply with the calls of the flesh; that churches were of no use, prayers offered in a stable or hogsty being as acceptable to God as any offered in a church, &c. These opinions Honorius condemned as heretical, impious, and repugnant to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles; and ordered those who preached them to be stripped of their habit, and treated as heretics. Nicholas IV., the immediate successor of Honorius, condemned them anew, and let loose the inquisitors against them, who burnt Segarellus, their founder, alive, and extirpated, in a very short time, the whole sect.¹

Honorius had formed a design of uniting all the Christian princes in a holy league against the two kings of Arragon and Sicily. But while he was wholly intent upon carrying it into execution, death overtook him on the very day he had resolved to excommunicate those two princes the fourth time: for he died on Maunday-Thursday, which in 1287 fell on the 3d of April, when he had governed the church, computing from the day of his election, two years and one day, having been elected on the 2d of April, 1285. The continuator of Martinus Polonus, and Ptolemy of Lucca, both contemporary writers, give him the following character. Honorius IV., say they, was a man of great temperance, wisdom, and discretion, willing to oblige all men, and loth to offend any. The latter writer adds, that he was "suis bene profectivus," which can scarce be understood in any other sense, but that he enriched and aggrandised those of his own family. He built a magnificent palace on Mount Aventin, near the church of St. Sabina, and constantly resided there during the winter season, but retired in the summer to Tivoli.

We have a remarkable diploma of this pope, dated from Rome the 21st of December, 1285, and addressed to the bishop of Cosenza and the provincial of the preaching friars, or Dominicans, in Lombardy. It was issued on the following occasion. A misunderstanding arising between the bishop of Tortona and the marquis of Montserrat, the bishop was assassinated, and as the perpetrators of that horrid murder, or, as the pope called it, execrable sacrilege, could never be detected, the marquis was supposed to have been privy to it, if he did not command it, and was therefore summoned by the pope to Rome, to clear himself from that suspicion at his tribunal. The marquis, instead of repairing to Rome in person, dispatched deputies to assure his holiness that the murder was committed utterly unknown to him; that he should spare no pains to detect the

¹ Raynald. Num. 4.

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1290; et Spondanus ad ann. 1297.

The host, how to be carried to the sick. Nicholas IV. elected;—[Year of Christ, 1288.] Espouses the cause of the family of Anjou.

assassins, and should punish them, if detected, with the utmost severity; but that, as to his appearing in person at Rome, his holiness could not, in justice, require it of him, as he must, in his way to that city, pass through the territories of his declared enemies, who would either seize him, or take advantage of his absence to invade his dominions. These excuses Honorius thought just and reasonable, but at the same time appointed the bishop of Cosenza and the provincial of the Dominicans, to inquire into the whole affair upon the spot, and if they found him guilty, and he desired to be absolved, to impose upon him the penance specified in the diploma. The penance was, that he should walk bare-footed and bare-headed, without any other garment but a Tunic, from the place where the bishop was murdered to the church of Tortona; that his posterity should, to the fourth generation, be incapable of holding any benefice in that church; that in the same church he should found an altar, and endow it with a sufficient maintenance for two priests; that he should restore all the lands, castles, and possessions, belonging to the see of Tortona; should go in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, or to St. James of Compostella, and appear, when required, at the tribunal of the apostolic see.¹ Whether the marquis owned the crime, and underwent the penance enjoined

by the pope's diploma, history has not informed us.

In the year 1287, was held a council at Wirtzburg, at which presided John, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, Honorius' legate in Germany; and among the other regulations made by that assembly, was the following. When it shall happen that the most holy body of Christ is carried out of the church to sick persons, or women, near the time of their delivery, we command a due veneration of it. Let the priest, in his surplice, with his stole about his neck, carry it, being preceded by a clerk with a taper and a little bell. They that meet the host, are to kneel while the priest passes, and say three times the Lord's prayer, and the angelic salutation, Hail Mary, &c., and such of them as are under penance at that time, should have ten days of their penance remitted. The priest who shall presume to carry the host otherwise, shall be punished at the will of his ordinary. This practice has been since greatly improved and universally received. The cardinal who presided at this council, was of the pope's own family, and the only cardinal he created. He confirmed the order of the "Hermits of St. Austin," and likewise that of the Carmelites, which had been only tolerated by the second council of Lions.

NICHOLAS IV., THE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[ANDRONICUS, *Emperor of the East.*—RUDOLPH, *Emperor of the West.*]

[Year of Christ, 1288.] As it was ordained by the constitution of Gregory X. that the cardinals should meet at the place where the deceased pope resided with his court at the time of his death, and proceed there to the election of his successor, they assembled, agreeably to that constitution, in the palace of St. Sabina, on mount Aventin, where Honorius died. But that part of the town being very unhealthy in the summer months, most of the cardinals were taken ill, and six or seven of them died, which obliged the rest to quit the place, and put off the election to a more wholesome season. Of all the cardinals, Jerom of Ascoli alone remained in the palace, causing great fires to be kept constantly burning in all the rooms to purge the air; and thus he escaped the common malady. Upon the abating of the heat the other cardinals returned, and on the 22d of February, 1288, unanimously elected the said Jerom of Ascoli, after a va-

cancy of above ten months.¹ He was come of a mean family, but entering, when yet very young, into the order of the Minorites, had distinguished himself by his learning and exemplary life. Upon the death of cardinal Bonaventura, who has since been sainted, he was elected general of the order, was created cardinal of St. Potentiana by Nicholas III., and by Martin IV. preferred to the see of Palestrina. He was thrice elected, and twice declined, under various pretences, the dignity that was offered him, obliging the cardinals to proceed to a new election. But the cardinals being all unanimous in electing him the third time, he was in the end forced to comply.² Upon his coronation he took the name of Nicholas IV., out of gratitude to Nicholas III., who had made him cardinal. He was the first pope of the Franciscan order.

Nicholas, treading in the steps of his pre-

¹ Apud Raynald. Num. 68.

² Ptol. Lucen. l. 24. c. 19.

² Wadingus ad ann. 1288. et Henric in Ann.

New treaty to procure the liberty of the prince of Salerno. He is set at liberty, and upon what terms. Is crowned by the pope king of Sicily and Apulia ;—[Year of Christ, 1289.] Peace concluded between the kings of France and Arragon ;—[Year of Christ, 1290.] Articles of peace.

decessors, undertook with great zeal the cause of Charles prince of Salerno, still kept prisoner in Arragon. Soon after his election, that is, on Maunday Thursday, which in 1288 fell on the 25th of March, he wrote monitory letters to James, king of Sicily, and to the Sicilians of his party, admonishing and exhorting them to return to the obedience of their mother the holy Roman church, lest by their obstinacy they should force him to exert all the authority of the apostolic see against them.¹ At the same time Nicholas sent the two archbishops of Ravenna and Monreale with the character of his legates, to treat with Alphonsus, king of Arragon, about the delivering of prince Charles from his captivity, and to summon the king to appear in a limited time at Rome.²

In the mean while Charles, no longer able to bear his confinement, applied anew to Edward, king of England, who, at his earnest desire, agreed to meet in person the king of Arragon, and obtain of him, if by any means he could, more reasonable terms than those of Oleron. The two kings met accordingly on the top of the Pyrenees, in the latter end of October of the present year, Charles himself being present at the interview. The king of Arragon would at first hearken to no other terms than those that had been agreed to at Oleron.³ But he was in the end prevailed upon by the king of England, whom he was unwilling to disoblige, to omit the article relating to the kingdom of Sicily, which by the former treaty Charles was to cede to James, the brother of Alphonsus. These articles being sworn to by Charles, he sent immediately for three of his sons, and leaving them, with sixty provincial knights as hostages, pursuant to the fourth article of the treaty, set out on his return to Italy. But as he was a prince of great integrity and the strictest honor, he went first to the French king's court to obtain of Charles, the king's brother, a formal renunciation of all claim to the kingdom of Arragon, and an entire restitution of all the places in Arragon that the late king, his father, had taken, as was stipulated by the second article of the treaty. He was received both by the king, Philip the Fair, and Charles his brother, with all possible marks of esteem and affection. But he could by no means prevail upon Charles, who had no dominions, to renounce his claim to the kingdom of Arragon, nor upon the king to restore, without his consent, the places his father had taken and yielded to him. The prince of Salerno therefore left that court under the utmost concern, being determined to return to the place of his captivity, if the

terms upon which he had obtained his liberty were not complied with in the time prescribed by the treaty.¹

From France prince Charles returned to Italy, after visiting his dominions in Provence; and hearing, on his arrival at Florence, that the pope was at Rieti, he repaired thither, to acquaint his holiness with the terms upon which he had obtained his liberty. Those terms the pope declared null, absolved Charles from the oath he had taken to observe them, and on the 29th of May crowned him, with great solemnity, king of Apulia and Sicily.² By the kingdom of Sicily was meant that island, and by the kingdom of Apulia the present kingdom of Naples.

The following year, 1290, the king of Arragon, no longer able to withstand the whole power of France, and being at the same time attacked by the kings of Castile and Majorca, sent a solemn embassy to Rome, to assure his holiness of the great regard he had for the apostolic see, in token whereof he was ready to put an end to the present war, and set at liberty the three captive princes upon such terms as he should judge reasonable. As the pope was wholly intent at this time upon relieving the Christians, reduced to the utmost extremity, in the East, and procuring for that purpose supplies, both in men and money, from all the Christian princes, he received the ambassadors with the greatest marks of esteem, and immediately dispatched Gerard of Parma, cardinal bishop of Sabina, and Benedict Caetan, cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano, into France, with letters to that king, and to his brother Charles de Valois, exhorting them to suspend, for a while, all hostilities, and wait the result of the negotiation which the two cardinals were ordered to set on foot. To gratify the pope, both princes consented to a six months' truce; and a congress being thereupon held by the cardinals at Tarragona, at which were present ambassadors from the kings of France, Arragon, England, Castile, and Majorca, a peace was concluded, after much debate, upon the following terms: I. That the king of Arragon should set at liberty king Charles's three sons, and with them the other hostages. II. That Charles de Valois should marry Clementia, or, as others call her, Margarite, that prince's daughter; that he should have with her the county of Anjou, and should thereupon renounce all claim to the kingdom of Arragon. III. That the king of Arragon should lend no assistance to James, his brother, the usurper of the kingdom of Sicily; but should immediately recall all the Arragonese in his service by sea or land, and induce, if by any means

¹ Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. Num. 10.

² Idem. Num. 12.

³ See p. 33.

¹ Raymund. ad ann. 1288.

² Villani, l. 7. c. 229.

Alphonsus, king of Arragon, dies;—[Year of Christ, 1292.] The peace broken by his death. The Christians driven quite out of Syria. The death of Nicholas;—[Year of Christ, 1292.]

he could, his mother Constantia as well as his brother to quit the island. To these the legates added the following articles, pursuant to the private instructions they had received from the pope: That Alphonsus should by his ambassadors beg pardon of the pope for his past disobedience; that he should pay yearly to the apostolic see thirty ounces of gold, the sum that his grandfather James had bound himself and his heirs to pay for ever, as vassals of the holy Roman church; that he should lead, in person, a body of troops into Syria, and use his utmost endeavors, as he sailed by Sicily, to persuade his mother and brother to retire from that island. These articles being agreed and sworn to by the ambassadors of the king of Arragon, the pope ordered the interdict, which his dominions had lain under ever since the year 1282, to be taken off, and the king to be re-admitted to the communion of the church.¹ At this congress Charles, king of Sicily, assisted in person, with a design to deliver himself up to the king of Arragon, if the terms of peace were not agreed to. For he chose, says Sumontius, like a prince of strict honor, rather to live and die in captivity, however irksome to him, than to forfeit his word of honor, and suffer three of his sons with so many gallant knights to atone for it.²

The peace being thus concluded, Charles returned to Italy with a design to drive James, the brother of Alphonsus, out of Sicily, and reunite that island to the kingdom of Apulia. This he apprehended to be no difficult undertaking, as he had gained by the mildness of his government the affections of all his subjects on the continent, and the Genoese had promised to assist him with sixty galleys, while the king of Arragon was by the late treaty to recall all his subjects in his brother's service. But in the mean time Alphonsus died on the 14th of June of the following year, 1291, and upon his death, as he left no issue behind him, the kingdom of Arragon devolved to James; and he set out accordingly, upon the first news of his brother's death, to take possession of his new kingdom, leaving his younger brother Frederic to govern the island in his absence. The pope, hearing of the death of Alphonsus, despatched immediately messengers to the new king, requiring him to sign the articles agreed to by the late king his brother. But the king returned answer, that he had succeeded to the kingdom of Arragon as the son of king Peter, not as the brother of Alphonsus, and did not therefore think himself bound to fulfil any of the conditions, to which his brother had agreed without his consent, or even his knowledge, giving up a kingdom to which he had an

incontestable title, and his heirs still have, notwithstanding his extorted renunciation. Nicholas, finding that no regard was paid by the king to his repeated monitories, solemnly excommunicated him, and all the Sicilians who adhered to him, first on Maunday-Thursday, again on Ascension-day, and a third time on the day of the dedication of St. Peter's church.¹

The affairs of Sicily did not divert the pope from exerting his utmost endeavors to relieve the Christians, reduced to a most deplorable condition in the East. The city of Tripoli being taken by the Sultan of Babylon in 1289, and the inhabitants either put to the sword or carried into captivity, Nicholas raised at his own expense two thousand foot and five hundred horse, and hired twenty galleys of the Venetians to transport them into the East. In 1291 the Sultan of Egypt took by storm the city of Ptolemais, levelled it with the ground, and cruelly massacred all the Christians that fell into his hands, which so alarmed the inhabitants of Tyre, of Sidon, and of all the other cities in Syria, that leaving them a prey to the enemy, they transported themselves to the island of Cyprus. Thus was the Holy Land irrecoverably lost, nothing being now left to the Christians in the East, after such an immense waste of treasure and Christian blood, but the island of Cyprus, and the Lesser Armenia. Nicholas left nothing in his power unattempted to repair these losses, and set on foot a general crusade. Not satisfied with writing most pressing letters, and sending legates and nuncios to all the Western princes, he applied to Andronicus, emperor of Constantinople, to John Comenus, emperor of Trapezond, to Argon, king of the Tartars, and to the kings of Iberia, Armenia, and Georgia, exhorting them to join in a cause that was common to them all, as it was not to be doubted but the Saracens, should they no longer have the Western Christians to contend with, would fall upon them.² But his holiness's endeavors proved all unsuccessful. Edward, king of England, alone took the cross; Philip the Fair, king of France, and his brother Charles de Valois, being engaged in war with James, the new king of Arragon, for refusing to ratify the conditions of the peace that his brother had agreed to. As for the emperor Rudolph, he died this very year, 1292, at Gernersheim, near Spire, and Adolph earl of Nassau, who was elected the same year in his room, showed no inclination to engage in so dangerous an enterprise.

Nicholas was so affected with the loss of the Holy Land, and the difficulties he met with in uniting the Christian princes in a league to recover it, that it occasioned, in a

¹ Raymund. ad ann. 1290, 1291.

² Sumontius Hist. Neapol. l. 3. c. 2.

¹ Nicolai Epist. 78, et seq.

² Idem. Ep. 66, et seq.

Long vacancy. Celestine elected;—[Year of Christ, 1294.] His life before his promotion.

great measure, his death, which happened on the 4th of April, 1292. He is commended by the contemporary writers for his humility, good nature, and contempt of all worldly grandeur. As he was a man of great learning himself, he encouraged it in others, employing and rewarding with uncommon generosity such as excelled in any branch of literature whatever, more especially in the civil or the canon law. He erected the city of Montpelier into an university, and likewise the cities of Lisbon and Grajacum, which some will have to be Gratz in Stíria, and others Gray in Burgundy. He is said to have issued a constitution, ordering all the revenues of the Roman church to be divided into two equal shares, the one for the pope, and the other to be equally divided among the cardinals.¹ He adorned Rome with several stately buildings, widened the streets, built several

new churches at a great expense, and repaired others, especially the Lateran and that of St. Mary the Greater. He was buried in the latter, and his body being found in 1573, while they were repairing the choir, cardinal Peretti of Montalto, afterwards pope under the name of Sixtus V. caused a magnificent mausoleum to be erected over it with an inscription recording his virtues; and among the many praises bestowed, not undeservedly, upon him, it is said that men of probity and men of learning were his only relations. He was not therein imitated by cardinal Montalto, when raised to the papacy. Besides the letters which I have had occasion to mention, he wrote a comment upon some books of the scripture, an explanation of some obscure passages in the master of sentences, and several sermons. But none of his theological works have reached our times.

CELESTINE V., THE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-NINTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[ANDRONICUS, *Emperor of the East*.—ADOLPH OF NASSAU, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ 1294.] The death of Nicholas was followed by a vacancy of two years three months and one day. The cardinals, though no more than twelve, could not agree, either with respect to the place where the election was to be made, or to the person whom they should elect. They met first in the palace which the deceased pope had built near St. Mary the Greater, and in which he died; but in a few days adjourned from thence to the palace built by Honorius IV. near St. Sabina on mount Aventine, and soon after to the palace named Minerva. They continued there without coming to any agreement till the month of June, when the violent heat and an epidemical distemper that began to rage obliged them to separate. Some retired to one place, some to another, and three only remained at Rome: these, as soon as the heat and the raging distemper began to abate, wrote to the other cardinals to come to Rome, and proceed to the election without further delay, else they would elect, after so long a vacancy, a new pope without them. As the other cardinals cared not to return to Rome, that city being then in the utmost confusion, and murders committed daily on occasion of the election of a new senator, it was agreed that they should all meet at Perugia on St. Luke's day, the 18th of October 1293, the see having been already vacant ever since the 4th of April

1292. They met at the time and place appointed, but still continued divided as before into two opposite parties; the one headed by cardinal Ursini, the other by cardinal Colonna. Cardinal Ursini and his party were for electing one known to be in the interest of Charles, king of Sicily, to whom that family owed great obligations: but they were therein strongly opposed by cardinal Colonna, to whose family Charles was thought to be less favorable. When they had passed several months, meeting daily only to quarrel and dispute, cardinal Latinus, bishop of Ostia, happened one day to mention an hermit, with whom he said he was well acquainted, and whom he looked upon as a man of extraordinary sanctity, and gave them an account of his life, of the austerities he practised, and the many supernatural gifts he was said to have received from heaven. When cardinal Latinus had done speaking, "Why should not we elect so holy a man?" said another cardinal: "Let us put an end to our divisions and elect him." This motion was first seconded by cardinal Latinus as inspired by heaven, and after him by all the other cardinals. And thus was that poor hermit raised, quite unknown to him, to the pontifical dignity.¹ This extraordinary election happened on the 5th of July 1294.

The hermit's name was Peter, and he is

¹ Raymund. ad ann. 1289.

¹ Villani, l. 7. c. 150. Ptol. Luc. l. 24. c. 20.

Celestine declines the pontificate. Is prevailed upon to comply. Makes his public entry into Aquila. Is consecrated and crowned.

commonly called Peter de Murrhone, from the name of the mountain, now Magella, about two miles from Sulmona in the Farther Abruzzo, where he led a most austere life in a grot, retired from and an entire stranger to the world. He was come of an obscure family in the diocese of Isernia in Apulia; but his parents were both remarkable for their piety, and, though in very different circumstances, had brought up with great care their numerous family. They had twelve sons, and as Peter, who was the eleventh, showed from his tender years a great desire to enter into the church, his mother after her husband's death gave him, though she could scarce afford it, a liberal education, and he was in process of time ordained priest. He took himself very early to a solitary life, and having often shifted the place of his retirement to avoid the concourse of people flocking to him, he settled at last in a cave on the most inaccessible part of the mountain Murrho or Magella: there he lived chiefly upon bread and water, regaling himself only on Sundays and other festivals with a few roots or herbs, lay on the bare ground, wore constantly a hair-cloth next to his skin, and practised all the austerities he had read of in the lives of the ancient anchorites.¹

The cardinals having unanimously elected him in the manner we have seen, dispatched the archbishop of Lions, with two bishops and two notaries of the apostolic see, to acquaint him with his election. These arriving at Sulmona took guides to conduct them to the hermit's cave, and having with much ado reached it, presented to him, on their knees, the decree of his election signed by all the cardinals. The good hermit at first looked upon the whole as a dream: but upon their telling him who they were, and giving him a minute account of the manner of his election, which they ascribed to an inspiration from heaven, he threw himself at their feet, and pleading his want of experience and total ignorance of all worldly affairs, begged with many tears they would not expose in him the apostolic see to contempt and derision. But finding his excuses and remonstrances proved all ineffectual, he attempted to make his escape, but was stopped by the people, who, hearing of his election, had flocked from all parts to his cave.²

In the mean time Charles, king of Apulia, overjoyed to hear that a subject of his was raised to the pontifical dignity, flew to his cave with his eldest son, Charles Martel, who in the late pontificate had been crowned king of Hungary by right of his wife, the only child of the deceased king Ladislaus. These two princes with great difficulty prevailed upon the hermit to quit his cave, and come

down with them to the monastery of the Holy Ghost at the foot of the mountain; and there they remained with him without being able to make him acquiesce in the decree of his election, till the arrival of cardinal Latinus. That cardinal, by representing to him, jointly with them, the many evils that would unavoidably attend a longer vacancy, and for which he would be called to a strict account on the last day, persuaded him in the end to accept the decree, which he did in the following words; "I submit, and thinking it is the will of God that I should, I accept the decree." As the cardinals had invited him, when they sent him the decree of his election, to Perugia, the place where he had been elected, and where they all waited for him to attend him to Rome, he desired them, in his answer to their letter, to come rather to him, as he was far advanced in years, and quite unable to perform so long a journey, especially in the heat of the summer. He was diverted, say the contemporary writers, from undertaking that journey by Charles, king of Apulia, who wanted to keep him in his own dominions.³

From the monastery of the Holy Ghost he removed, at the request of the two kings, to the neighboring city of Aquila; and into that city he made his public entry upon an ass, in spite of all the two princes could do, or say, to divert him from it. They both attended him, however, on foot, holding his stirrup, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, in the sight, says Ptolemy of Lucca, of at least two hundred thousand spectators, of whom he was one. This humility, or contempt of all human grandeur, was looked upon by the cardinals, says Petrus de Alliaco, as an indignity offered to the majesty of the high pontiff. But heaven approved it with a miracle: for a poor man, who had a son lame of both his feet ever since his birth, not being able to open himself a way through the crowd with his son in his arms, to present him to the holy pontiff, he put him upon the ass his holiness had rid, and that instant the child recovered and retained the use of his limbs to the day of his death. Thus that writer;² and the same miracle is related by Matthew of Westminster; but no notice is taken of it by Ptolemy of Lucca, who was upon the spot.

The cardinals being all arrived at Aquila, the king having taken upon him to defray the expenses of their journey, and to entertain them during their stay there, the new pope was consecrated with the usual solemnity by Hugh cardinal bishop of Ostia and Veletri, and crowned by cardinal Matthew Ursini; and on that occasion he took the name of Celestine V. Both ceremonies were performed in the church of the Bene-

¹ Bolland. tom. 15. p. 505.

² Ptol. Luc. *ibid.* Jordanus Continuator Martini Pont. Petrarcha de Vit. Solitaria, l. 2. c. 18.

³ Ptol. Luc. *ubi supra.*

² De Alliaco Vit. Celestin. l. 2. c. 11.

³ West. ad ann. 1291.

Celestine makes a promotion of cardinals. Renews the constitution of Gregory X. concerning the conclave. Mediates a peace between the kings of Sicily and Arragon without success. Offends the cardinals. They agree to accept his resignation.

dictines, without the walls of Aquila, on the 20th of August of the present year, 1294; and the pope made his second entry into that city in all his pontifical ornaments, mounted on a white horse, and attended by two kings, by all the cardinals, and an immense crowd of people, and dined in public, according to custom, with the cardinals.¹

Celestine, soon after his consecration, and while he was yet at Aquila, made a promotion of cardinals, creating twelve at once. As of these twelve seven were Frenchmen, and three of the five Italians the subjects of king Charles, and most of the French were persons utterly unknown, not only to the pope, who had lived out of the world, but to the old cardinals, they concluded the pope to be entirely governed by that prince, and therefore jointly pressed him to quit his dominions, and, as bishop of Rome, to reside in that city, or, at least, in some place within his own dominions, where the ambassadors of princes who might be at variance with Charles, could have free access to him. But Celestine, instead of hearkening to them, suffered himself to be persuaded by the king to remove to Naples, where he himself resided: but before he left the city of Aquila, he renewed and confirmed the famous constitution of Gregory X., concerning the conclave, by a bull dated at Aquila, the 22d of September. This bull he issued, in opposition to all the cardinals, at the desire, as was supposed, of the king, who had loudly complained of the late long vacancy, and quarrelled with the cardinals about it. The same constitution he afterwards confirmed by two other bulls, the one dated at St. Germano, the 27th of October, and the other at Naples, the 10th of December. By the first of these bulls or constitutions he absolved Charles from the oath the cardinals had exacted of him, not to shut them up in the conclave in case the pope died in his dominions, but suffer them to depart unmolested; and by the other he ordered the constitution of Gregory to be strictly observed, whether the see was "vacant by the death or the voluntary resignation of the pope,"² for that bull was issued but a few days before his resignation.

Celestine undertook, as soon as consecrated, to mediate a peace between Charles, and James king of Arragon; and the terms he proposed were, that James should not only renounce all claim to the kingdom of Sicily, but should join Charles against the Sicilians, and pursue the war till they submitted to their lawful sovereign; and that Charles de Valois should then, but not till then, give up his claim to the kingdom of Arragon, and restore all the places held by that crown at the beginning of the war. As the king of

Arragon could not be brought to agree to these terms, dictated, no doubt, by Charles himself, the pope, in order to enable that prince to put a speedy end to that war, and turn his arms against the victorious Saracens, granted him the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices for the space of four years in France, and one year in England. The diploma containing this grant is dated at Aquila, the 2d of October.¹

The renewing and confirming, in its utmost rigor, the constitution of Gregory X., had greatly exasperated the Cardinals; and being still more provoked at his suffering himself to be entirely governed by the king; at his disposing of all ecclesiastical preferments without consulting them, nay, and to persons utterly unknown to him as well as to them; at his leading the same life, and practising the same austerities, as he had done before, and leaving the government of the church to persons no better qualified to govern it than himself; they began to consult among themselves about complying with the desire he had often expressed, of returning to his hermitage; and it was agreed, that should he offer to resign, his resignation should be accepted. Hereupon cardinal Caietan or Cajetan, a man of great craft, who aspired himself at the papacy, entering upon the subject in a private conversation with Celestine, represented to him the deplorable state of the church, which, he said, wanted a pope of great experience, knowledge, and address, at so critical a juncture as the present, when secular princes were usurping her dominions and encroaching upon her rights and liberties. The pope, hearkening with great attention to what he said, and suspecting no deceit, answered with great simplicity, "if you wanted such a pope, why did you elect me, whom you knew, and could not but know, to be entirely destitute of all experience in the affairs of the world, as I had spent my life out of it? However this mistake of yours I am very ready to correct, shall with unspeakable pleasure lay down my dignity, and return to the desert, provided the cardinals consent to it."² Some writers tell us, that by night the cardinal advised the pope with a feigned voice, through a small pipe, as if it came from heaven, to resign the pontificate, if he desired to be saved. But as no notice is taken of this device by any of the more ancient and contemporary writers, and besides there was no occasion for it, the pope wishing, above all things, for leave to abdicate, it is deservedly looked upon by Spondanus, and after him by father Pagi, as a mere fable, invented by that cardinal's enemies, to expose him after his promotion to the pontificate.

¹ Raymund. ad ann. 1294. Num. 14. et Cardinal Caietan. l. 3. c. 2.

² Raymund. ubi supra.

¹ Raymund. ubi supra.

² Ptol. Luc. l. 24. c. 33.

Charles, king of Apulia, strives in vain to divert him from resigning. Makes a formal resignation. Boniface VIII. elected. His family, character, &c.

In the mean time king Charles, hearing that the pope had determined to abdicate, and the cardinals had agreed to accept his abdication, left nothing in his power unattempted with the cardinals and the pope himself, to prevent the execution of so unprecedented a design. At his instigation the people of Naples, rising in a tumultuous manner and threatening the cardinals, publicly declared, that they would acknowledge no other pope so long as Celestine lived; and by many it was urged, that a pope could not resign. But that difficulty cardinal Caietan undertook to remove; and applying to the pope, not only persuaded him that a pope could resign, but prevailed on him to issue a constitution empowering a pope to abdicate, and the cardinals to accept his abdication. That constitution has been since inserted into the decretals.¹ Celestine, being now determined to lay down the pontifical office, and return to his desert, assembled the cardinals, and with their approbation issued a constitution confirming a religious order that he had founded under the name of "the Congregation of St. Damian." That order still subsists, and from the name of its founder is called the Order of Celestines. In the next place the pope, opening a paper which he held in his hand, and commanding the cardinals not to interrupt him, read it aloud. It contained a formal renunciation of the papal dignity in the following terms: "I, Celestine, the fifth pope of that name, being moved by lawful causes, by motives of humility, by the desire of leading a more perfect life, by my great age, my infirmities, my want of experience, and ignorance of

all worldly affairs, and wanting to enjoy the comforts and sweets that I found in retirement, do hereby freely and of my own accord renounce the papacy, and with it the dignity, the burden, and honor, giving, from this instant, full power to the sacred college of cardinals to elect, according to the canons, a pastor for the church universal." When he had done, he immediately divested himself of the pontifical ornaments, and resuming his former habit, that of a monk, he sat down at the feet of the cardinals. They accepted his renunciation; and he thereupon returned full of joy to his solitude, after a pontificate, reckoning from the day of his election, of five months and eight days. For he was elected on the 5th of July, and abdicated on the 13th of December of the same year, 1294. He certainly meant well, but being a man of great simplicity, and an entire stranger to the world, he suffered himself to be misled by those who meant not so well as he. He was an enemy to all human grandeur, and had, on several occasions, expressed a great dislike to it in the cardinals, which induced them, being apprehensive of a reformation, the more readily to consent to his resignation. He would have shone in the chair in the primitive times; but in these later ages, when the knowledge of worldly affairs, craft, and address became more necessary qualifications in a pope than piety and virtue, he was certainly unfit for that charge. He returned to his hermitage, but was scarce suffered to taste the comforts which he had formerly enjoyed there, as I shall have occasion to relate in the following pontificate.

BONIFACE VIII., THE HUNDRED AND NINETIETH BISHOP OF ROME.

[ANDRONICUS, *Emperor of the East*.—ADOLPH OF NASSAU, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1294.] As Celestine had revived the constitution of Gregory X. concerning the conclave, the cardinals, ten days after that pope's resignation, shut themselves up in the Castle Nuovo, at Naples, where he resigned; that is, on the 23d of December, and the very next day elected, with one voice, Benedict Caietan, cardinal presbyter of St. Martin, who took the name of Boniface, and is commonly called Boniface VIII., though the VIIth of that name was an anti-pope. He was a native of Anagni, sprung from the noble and illustrious family of the Caietani, the son of Luithred, by the niece of Alexander IV. He was created cardinal deacon by

Martin IV., and by Nicholas IV. cardinal presbyter. He had been employed by both these popes in several legations, and had acquitted himself in them all with great reputation, being a man of great address, of an uncommon penetration, and thoroughly acquainted with the different interests of princes. He was a man, says St. Antonine, of great prudence, courage, and learning, and a most zealous asserter of the rights of the church.¹ Jordanus, who lived at this time, speaks of him as a man of great parts, knowledge, and experience; but one who, being elated therewith, despised the rest of mankind;² and Ciaconius taxes him with

¹ Cap. de Renun. in 6.

¹ Antonin. tit. 20. c. 8.

² Apud Ray, ad ann. 1294.

Boniface owed his promotion to Charles, king of Apulia. Is consecrated and crowned at Rome;—[Year of Christ, 1295.] His circulatory letter. How Celestine was treated by him.

want of probity, with craft, arrogance, and an ambition as boundless as his avarice.¹

As Charles, king of Apulia, had, by his complaisance and generosity, gained the affections of all the cardinals, cardinal Cajetan, sensible that his recommendation would carry great weight with it, went privately in the night, to wait upon him, and beg his interest, though he had quarrelled with him but a few months before. On occasion of that nocturnal visit he engaged to employ the whole power and wealth of the church against his enemies in Sicily, till he had recovered the whole island. Charles, taken with that bait, went in person, and warmly recommending him to every cardinal in particular, obtained a promise of their voting for none but him. And thus was Boniface VIII. unanimously elected, not one offering to vote for any other, or so much as to name any other.²

Boniface, thus elected, left Naples, a few days after his election, that is, on the 2d of January 1295, and set out for Rome, accompanied by king Charles, and his son, Charles Martel, king of Hungary. He was received at Anagni, his native city, with dances and all other marks of public joy used in those days, and met, on his arrival at the Lateran, by all the Roman nobility, clergy, and people, and complimented by them with the senatorial dignity, which he readily accepted. From the Lateran he went to St. Peter's, and was there consecrated and crowned on the 23d of January, which in 1295 fell on a Sunday. From St. Peter's he returned in procession to the Lateran, to be enthroned there, according to custom, with the usual ceremonies. The procession, as described in verse by cardinal James Cajetan, was the most magnificent that had ever yet been seen in Rome. The pope was mounted on a white horse, richly caparisoned, with the crown on his head, the king of Apulia holding the bridle on his right hand, and the king of Hungary on his left, both on foot. The Roman nobility and the clergy attended the procession in a body; and such was the concourse of people craving, on their knees, the pope's blessing, that they scarce could proceed.³ But in the height of the procession the sky was all at once overcast, day turned into night, and so violent a wind arose that not one lamp or taper was left burning in the church. This was by most people looked upon as a bad omen, and it greatly damped the public joy. When the ceremony of the enthronation was over, the people quarrelled among themselves as the pope came out of the church, crowding, perhaps, to see him, and forty were killed upon the spot. This too was interpreted as portending to Boniface an un-

happy pontificate.¹ On his return from church he dined in public, the two kings waiting upon him behind his chair.

As many questioned the validity of Celestine's resignation, maintaining that a pope could not resign, Boniface, the very day after his consecration, that is, on the 24th of January, took care to acquaint the world by a circulatory letter, with the motives that had induced Celestine to resign, and the cardinals to accept his resignation, namely, his want of experience, his total ignorance of all worldly affairs, and his love of solitude. He then informed them of his own promotion, which, he said, he had been forced by the cardinals, much against his will, to consent to.²

The new pope, apprehending that, as the renunciation of Celestine was by many looked upon as null, he might be persuaded to resume the pontificate, instead of complying with his earnest request, and granting him leave to continue in his solitude, whither he had retired upon his abdication, ordered him to be seized, and carried with him to Rome. But he had the good luck to escape from his guards, and conceal himself in a wood, inhabited by other hermits, in Apulia. He had not been long there when Boniface, hearing of him, sent messengers to apprehend him, and bring him to Rome. Of this Celestine had timely notice from his friends about the pope, and thereupon hastening to the sea-shore embarked in a small vessel with a design to pass over into Dalmatia, and lead there, among those rugged mountains, a solitary life quite undisturbed. But, being forced back by contrary winds, he was arrested by the governor of Japigia, now Capitanata, a province of the present kingdom of Naples, who knew him, and kept him closely confined till he received orders from the pope and the king, who was then at Rome, how to dispose of him. Upon that intelligence Boniface immediately applied to the king, and prevailed upon him to despatch a messenger to the governor, which he did, not without some reluctance, commanding him to send his prisoner, well guarded, to Anagni, about one hundred and sixty miles distant from Vieste, the place where he had landed. As the people entertained the highest opinion of his sanctity, they crowded in all the places through which he passed to see him and ask his blessing, plucking off the hair of the ass on which he rode, and keeping them as precious relics. Many advised him to resume his former dignity, which they said he could not renounce. But to all he returned the same answer, that he had resigned voluntarily, and far from repenting what he had done, he rejoiced in it, and would, whatever became of him, to his last breath. Being

¹ Ciacon. in ejus Vit.

² Ptol. Lucens. Vill. l. 8. c. 6. Antonin. ubi supra.

³ Cardinal Cajetan. l. 1. c. 2.

¹ Wading. ad ann. 1294. Num. 8.

² Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1295. Num. 7.

Death of Celestine. Boniface mediates a peace between the kings of Arragon and Sicily. The terms of peace rejected by the Sicilians. Frederic of Arragon crowned king of Sicily;—[Year of Christ, 1296.]

presented to Boniface, he prostrated himself before him, begging, with many tears, that he would allow him to enjoy unmolested the comforts of a solitary life, since it was with that view alone he had left the chair vacant for him. Boniface answered him in very rough and threatening terms; "*terribilibus verbis*," says cardinal de Alliaco, and kept him for some time closely confined in a room of his own palace at Anagni. When Boniface left that place, the unhappy Celestine was conveyed by his order to the castle of Fumone, and there shut up in so narrow a cell, that where his feet stood, says the above-mentioned cardinal, when he said mass, there his head lay when he slept. He was guarded night and day by six knights and thirty soldiers, who suffered nobody to come near him. This barbarous treatment he bore with the greatest resignation, and was never heard to utter the least complaint. Thus cardinal de Alliaco, in his life of Celestine.¹ But cardinal James Cajetan, in his preface to the poem he wrote upon the election of Celestine, tells us, that Boniface treated him with great humanity; that the religious of his own order had free access to him; that no insult was offered to him by his guards or others; and that he was allowed to lead the same life in the tower, where he was confined, as he had done before in his cell. Be that as it may, Celestine died in the place of his confinement, on the 19th of May 1296, and was buried in the church of his own order at Ferentino, not far from Fumone in Campania. He was canonized by Clement V., in 1313, that is, seventeen years after his death; and his body was soon after translated from Ferentino to the church of Aquila, where he had been consecrated, and there it is honoured to this day.

As the war between James, king of Arragon, and Charles II. surnamed the Lame, king of Sicily, was still carried on about the sovereignty of that island, Boniface soon after his consecration wrote to both princes, to offer them his mediation, and desire them to send ambassadors to Rome to treat of a peace, assuring them that he would divest himself of all passion or prejudice, and propose no terms but such as should be equally honorable to both. The proposal was agreed to by the two kings, ambassadors were sent, and in a few conferences a peace was concluded, after so long a war, upon the following terms: I. That the king of Arragon should deliver up the kingdom of Sicily to Charles, with all the places, forts, and castles in his possession on the continent of Italy. II. That the king of Arragon should marry Blanch, king Charles's daughter, and have a hundred thousand marks of silver with her for a portion. III. That Charles de Va-

lois should renounce all claim to the kingdom of Arragon. IV. That those who had served either party should have a full indemnity as to their estates as well as their persons. V. That if the Sicilians refused to submit, the king of Arragon should assist Charles in reducing them. Lastly, That the interdict, laid upon the kingdom of Arragon, should be taken off, and all the subjects of that prince be absolved from the censures they had incurred.¹

When news of this peace was brought to Sicily, the Sicilians, provoked beyond measure at their being thus forsaken by the king of Arragon, declared one and all, that, what fate soever might attend them, they were determined not to submit to the French, whom they had so exasperated, and whose cruelty they had experienced, when they had not yet given them the least provocation. The king of Arragon had left his brother, prince Frederic, governor of Sicily, when he went, upon the death of his father, to take possession of his hereditary kingdom, and the young prince had, on all occasions, distinguished himself no less by his courage in carrying on the war, than by his prudence in governing the state. To him therefore the Sicilians applied, offering him the crown that his brother had resigned, and had, they said, rewarded their attachment to his family by abandoning them to the mercy of their incensed enemies. Frederic, to proceed with the necessary precaution in so important an affair, called a general assembly of all the barons of the kingdom, as well as of the deputies of the cities, and finding them all determined, upon the articles of the peace being communicated to them, to renounce their allegiance to his brother, and acknowledge him for their lawful sovereign, he accepted the offer; saying, that he took not the crown from his brother, but from Charles of Anjou; and was crowned at Palermo, with great solemnity, on Easter-day, which in the present year, 1296, fell on the 25th of March.²

Boniface had looked upon the affairs of Sicily as, at last, entirely settled. But when, to his great surprise, he heard of the coronation of Frederic, he immediately dispatched two nuncios, the one to Frederic, the other to the people of Sicily in general, requiring them, in the name of his holiness and the holy Roman church, to acquiesce in the terms of peace that had been lately agreed to, and deliver up the island to its lawful owner. But the nuncios were both stopped at Messina, where they landed, and even threatened with death if they did not quit the island. Boniface, provoked beyond measure at the reception his nuncios had met with, declared the coronation of Frederic a sacri-

¹ Mariana, l. 14. c. 17. Fazellus, l. 2. Decad. 3. c. 2. Jordans apud Raymund. ad ann. 1295.

² Apud Raynald. Num. 10.

¹ Vit. Celestine. l. 2. c. 3.

The pope forms an alliance against Frederic;—[Year of Christ, 1297.] He persecutes, with great cruelty, the Colonna family. Mediates a peace between the kings of England and France.

legious usurpation, forbid him, on pain of excommunication, to assume the title of king, or any ways to concern himself with the government of the island, and at the same time thundered out the sentence of excommunication against all who should be any ways aiding or assisting to him in his unjust usurpation. But the Sicilians, paying no regard to his holiness's repeated anathemas, nay, on the contrary, declaring all enemies and traitors to their country who did not acknowledge Frederic for their lawful sovereign, Boniface invited both kings to Rome, James of Arragon and Charles of Sicily, in order to deliberate with them about the most effectual means of bringing the Sicilians back to the obedience of the church, and obliging them to renounce the allegiance they had sworn, in contempt of the apostolic see, to an usurper. Both princes repaired to Rome, in compliance with the pope's invitation; and the king of Arragon engaging not only to recall all his subjects in the service of his brother, but to assist Charles with a powerful fleet, he was thereupon created by the pope high admiral of all the fleets to be employed against the enemies of the Christian name, and standard-bearer of the church. To engage that prince still more in the interest of Charles, he proposed a marriage between Yolanda, king James's sister, and Robert, king Charles's eldest son, Charles Martel, king of Hungary, being then dead. This marriage was agreed to upon the terms proposed by the pope, and the nuptials being celebrated with the utmost magnificence in Rome, Boniface presented king James the day after with the two kingdoms of Corsica and Sardinia, then held by the Pisans and the Genoese, but of right belonging, as he pretended, to the apostolic see. The king of Arragon, thus loaded with honors, and enriched with new dominions, which, however, he was to conquer, returned to his own kingdom, in order to equip a fleet and raise an army to be employed against his brother.¹

The affairs of Sicily being thus settled, Boniface bent his thoughts wholly upon humbling the Colonna family, at that time, as it is still, one of the most illustrious and powerful families in Rome. Of that family there were at this time two cardinals, James, cardinal of St. Mary in Via Lata, and Peter, his nephew, cardinal of St. Eustachius, and both had strenuously opposed the resignation of Celestine and election of Boniface; nay, they publicly maintained that a pope could not resign, and consequently, that the election of Boniface was in itself null. Boniface therefore summoned them to appear at his tribunal, and upon their refusing to comply with the summons, and declaring that

as he was not lawful pope, he could have no authority over them, he not only degraded them, but declared them incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice whatever. This decree is dated at Rome the 20th of May; and on Ascension day, the 23d of the same month, he declared the whole family infamous, excluded them and their posterity, to the latest generation, from all ecclesiastical dignities and offices, confiscated their estates, and pronounced all excommunicated who should presume to countenance, protect, or assist them. The furious pope did not stop here, but ordered a crusade to be preached against them and their friends, with the same indulgences as were granted to those who fought against the infidels, caused all their houses in Rome to be pulled down, and the castles they held in the neighborhood of that city to be levelled with the ground. Thus the whole family, not thinking themselves safe any where in Italy, were obliged to seek for shelter in foreign countries. Stephen Colonna fled to the court of Philip the Fair, king of France, who received and entertained him suitably to his rank, though Boniface had writ both to that prince and to Edward, king of England, desiring them not to admit any of that rebel family into their dominions. Sciarra Colonna, Stephen's brother, being taken in his flight by some pirates of Marseilles, chose rather to undergo all the hardships of a galley slave than let them know who he was, lest they should sell him to the pope. But being some time after accidentally known, the king thinking his holiness carried his revenge too far, ransomed him, and entertained him at his court.¹ Sciarra afterwards fully revenged all the injuries done to his family by the pope, as we shall see in the sequel.

As a bloody war was at this time carried on by Philip king of France, and Edward king of England, Boniface, in the beginning of the present year sent Nicholas Bocasinus, general of the Dominicans, and John Minius, general of the Minorites, with the character of his nuncios, to offer his mediation, and persuade the princes at war, and their allies, to send ambassadors to Rome, with full powers to conclude a peace, upon such terms as should be judged reasonable by his holiness, and be agreed to by their respective ambassadors. The nuncios had the attention to declare, that the pope did not intend to interpose as a judge, but only as a mediator and common friend to both, and that with no other view but to prevent the effusion of more Christian blood. The offered mediation being thereupon accepted by both princes, ambassadors were sent by both to Rome, and in the mean time a two

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1297. Villani, l. 8. c. 18. Surita. Annal. l. 3. c. 17.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1297; et Vit. Bonif. apud Papebroc.

Boniface's arbitrary sentence :—[Year of Christ, 1298.]
[Year of Christ, 1299.]

Orders the city of Præneste to be entirely destroyed;
The jubilee, when instituted.

years' truce was concluded and sworn to by the two kings as well as their allies. The ambassadors on their arrival at Rome had frequent conferences; but as they came to no agreement, Boniface, acting no longer as mediator, but as judge, issued a decree without consulting the ambassadors, or so much as acquainting them with it, establishing a peace upon the following terms:—I. That Edward king of England, should marry Margaret king Philip's sister, and Edward's son Isabel, Philip's daughter. II. That both princes should evacuate all the places they had taken, till the apostolic see had determined which should be kept and which restored. III. That Philip should forgive Guido, earl of Flanders, who had joined Edward against him, and restore to him all the places he had taken during the war, together with his daughter, who had been left with him as a hostage before the breaking out of the war. The decree containing these arbitrary terms of peace was issued by Boniface on the 28th of June 1298. But Philip, highly provoked at the pope's prescribing terms to him, declared he would, for that reason alone, pursue the war as soon as the truce expired which he had sworn to observe.¹ Meyerus adds that Robert, earl of Artois, provoked beyond measure at the pope's arbitrary proceeding, especially at his partiality to the earl of Flanders, who had made war upon the king without the least provocation, snatched the paper containing those articles out of the hands of the bishop of Durham, who was to impart them to both kings, while he was reading it to Philip, and tearing it in pieces with his teeth, threw it into the fire.²

Boniface not thinking himself yet sufficiently revenged upon the Colonna family, and being besides provoked at their representing him, in the different countries to which they fled, as a monster of wickedness, as a lawless tyrant, as an usurper of the apostolic see, and even a heretic, renewed this year all the decrees he had issued against them; and having got possession of the city of Præneste, now Palestrina, of which they were lords, he left not one stone in it upon another. "*Non relinquatur lapis super lapidem*," were the words of the order he gave; caused the ground where it stood to be ploughed up, and salt to be sowed upon it. His decree, commanding the destruction of that ancient city, is related by Raynaldus in the following words: "We decree that the city of Præneste be no longer a city, be no longer inhabited; that henceforth no man presume to build or to dwell there. We deprive it of all the privileges, rights, and liberties, that it ever has enjoyed, and have ordered it to undergo the fate of

old Carthage in Africa, that is, not one stone to be left in it upon another; the ground upon which it stood to be ploughed up, and salt to be sowed upon it, that it may never henceforth have the name or title of a city. However, as it has been piously ordained by the fathers that the Roman church should have six cardinal bishops, and one of them bishop of Præneste, to keep up that number we have ordered a new city to be built near the place where Præneste stood, and that city we command to be called *Civitas Papalis*, and will have it to be known to all by that and by no other name." Boniface then orders the cathedral of Præneste, that stood at a small distance from that city, to be thenceforth called the cathedral of *Civitas Papalis*, and confirms to it, as well as to the cardinal bishop, all the privileges they enjoyed before the destruction of the old city.¹ Theodoric, created cardinal by Boniface, and preferred by him to the bishopric of *Civitas Papalis*, was the first, and indeed the only bishop who assumed that title. For Benedict XI., the immediate successor of Boniface, ordered the new city to be called by the name of the ancient, delivered it up to the Colonna family, and reinstated them in all their privileges, dignities, and honors.

Boniface is commonly supposed to have instituted the solemnity known by the name of "the Jubilee." But if the account that James Cajetan, cardinal deacon of St. George ad Velum Aureum, gives us of that solemnity, may be relied on, it was celebrated before Boniface's time, and only confirmed and established by that pope. For that learned cardinal, in the treatise he wrote about this time, *De Centesimo seu Jubile Anno*, tells us, that in the beginning of the last year of the present century, not only the Romans, but foreigners from all parts, flocked to St. Peter's church, to gain the indulgences that they had been told were to be gained there in the last year of every century. Hereupon Boniface ordered the ancient records to be carefully searched. But no mention being made in them of the solemnity or indulgences in question, they applied to the oldest men who on that occasion came to Rome, to learn of them what they knew of the said indulgences. Amongst these was a native of Savoy one hundred and seven years old, who, upon being examined, declared, that in the last year of the foregoing century he came to Rome with his father, Innocent III. being then pope; that the city was crowded, as he well remembered, with foreigners; that his father told him; that if he lived to the end of the next century, and came then to Rome, he would obtain a plenary indulgence, or full remission of all his sins; and that, mindful of what he had told him, he had undertaken

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1298.

² Meyer. Annal. Flandrie, l. 10.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1299.

Boniface's bull concerning the jubilee;—[Year of Christ, 1300.] Who excluded from the indulgences of that solemnity. People flock from all parts to Rome to gain the indulgences. The war renewed in Sicily;—[Year of Christ, 1301.]

that journey in the 107th year of his age. His account being confirmed by many others, who had it from their fathers and grandfathers, Boniface, with the advice of the cardinals, resolved to confirm that solemnity for ever, and accordingly, on the 22d of February of the present year 1300, he issued a bull, granting a full remission of all sins to such as should in the present year, beginning and ending at Christmas, or in every coming hundredth year, visit the basilics of the two apostles of St. Peter and St. Paul; provided they sincerely repented of their sins and confessed them. To gain that indulgence the Romans were required by the bull to visit the two churches once a day during the space of thirty days, and strangers during the space of fifteen. This solemnity was, by the institution of Boniface, only to be observed once in a century, and in the last year of each century. But in 1343 Clement VI., the first that gave it the name of "jubilee," ordered it to be solemnized every fiftieth year, in imitation of the Jewish jubilee. In 1384 the fifty years were reduced by Urban VI. to thirty-three, and lastly, by Paul II. and Sixtus IV. to five lustrums, or twenty-five years. And thus, since their time, every twenty-fifth year has been, and still is, the Holy Year, or the year of the jubilee.

From the indulgences that were granted so liberally to others, Boniface excluded by a particular bull or diploma, Frederic, the usurper of the crown of Sicily, with all his adherents; all who supplied the Saracens with warlike stores or provisions; and the Colonna family in all its branches. Petrarch, speaking of the mortal hatred Boniface bore to that family, tells us, that his holiness hearing that the wife of Agapetus Colonna was big with child, and concluding from thence that he was, or had been in Rome, ordered her to be brought before him: She was nearly related to the pope, but suspecting why he had sent for her, she went wrapt up in a wide mantle to conceal her pregnancy. But at her first appearing, "throw aside your mantle, you whore," said Boniface with a stern look, "and tell me who is the father of the child you are big with." "Holy father," she answered without the least hesitation, "you have taken my husband from me. I am young, and having, among the many pilgrims whom this holy year has drawn to Rome, observed one the very picture of my husband, I invited him to pass a night with me; and your holiness sees what has come of it." The pope smiled and dismissed her without any further inquiry, but caused diligent search to be made after Agapetus and the rest of the family.

John Villani, the Florentine historian, who went to Rome on this occasion, tells us that during the whole year the number of

strangers in that city amounted at least to two hundred thousand; that the streets were constantly so thronged that he always walked in a crowd, and yet that they were all plentifully supplied with provisions at very reasonable rates. And cardinal Caietan assures us that the offerings made at the tombs of the two apostles in brass money, and consequently by the poorer sort of people, amounted to the value of fifty thousand florins of gold, and leaves us to judge from thence of the immense sums that were collected in gold and silver.² As the holy year ended on Christmas day, the pope by a special bull granted the same indulgences to such as had been prevented by sickness, or any other lawful impediment, from performing before that time the conditions that were required to gain them. By the same bull he declared, that by the year were meant twelve months, beginning and ending, according to the style of the Roman church, on Christmas day. For at this time the year began in France on Easter-day, and in several other places on Lady-day; which some chronologers not attending to have puzzled, in their computations, both themselves and others. On the first day of the jubilee Boniface appeared, in the gorgeous attire of high pontiff, blessing the people, and showed himself to them on the second day in an imperial mantle, two swords being carried before him, and those who carried them crying out aloud, "behold here are two swords," which was assuming to himself the supreme temporal as well as spiritual power.³

Boniface being now disengaged from the functions of the holy year, bent all his thoughts upon driving Frederic of Arragon out of Sicily, and putting Charles, surnamed the lame, the son of the late king Charles, in possession of that kingdom. James, king of Arragon, the brother of Frederic, had, pursuant to the articles of the treaty mentioned above, recalled all his subjects in the service of his brother, and had, besides, fitted out a powerful fleet to invade, jointly with Charles, the island of Sicily, and oblige the Sicilians by dint of arms to receive him for their lawful sovereign. Charles, too, had on his side equipped a numerous fleet; and the two fleets being joined off Naples, they sailed with a great number of land forces on board to the coast of Sicily. The command, both of the fleet and the army, was given to Charles de Valois, brother to Philip the Fair, king of France, whom the pope, hearing of his excellent qualities and great experience in war, had invited for that purpose into Italy. Charles on his landing met with little or no opposition; and finding that the enemy

¹ Villani, l. 8. c. 36.

² Apud Rayn. ad ann. 1300.

³ Ursperg. Paralip. p. 37.

Peace concluded with Frederic of Arragon ;—[Year of Christ, 1302.] Quarrel between Boniface and Philip the Fair, king of France. The king's manifesto against the pope's constitution. The pope's answer to it.

durst not face him in the field, he began to look upon the whole island as already conquered. He reduced indeed several strong holds, but with great loss of men, the Sicilians defending them with incredible bravery, and Frederic in the mean time intercepting with a flying army all their convoys. Thus a famine, and a great mortality ever attending it, began to rage in the French camp; inasmuch that Charles, finding that his army daily diminished, that the Sicilians took daily new courage, and seemed unalterably determined to support their new king at all events, thought it advisable to put an end to so destructive a war by way of negotiation rather than by bloodshed and arms. As both parties were tired of the war, a truce was soon agreed to by both, and persons of distinction being sent to negotiate a peace, a peace was concluded in a few conferences upon the following terms :

I. That Frederic should marry Eleanora, the daughter of Charles, king of Sicily. II. That all the places possessed by king Charles in Sicily should be restored to Frederic ; and, on the other hand, all the places possessed by Frederic on the continent of Italy should be restored to Charles. III. That on both sides all prisoners should be set at liberty without ransom. IV. That Frederic should hold the island of Sicily and the adjacent islands, till he acquired, with the permission and assistance of the pope, the kingdom of Sardinia or some other kingdom. V. That upon the death of Frederic, the island of Sicily and the adjacent islands should devolve to Charles and his heirs, upon their paying to the heirs of Frederic an hundred thousand ounces of gold. Lastly, That Frederic should style himself king of Trinacria, and not of Sicily. These articles were agreed to on the last day of August, 1302, and confirmed by Boniface the following year, upon Frederic's promising, in the presence of the legate cardinal Gerald, to pay yearly, on St. Peter's day, three thousand ounces of gold to the apostolic see, and to leave the church in the full enjoyment of all its rights and privileges.¹ Thus was Frederic acknowledged by the pope king of Trinacria, the Sicilians were absolved from the censures they had incurred, the interdict was taken off, and peace restored after so long a war.

The most remarkable event of Boniface's pontificate was his quarrel with Philip the Fair, king of France, a quarrel that created infinite trouble to the king, and occasioned in the end the death of the pope. Of that famous contest the contemporary writers give us the following account: As large sums were daily levied in France, and transmitted under various pretences to Rome, and Philip stood in great want of money to defray the ex-

penses of the war which he was carrying on against Edward, king of England, Adolph, king of the Romans, the dukes of Austria and Brabant, and the earl of Flanders, he published an ordinance on the 17th of August, 1296, strictly forbidding any gold or silver, coined or uncoined, to be carried out of the kingdom without his permission. This Boniface highly resented, and in his turn issued on the 20th of October of the same year, the famous constitution "*Clericis Laicos*," forbidding secular princes to exact, and the clergy to pay, any sum or sums whatsoever out of their ecclesiastical revenues, without previously acquainting him therewith, and obtaining his permission. That constitution, though it extended to all princes, Philip looked upon as levelled chiefly against him, and in answer to it published a manifesto, declaring that the clergy were bound, as well as the laity, to contribute to the defence of the state; that to forbid them to defend the state was forbidding them to defend themselves, since they would be the first to suffer, and would suffer the most, should the enemy prevail; that the clergy had, in all times and in all kingdoms, especially in the kingdom of France, contributed out of their revenues to the exigencies of the state. He added, that it could not but give great offence to see the vicar of Christ, forbidding the clergy to pay the tribute that all, without distinction, were enjoined by Christ himself to pay to Cæsar, while they were allowed to squander away their revenues upon their relations; nay, and upon comedians.¹

In answer to this manifesto the pope declared, that by his constitution the clergy were no ways restrained from contributing to the exigencies of the state, but only forbidden to do it without his permission, and that with no other view but to put a stop to the heavy and unnecessary exactions which they were daily loaded with by princes or their ministers; that he would readily allow even the chalices and other sacred vessels to be disposed of, if wanted, to defend a kingdom so dear to the apostolic see as that of France; but that at present was not the case; for the neighboring princes all complained, and not without reason, of the encroachments of that crown; and it was, in effect, to maintain and improve those unjust usurpations that immense sums were daily levied on the clergy, and not, as was pretended, to defend the king or the kingdom. With this declaration the pope dispatched William, bishop of Viviers, into France, charging him to let the king know, that the apostolic see would never suffer the revenues that had been originally given for pious uses only, to be employed by Christian princes in the wars they made upon one another.

¹ Villani, l. 8. c. 49. Raynald, &c.

¹ Raynald, ad ann. 1296.

The pope moderates the rigor of his constitution. The quarrel renewed. Insolent behavior of the pope's nuncio; who is arrested. Another nuncio sent, but banished the kingdom.

In the mean time the Gallican bishops, apprehending the dreadful consequences of an open rupture between the pope and the king, resolved, at a private meeting they had among themselves, to apply to the pope for an explanation of his constitution "*Clericis Laicos*," that might, in some degree, moderate its rigor and appease the king. They sent accordingly some of their body to represent to his holiness the many evils that would inevitably attend their observing his late constitution in its full rigor; and at the same time to beg he would either revoke it, or so explain it that they might comply with it without offending the king. Boniface received the deputies with particular marks of kindness; and on the 9th of February of the following year he issued a bull, declaring that his constitution, forbidding the clergy to contribute to the expenses of the state without his permission, did not extend to free gifts, which they were at full liberty to grant, even when demanded, provided no force was used. He added, that upon any urgent occasion, the king might even exact, and the clergy pay, what sums were judged necessary without the previous permission of the apostolic see.¹

With this declaration the king was satisfied. But in 1301 new differences arose between him and Boniface, on the following occasion: Cassanus, king of the Tartars, having, after embracing the Christian religion, made war upon the Saracens, and gained a complete victory over the sultan of Egypt, Boniface upon the news of that victory dispatched nuncios to acquaint all the Christian princes with it, and procure subsidies to enable the king of the Tartars to pursue his victory. Philip received the pope's nuncio with the greatest protestations of respect and esteem for his holiness, but begged he would excuse, for the present, his not suffering any men or money to be levied in his dominions for a war abroad, while he was engaged in so dangerous and expensive a war at home. This answer, and the king's receiving about the same time and entertaining at his court two of the Colonna family, provoked the pope beyond all measure, and he immediately dispatched Bernard de Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, into France, to require the king to put an end to the war in which he was engaged, and forbid the ecclesiastics any ways to contribute towards defraying the expenses of it. He was besides ordered to let the king know, that he had no right to dispose of the revenues of the vacant sees, nor to fill them without the consent and approbation of the apostolic see. The bishop of Pamiers was a man entirely devoted to the pope, who for his sake had erected the abbey of St. Antoine at Pamiers, of which he was abbot,

into a bishopric, and nominated him, without consulting the king, to that bishopric, though he knew him to be no favorite at court. Trusting therefore in the protection of the pope, he not only delivered his message to the king with great haughtiness, but threatened him with deposition if he did not obey the commands of his holiness, in whom was vested all power both spiritual and temporal. He added, according to some authors, that though the city of Pamiers was subject to the king, he himself was subject to none but the pope, and acknowledged no power upon earth, either spiritual or temporal, but what was subordinate to or depended upon his. The king heard him with great composure, and instead of returning any answer commanded him to be arrested, and delivered up to the archbishop of Narbonne, his metropolitan, in order to be judged by him and the other bishops of the province, and punished according to his deserts.¹

Boniface, hearing of the arrest of the bishop of Pamiers, dispatched, without delay, James de Normandis, archdeacon of Narbonne and notary of the apostolic see, to the court of France, with orders to require, in his name, the immediate release of the bishop of Pamiers; and, if the king complied not with that request, to declare his kingdom devolved, by his disobedience, to the apostolic see, to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, and to summon all the Gallican bishops to appear at Rome on the 1st day of November of the ensuing year, 1302, in order to settle with his holiness the affairs of the kingdom, and assist him with their advice in redressing the many abuses introduced by the king and his ministers. The archdeacon having, on his arrival at Paris, acquainted the king with his commission, and addressed him in the same haughty and imperious style as the bishop of Pamiers had done, being one of much the same temper, (and indeed Boniface employed no other,) the letters he was charged with for the bishops were taken from him, were thrown by the earl of Artois into the fire, and he was ordered immediately to quit the kingdom, together with the bishop of Pamiers, whom the king at the same time set at liberty and banished. Upon their departure the king, having convened the three states of the kingdom, acquainted them with what had passed till that time between him and the pope, laid before them the wild pretensions and claims of Boniface, arrogating to himself an unlimited power, in temporals as well as in spirituals, over all the kings and kingdoms of the earth; told them of the insolent summons he had sent to all the bishops in his dominions, and desired to be advised by them how to proceed at so critical a juncture. The barons thanked the king

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1297.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1300; et Spondan. Num. 6.

The king supported by the three states of the kingdom. Behavior of Peter Flotte, the king's ambassador at Rome. The pope revokes all the privileges granted to the king. His letter to the king. The king's answer. The pope's monitory to the king.

for opposing, and encouraged him to oppose for the future, with the same firmness, the claims, or rather the usurpations, of the pope, lest by yielding to them he should, by degrees, be brought to the servile condition of the petty princes of Italy; declared that they acknowledged no temporal power upon earth superior to his; that he held his crown of God alone; that God alone could deprive him of it; and that they were all ready to stand by him with their lives and fortunes in resenting, as he ought, the affront offered to him by the pope pretending that he had forfeited his kingdom by his disobedience to him. Such were the sentiments of the barons. The bishops begged time to deliberate among themselves before they delivered theirs. But their request being rejected both by the king and the barons, they all declared, that they thought themselves bound to defend the king, and maintain, even at the expense of their lives, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the absolute independence of the crown. However they applied to the king for leave to repair to Rome in compliance with the pope's summons; but the king, by the advice of the barons, would not allow them to stir out of the kingdom. The third state was not behind-hand with the barons and the bishops in their expressions of loyalty and zeal for the honor of the crown.¹

The king, finding himself thus supported by the three states of the kingdom, resolved to keep no measures with the pope, as the pope kept none with him. He accordingly renewed, and extended to the court of Rome in particular, the prohibition of carrying any money out of the kingdom; forbade, upon the severest penalties, any ecclesiastic in his dominions to go to Rome under any pretence whatever; placed guards upon all the public roads to prevent any letters being brought from thence into the kingdom, and sent Peter Flotte, lord of Revel, who had espoused with great warmth the cause of the king in the present dispute, to notify these his resolutions to the pope, and at the same time to acquaint him with what had passed in the assembly of the states. Flotte on his arrival at Rome discharged his commission with great firmness and intrepidity, spoke with the same boldness to the pope as the bishop of Pamiers and the archdeacon of Narbonne had done to the king; and upon the pope's threatening to employ the sword and cut off from the body of the church all, without distinction, who did not own her authority, "Your sword, holy father," he replied, "is only verbal, but my master's is real."²

Boniface dismissing Flotte with bitter reproaches, and some severe reflections upon

the king, published a constitution the next day, by which he suspended all the privileges and favors granted to the king, or his successors, or to any, whether clerks or laymen, of his council; revoked the permission of levying the tenths of all ecclesiastical revenues; forbade the clergy to contribute, without an express command from him, towards the expenses of the present unjust and unnecessary war, and summoned anew all the bishops of the Gallican church, to attend the council which he had appointed to meet at Rome on the 1st of November of the following year, for the better regulating the affairs of the kingdom, and rescuing them from the oppression they had so long groaned under, no distinction being made by the king and his ministers between them and the laity. This constitution is dated the 3d of December, in the seventh year of Boniface's pontificate; that is, in 1301, and two days after he is said to have written, in the height of his resentment, the following letter to the king himself. "Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philip, the French king. Fear God and keep his commandments. We will have you to know, that you are subject to us both in spirituals and temporal. The collation of no benefices or prebends belongs to you. If you are trusted with the care of such as are vacant, you are to reserve the fruits for the successors. If you have collated any, we declare your collation to be null, and revoke the possession that has thereupon ensued. We deem all heretics who do not believe so. Given at the Lateran palace the 5th of December, in the seventh year of our pontificate." To this letter Philip returned the following answer: "Philip, by the grace of God king of the Franks, to Boniface, acting as pope, little or no health. Know, you great fool, (*sciat tua maxima fatuitas*) that in temporal we are subject to nobody; that the collation of vacant churches and benefices belongs to us by a right inherent in our crown; that we can appropriate to ourselves the fruits so long as they remain vacant; that the collations we have made, or shall make for the future, are and shall be valid; that we will maintain those in possession who hold them, and deem all fools or madmen who do not believe so."¹ The genuineness of these letters is suspected, and not undeservedly, not only by Spondanus, but by Paulus Æmilii, who, speaking of them in his *Annals*, calls them letters altogether unworthy both of the pope and the king, and adds, "if they were really written by them, and not forged by others, which is the more probable of the two."²

Be that as it may, certain it is that Boniface wrote at this time a very sharp monitory

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1300. Villani, l. 8. c. 62, &c.

² Chron. S. Dionys.

¹ Nichol. Gellius in *Annal.* ad hunc ann.

² Paul. Æmil. *Annal.* Franc. l. 8.

Cardinal Le Moine sent into France. Terms of agreement proposed by the cardinal. Messenger from the pope arrested, and his letters taken from him;—[Year of Christ, 1303.] Boniface charged with many crimes in an assembly of the states of France.

to the king, telling him, with the words of Jeremiah, that he, as successor of St. Peter, "has been set over the nations, and over the kingdoms to root up and pull down," &c. that the temporal power must be judged by the spiritual, to which it is subject; and that "it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff, as Christ's vicar upon earth;" that they who would make him believe that he has no superior upon earth, are either fools or infidels, &c. He then exhorts him to reform his manners, to correct the many enormous abuses which he encourages or connives at in his ministers, and summons him either to assist in person, or to send proper persons to represent him, at the council which he has appointed to meet on the 1st day of November of the following year.¹ On the other hand the king renewed the prohibition of carrying any money out of the kingdom; forbade anew the bishops and the clergy in general to obey the pope's summons calling them to Rome, on pain of being looked upon as public enemies, as traitors and rebels, acknowledging a power superior to his, and ordered the bishop of Auxerre to write to the pope, and let him know that if they complied not with his summons, it was owing, not to them, but to him, (the king) and consequently that his holiness ought, in justice, to proceed only against him.²

Boniface, finding that the king, supported by the three states of the kingdom, paid no regard either to his menaces or his exhortations, dispatched John le Moine, cardinal presbyter of St. Peter and St. Marcellinus, a native of France, to propose terms of agreement between him and the apostolic see. But the demands which the cardinal was charged with, were so exorbitant that the treaty was soon broken off. For among the terms that the cardinal was absolutely to insist upon were the following. I. That the king should permit the bishops, as well as other ecclesiastics of all ranks to go to Rome, when called thither by the pope or by their own private affairs. II. That he should own the pope alone to have a right of collating benefices, "*vacantes in curia*," that is, vacant in the court of Rome, as well as benefices vacant any where else. When an ecclesiastic possessed of any benefice died at Rome, or within forty miles of that city, in going to it or coming from it, the benefice was said to be "*vacans in curia*," and the pope claimed the right of disposing of it to whom he pleased. III. That the king should acknowledge the pope for the supreme administrator of all the estates that belong to the church; so that he may dispose of them as he thinks fit, and appropriate to himself

what share he may judge necessary for the service of the church universal. IV. That the king should not dispose of the revenues of vacant benefices, but reserve them entire for the successors, deducting the expenses he had been at in taking care of them. As these terms were rejected by the king, Boniface hearing it, wrote to the cardinal legate, commanding him to let the king know, that he had incurred the sentence of excommunication denounced every Maunday Thursday, against all who hindered any persons from going, or money from being carried to Rome; and that, as to the privileges and exemptions that his predecessors had granted to the kings of France, and the present king might plead against that general sentence, he had revoked all such privileges and exemptions, and declared them null. The legate was further ordered to notify to the clergy, that whoever administered the sacraments to the king, or celebrated mass in his presence, was "*ipso facto*" excommunicated, and to summons the king's confessor, friar Nicholas, a Dominican, to appear at Rome in person, and the Gallican bishops either in person or by their deputies, within the term of three months. The friar had been charged by the bishop of Pamiers, and likewise by the archdeacon of Narbonne, with diverting the king from complying with the demands of the pope, and upholding him in his wickedness; that is, in the resolution he had taken to maintain the just rights and prerogatives of his crown.

With these orders the pope despatched Nicholas de Benefact, archdeacon of Coutances, in Normandy. But as guards had been placed upon all the roads, to intercept any letters that might be brought from Rome, the archdeacon was arrested at Troyes, his letters were all taken from him, and he himself was kept, by the king's order, closely confined. The cardinal applied to the king's officers, and to the king himself, for his release; but instead of obtaining it he was himself ordered to be narrowly watched, and all who treated or conversed with him, whether ecclesiastics or laymen. As the letters, which the archdeacon was charged with, left no room to doubt that the pope would soon proceed to extremities, the king resolved to be before hand with him. And he accordingly appointed the three states to meet at the Louvre, on the 13th of April, 1303; which the cardinal no sooner heard, than, dreading the resolutions of such an assembly, he privately withdrew in order to return to Rome, lest he should incur the displeasure of the king if he did, or that of the pope if he did not oppose them.

The states met at the time appointed, when many heavy complaints and accusations were brought against the pope by William de Plessis, lord of Vezembourg, se-

¹ Apud Raynald. Num. 31.

² Idem ibid.

The accusers of the pope appeal to a general council. Bull to be published against the king. Nogaret sent by the king into Italy.

condemned by Lewis, count of Evreux, Guido, count of St. Paul, and John, count of Dreux, all men of the first rank in the kingdom. The chief heads of the charge were, that Boniface, abusing the simplicity of Celestine, had persuaded him to resign, and then murdered him to maintain himself in the possession of his ill-gotten power; that he did not believe the real presence in the Eucharist, nor the immortality of the soul; that he held fornication to be no sin; that he was guilty of the utmost cruelty, which he could prove with many incontestable instances; that he had consulted, upon several occasions, sorcerers and diviners; that there was no wickedness which he might not be justly arraigned of, and convicted too, upon the least inquiry into his life and conversation, &c. De Plessis ended his speech, or rather invective, with appealing from the pretended pope to a true one, and to a general council, which he begged the king, as protector of the church, to assemble, since he had advanced nothing but what he could prove to the entire satisfaction of all the bishops who should compose it. The assembly heard him with great attention; and when he had done speaking, the king owned the assembling of a general council to be absolutely necessary in the present distressed condition of the church; promised to leave nothing unattempted to get the proposal approved by other nations and princes, and in the mean time to screen himself from the anathemas, which he knew Boniface would thunder out against him, he appealed from him to the future pope and council. His example was followed by the barons and the third state, and lastly by such of the clergy as were present, namely: five archbishops, twenty-one bishops, and eleven abbots, "saving the reverence and honor they owed to the Holy Roman Church, from which they never would depart." At the same time the king forbade any of his subjects to acknowledge Boniface for lawful pope, to obey him as such, or to receive any messages or letters from him.

Boniface, being informed of what had passed in the assembly of the states at the Louvre, called a consistory of all the cardinals then at Anagni, where he resided, laid the whole before them, and, after a most bitter invective against the king, cleared himself, by a solemn oath, from every crime laid to his charge. A few days after he assembled the cardinals anew, and caused the bull to be read to them, which he had drawn up, and intended to publish against the king, if he did not repent of his wickedness, and give the apostolic see due satisfaction. In the bull the king was excommunicated by name, his subjects were forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to acknowledge or obey him as king, all alliances with him were declared null, the whole kingdom was laid

under an interdict, the clergy, who had consented to the appeal, were all suspended from the functions of their office, and the universities deprived of all their privileges. The bull being approved by the cardinals who were present, Boniface wrote, before he published it, to Albert of Austria, who having killed in battle Adolph of Nassau, in 1298, had been elected king of the Romans in his room, offering him the kingdom of France, and pressing him to come and conquer it, which he said might be easily accomplished, the French being generally discontented and ready to revolt. He wrote at the same time to the king of England and the earl of Flanders, encouraging them to pursue with new vigor the war against France, and promising to support them, with all the power and authority of the apostolic see, in the possession of such places belonging to that crown as they should conquer.

The machinations of the pope were not unknown to the king, and to prevent him from carrying into execution the designs he had formed against him and his kingdom, he despatched into Italy William de Nogaret, baron of Cauvisson and lord of Tamerlet, one of his chief counsellors, with the character of his ambassador to the apostolic see. Nogaret took with him Sciarra Colonna, whom the king had redeemed from slavery, as has been said above, and entertained at his court. Upon their arrival in Italy, Nogaret stopped some time at a place called Staggia, in the neighborhood of Siena, giving out that he was sent by the king to negotiate a reconciliation between him and the pope. But as Boniface was then at Anagni, in Campania, distant thirty-two miles from Rome, their real design was to seize him there, and either oblige him to resign, or to carry him prisoner into France, and get him deposed by the general council, which the king was using his utmost endeavors to have assembled at Lyons. Sciarra, whom all suppose to have been the author and contriver of this attempt, knew that the nobility of Campania, to many of whom he was nearly related, were all highly dissatisfied with the arbitrary government of Boniface, that the cruel persecution of the Colonna family had shocked and alarmed them all, and that they would readily concur in any measures calculated to deliver them from the tyranny of so lawless a tyrant. To them therefore he communicated his design, employing for that purpose such persons as he knew he could confide in. As the pope was universally hated, the nobility of Campania not only engaged in the plot, such of them especially as were allied to the Colonnas, but being plentifully supplied with money by Nogaret, gained over to their party several of the chief citizens of Anagni, several of the pope's own domestics, and

Boniface taken and his palace plundered. Whether the king was privy to that attempt. Boniface delivered by the people of Anagni.

even some cardinals of the Gibeline faction. When the design was ripe for execution Nogaret and Sciarra, leaving Staggia, pursued their journey to Anagni, and being joined as they approached that city by a body of about three hundred horse and some foot, raised by the nobility privy to their design, they entered it, crying aloud, "Muoià papa Bonifacio, e viva il re di Francia."

As authors differ in the account they give us of this memorable event, I shall relate what the contemporary writers have recorded of it in their own words: "In the same year, 1303," says Bernardus Guidonis, who lived at this time, and wrote in 1323, "and on the eve of the nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary," that is, on the 7th of September, "while pope Boniface resided with his court at Anagni, his native city, and amongst his own people, he was there betrayed, taken, and detained, some of his own domestics being privy to it: the treasure of the church was plundered and carried off. The cardinals left him, and all fled but two, namely, Peter, bishop of Sabina, a Spaniard, and Nicholas, bishop of Ostia. Of this wicked deed William de Nogaret of St. Felix, in the diocese of Toulouse, was the chief author, having the Colonnas for his abettors and accomplices, two of whom Boniface had deprived of their hats (decapellaverat). Boniface therefore, who had made kings, bishops, religious, and the whole clergy as well as the people fear and tremble, was himself seized with fear and trembling, and thirsting too much after gold, lost his treasure, that prelates may learn from his example not to rule proudly over the clergy and people, but to cherish them, and strive to be rather loved than feared."¹ St. Antonine, who flourished in 1450, but copied, as he declares, what he writ from the contemporary authors, sets the behavior of the pope on this occasion in a very different light. "Boniface," says he, "finding the city was taken, and his palace too, concluded himself a dead man (*judicavet se mortuum*); but being a man of great resolution, 'Since I have been taken by treachery,' he said, undaunted, 'as was our Lord Jesus Christ, and am delivered up into the hands of my enemies to be put to death, I will die like a pope.' He caused himself accordingly to be attired in his pontifical ornaments with the pall or mantle of St. Peter, and having on his head the golden crown given by the emperor Constantine to pope Sylvester, in one hand the cross, and the keys in the other, he placed himself upon the papal throne. Sciarra, however, was not restrained by his majestic appearance from insulting him; and the pontiff himself, as well as they who attended him, were but objects of derision to that miscreant and his

accomplices. Among the rest William de Lunghareto, (that is, de Nogaret) who acted in this affair for the king of France, threatened to carry him in bonds to Lions, to be there deposed by a general council. The pope answered without betraying the least concern, 'I shall rather think it an honour than a disgrace to be condemned and deposed by the Patereni.' As Nogaret was one of that sect (the sect of the Albigenses, who were so called) and some of his ancestors had been burnt alive for professing it, the pope's answer mortified and silenced him. Though he was now in the power of his sworn enemies and entirely at their mercy, yet not one of them had the presumption to lay violent hands upon him, or so much as to touch him, but left him under a strong guard, clad in his pontificals as they found him; and, greedy of booty, plundered his palace, and seized on his treasures and those of the church."² Such is the account St. Antonine gives us of that bold attempt, and the behaviour of the pope on that occasion; and it is, as Raymundus assures us, much the same with the account given by the two contemporary writers, Ptolemy of Lucca and Jordanus, in their manuscript histories lodged in the Vatican library. No notice is taken by them, nor by any other author, who lived at the time or near it, of what we read in more modern writers; namely, that Sciarra insisted upon Boniface's abdicating, and that upon his declaring he would sooner part with his life than his dignity, Sciarra struck him on the face with his gantlet, and would have killed him, had not Nogaret interposed; that he was treated with the utmost barbarity by his guards; and that Nogaret and Sciarra were so entirely taken up in plundering and ransacking his palace, as never to think of giving him any food during the three days of his captivity.

Spodanus, and other writers after him, are of opinion that the king was no ways concerned in this attempt, but that it was contrived by Nogaret, De Plessis, and Sciarra, all three Boniface's most bitter enemies, and executed without the king's knowledge. Indeed the continuator of Nangius tells us in express terms, that Nogaret was sent by the king only to acquaint Boniface with the result of the assembly held at the Louvre, and demand his consent to the assembling of a general council.³ But it seems altogether incredible that Nogaret would have dared so far to exceed his commission, or, if he had, that the king would not have called him to an account for it; which it does not appear he ever did.

Be that as it may, the people of Anagni, returning to themselves on the third day of

¹ Apud Raynald. et Papeb. in Conatu Chron. Hist.

² Antonin. par. 3. tit. 20. c. 8.

³ Continuat. Nangii ad ann. 1303.

Boniface returns to Rome and dies. His character. His writings.

the pope's captivity, and ashamed of having thus tamely suffered the high pontiff to be taken and imprisoned by a handful of men in his own native city, flew to arms, and crying out, "Viva il papa, e muoiano i Traditori," fell upon those who guarded him, took some, killed others, and drove the rest, with Nogaret and Sciarra, out of the city. Boniface, thus delivered out of the hands of his enemies, set out the same day, attended by a numerous body of the citizens of Anagni, on his return to Rome, and was there received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the nobility, the clergy, and the people flocking from all parts to congratulate him upon his happy deliverance.¹ James Stephanescus, cardinal of St. George ad Velum Aureum, tells us, in the poem he wrote about the year 1320, upon the canonization of Celestine, that the people of Anagni took many of Boniface's enemies, and among the rest his greatest enemy, whom he generously forgave and dismissed unhurt;² but the cardinal does not name him.

Boniface returned to Rome, says St. Antonine, with a design to assemble a council, and avenge the injury done to him by the king of France, and in him to the church; but being in the mean time overcome with grief, he died of a broken heart thirty-three days after he was delivered from his captivity; that is, on the 11th of October 1303, when he had held the see, reckoning from the day of his election, seven years nine months and eighteen days. Some say that he was seized with a delirium; that in the height of his rage and despair he often attempted to knock out his brains against the wall, and expired with dreadful curses in his mouth against the king of France and his ministers. But no mention is made of his supposed delirium by Villani in the account he gives us of his death, though that writer lived at this very time, and was perhaps at Rome when the pope died; nor is it taken notice of by any of the more ancient writers. Boniface was buried in St. Peter's church, and in 1605, when they opened his tomb in order to remove his remains, with those of the other popes, from the old church to the present stately basilic, his body, except the nose and lips that were corrupted, appeared entire, as well as his whole pontifical apparel, and were, for several days, exposed to public view. Thus Spondanus, an eye-witness of what he relates.³ No man, who reflects upon the conduct of Boniface during the whole time of his pontificate, can in the present case look upon the preserving of the body from corruption as a proof of sanctity, and it ought therefore in no other case to be looked upon in that light.

As to the character of Boniface, Villani gives us it in the following words: "Boniface," says he, "was cruel, ambitious, worldly-minded, sordidly avaricious, wholly intent upon accumulating riches to exalt the church and aggrandize his relations, heaping honors and dignities upon them both ecclesiastical and secular." He allows him to have been a man of great learning, of great resolution, intrepidity, and experience in public affairs, and to have befriended men of genius and abilities.¹ Dinas de Mugello, archdeacon of Bologna, who lived in 1299, and was reputed one of the most learned canonists of his time, speaking of Boniface in his comments upon the sixth book of the decretals, says, "that no man of better parts ever sat in the fisherman's chair;" and he was personally acquainted with him. Petrarch calls him the wonder of the world.² Paulus Jovius speaks of him as one "eminently distinguished by his knowledge of the law;"³ and Jordanus, a contemporary writer, extols him for his uncommon knowledge and abilities, but at the same time charges him with pride, arrogance, and presumption, with entertaining a very high opinion of himself, and despising every body else.⁴ The famous prophecy concerning this pope, ascribed to Celestine, his immediate predecessor, "he will enter like a fox, will reign like a lion, and die like a dog," was first recorded by Walsingham in his life of Edward, written about the year 1440; but no notice is taken of it by any of the more ancient or contemporary writers; and it is therefore looked upon by Genebrard as an invention of Boniface's enemies. But whether it was foretold before or forged after his promotion, it was certainly in great measure verified.

Boniface caused the sixth book of the decretals to be published, and wrote himself a treatise, entitled, "De Regulis Juris." We have two sermons of his, preached on occasion of the canonization of Lewis IX., king of France, who died in 1270, and was by him canonized in 1297. In one of these sermons he tells his audience, that he was personally acquainted with that holy prince, and could himself witness his extraordinary sanctity; and in the other, that sixty-three miracles, wrought by him, had been examined over and over again, and allowed by all to be true miracles, and that more had been written on that subject than one ass could carry.⁵ Boniface was the author of the two famous prayers, the one to our Saviour, beginning with these words, "*Deus qui pro redemptione*," &c., the other addressed to the Virgin Mary in the following well known words: "*ave, virgo gloriosa*," &c.,

¹ Antonin. ubi supra.

² De Canoniz. Celestin. c. 11.

³ Spondan. ad ann. 1303. Num. 16.

¹ Villani, l. 8. c. 65.

² De Ocio Religioso, l. 2.

³ In Vir. Illustri. Elog.

⁴ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1294. Num. 23.

⁵ Duchesn. tom. 5. p. 481.

Boniface was a most furious party man. Election of Benedict XI. His birth, education, preferments, &c. Grants absolution to the king of France;—[Year of Christ, 1304.]

Besides his constitution relating to the jubilee, or the Holy Year, and several others, he published one granting many privileges to the students and professors in the university of Rome, which he is supposed to have founded as well as that of Fermo, in the March of Ancona.¹

I must add, that Boniface was a most violent and furious stickler for the Gueft faction, and that his irreconcilable aversion to, and cruel persecution of the Colonna family was, in a great measure, owing to their attachment to the opposite party, that of the Gibellines. Of his party zeal Flavius Blondus, and after him several others, give us the following instance: As Porchetus Spinolæ, archbishop of Genoa, kneeled down before him on Ash Wednesday, to re-

ceive the ashes at his hands, the pope, supposing him to be a Gibelline in his principles, as his countrymen commonly were, instead of putting the ashes upon his forehead, and saying, as is prescribed by the ritual, "Remember, man, that dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return," threw them into the archbishop's eyes, saying, "Remember, man, that a Gibelline thou art, and with the Gibellines into dust thou shalt return."² Many most shocking instances of this pope's impiety and irreligion, of his cruelty, ambition, avarice, tyranny, &c. occur in the more modern writers, which I have omitted, as no notice has been taken of them by the authors who lived in those times, or near to them.

BENEDICT XI., THE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIRST BISHOP OF ROME.

[ANDRONICUS, JR., *Emperor of the East*.—ALBERT OF AUSTRIA, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1303.] As the constitution of Gregory X. concerning the conclave, had been revived and confirmed both by Celestine and Boniface, the cardinals, shutting themselves up in the Vatican palace, where the late pope died, on the tenth day after his decease, that is, on the 21st of October, chose the very next day Nicholas Bocasini, cardinal bishop of Ostia; and he was crowned, with the usual solemnity, on the 27th of the same month, which in 1303 fell on a Sunday. On that occasion he took the name of Benedict, the Christian name of his predecessor Boniface, who had preferred him to the dignity of cardinal, and the bishopric of Ostia. He was, in truth, but the tenth pope of that name, John of Veletri, who about the middle of the eleventh century intruded himself into the see under the name of Benedict X., having never been acknowledged for lawful pope. He is however reckoned by all the historians the eleventh pope of that name, being so called by his immediate successor Clement V.²

He was a native of Trevigi, in the present state of Venice, the son of a shepherd, or, as others tell us, of a notary. He earned for some time a livelihood by teaching children at Venice; but entering afterwards into the order of the preaching friars, or Dominicans, he studied the first fourteen years, taught other fourteen years, and was for the space of fourteen years more employed in the great offices of the order. He was general in 1298, when Boniface VIII. created

him cardinal bishop of Sabina, from which bishopric he soon after translated him to the vacant see of Ostia. He discharged several legations with great reputation, and being returned from Hungary when Boniface was taken and imprisoned in his own palace at Anagni, he was one of the two cardinals that remained with him while all the others fled.²

Benedict received soon after his election a letter from Philip, king of France, that gave him the greatest satisfaction; for in that letter the king congratulated him, in terms of the highest respect, upon his promotion, expressed an inviolable attachment to the apostolic see; and, recommending himself, his subjects, and the Gallican church to his holiness's protection, declared, that he had nothing more at heart than to see the union that had so long subsisted between his and holiness's predecessors, happily re-established. With this letter were sent by the king, Berrald lord of Mercœur, William de Plessis, and Peter de Belle-perche, canon of Chartres, one of the ablest civilians of his time. They were ordered to acquaint Benedict with the pacific disposition of the king, and to compose with him, in an amicable manner, the late differences between the apostolic see and the church as well as the kingdom of France. Benedict received the ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction, and in their presence absolved the king, as soon as he had read his letter, from any excommunication he might have incurred though he had not applied for it in

¹ Victorel. in Notis ad Ciaccon.

² Apud Raymund. ad ann. 1301.

¹ Blond. Decad. 2. l. 9.

² Raynald. Papebro. &c.

Benedict annuls all the decrees of Boniface against the king of France. Restores the Colonna family. Sciarra and Nogaret excommunicated. Instance of Benedict's disinterestedness. His death, and character.

his letter, nor had his ambassadors.¹ A few days after the new pope issued several bulls, annulling all the proceedings of his predecessor Boniface against the king of France, his kingdom, and his subjects, whether secular or ecclesiastic, and reinstating them in all the privileges they had ever enjoyed. Nogaret alone was excepted; and him the pope summoned to appear at the tribunal of the apostolic see, as being reputed the chief author and promoter of the attempt upon his predecessor, and of all the disorders committed by those who were concerned in that attempt. These bulls are dated the 13th, 19th, and 20th of May of the present year, 1304.

The good pope, sensible that Boniface had been rather actuated in all his proceedings by motives of revenge than justice, not only restored all things in France to the condition they were in at the beginning of that fatal quarrel; but, at the intercession of the king, forgave the Colonna family, received them into favor, and reinstated them in all their dignities, honors and possessions.² The two cardinals, however, though restored to their dignity, were forbidden ever to appear in their scarlet robes. Sciarra was excepted in the general pardon granted to the rest of that family, and summoned to appear with Nogaret in a limited time at Rome. But with that summons neither complied, and they were therefore both solemnly excommunicated and given up to Satan, with all their accomplices, by a bull, dated the 7th of June of the present year.³

As two new factions sprung up about this time in Tuscany, especially at Florence and Pistoia, distinguished by the names of Bianchi and Neri, that is, of "White" and "Black," the Bianchi being joined by the Gibellines, and the Neri by the Gueffs, Benedict, affected with the many murders that were daily committed by the contending parties, and the deplorable condition to which the whole country was reduced by their intestine divisions, dispatched cardinal Nicholas, a native of Prato, in Tuscany, to Florence, to reconcile the two parties, vesting him for that purpose with all his authority. But the endeavors of the cardinal proving all unsuccessful, he left the city, having first laid it under an interdict and excommunicated the inhabitants. This sentence the pope extended to the cities of Lucca and Prato, where some violence had been offered to the cardinal, as appears from the bull of excommunication dated at Perugia the 21st of June.⁴

Boniface had, as has been related in that pope's life, confirmed the agreement between Charles the Lame, king of Sicily, and

Frederic of Arragon, king of Trinacria, upon condition the latter paid yearly, on St. Peter's day, three thousand ounces of gold into the apostolic chamber, and took an oath of fidelity to every new pope, acknowledging thereby that he held his kingdom of the apostolic see. As Frederic was bound to pay that tribute yearly, on pain of excommunication, but had not paid it in the last year of Boniface's pontificate, he sent, upon the election of Benedict, Conrado Doria, with the character of his ambassador, to take the usual oath to the new pope in his name; and at the same time to obtain an absolution from the excommunication he had incurred. The pope very readily absolved him from the excommunication, upon condition he paid the whole upon or before the 1st of May; but he was satisfied with his paying two-thirds of the sum.¹

Benedict made it his study to quiet the disturbances that his predecessor had raised not only in France, but in most other kingdoms, and to regain by a humble and mild deportment those whom the haughty and imperious behavior of his predecessor had estranged from the apostolic see. But his pontificate was short. He was elected on the 22d of October, 1303, and died on the 6th of July, 1304, not without suspicion of poison. For Villani, Matthew of Westminster, and others, tell us, that while he was at dinner at Perugia, a young man came into the room in the disguise of a woman, and pretending to be a servant maid of the nuns of St. Petronilla, presented to his holiness a silver basin with some fresh figs, his favorite fruit; that he eat very freely of them, and died soon after. The figs are supposed to have been poisoned, but by whom is not agreed among the contemporary writers, some ascribing it to the relations of Boniface, provoked at Benedict's receiving that pope's enemies into favor, especially the Colonnas, while others charge it upon the Florentines, whom he had excommunicated, and laid their city under an interdict. Be that as it may, the writers of those times all speak of him as a man of a most exemplary life, of great prudence and discretion, as one of whom great things were expected, and who neither wanted the will nor the abilities to answer the public expectation. He seemed no ways inclined to enrich or aggrandize his own family, or even to raise them from their original obscurity. For his mother coming in a very rich apparel to see him soon after his promotion, he pretended not to know her, and turning away from her, "My mother," he said, "is not a princess, but a poor woman," and thus dismissed her. But the next day, when she returned in her own poor vulgar dress, he owned her for his mother, tenderly em-

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1304.

² Constit. cap. Dudun de Schismaticis.

³ Raymund. ad ann. 1304.

⁴ Villani, l. 8. c. 61. Leon. Retin, Hist. Florent. l. 4.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1304.

Benedict's writings. The cardinals divided into two parties. Agreement between them.

braced her, and thenceforth treated her with all possible marks of respect, but would not allow her to receive any presents, or to concern herself at all with public affairs.¹ He was buried the day after his death in the church of the Preaching Friars at Perugia, and, at his own request, laid like others in the ground. But over his remains was afterwards built a stately monument, which is to be seen to this day, with an epitaph, in verse, recording his several employments in the order, his legations, his promotion to the papal dignity, and the time of his death, which is there said to have happened on the 6th of July, 1304, in the following lines :

Lector habet menti, currebant mille trecenti,
Quatuor appensis dum transit hic homo mitis,
Mense, die sexta, Julii sunt tabia gesta.

Benedict wrote comments upon the gospel of St. Matthew, upon the book of Job and the Revelations, besides several sermons, and letters to the king of France and other princes, about reforming the abuses that had crept into the church in their respective kingdoms. Among these is one addressed

to Charles, king of Sicily, to thank him for driving the Saracens out of the city of Lucera, where they had been allowed to reside by the princes of the Swabian family, whom they had served with great fidelity in all their wars. Charles, having expelled the Saracens, rebuilt the cathedral, and increased the canonries to the number of twenty, allowing to each canon five ounces of gold yearly out of his royal revenues, and reserving to himself and his successors the right of presenting to those benefices, when they became vacant, alternately with the bishop. To the dean he allotted thirty ounces of gold a year, and thirty to the archdeacon, to the treasurer, and the chanter, which dignities were to be all in the royal gift. The bishop was to be elected by the chapter, but was not to be ordained till the king had consented to his election. All this we learn from a bull of the present pope, mentioning these particulars, and confirming them with the highest commendations of the piety and generosity of the king. The bull is dated the 28th of November, 1303.¹

CLEMENT V., THE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SECOND BISHOP OF ROME.

[ANDRONICUS THE YOUNGER, *Emperor of the East*.—ALBERT OF AUSTRIA, HENRY OF LUXEMBOURG, LEWIS OF BAVARIA, *Emperors of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1304.] Benedict dying on the 6th of July, 1304, the cardinals shut themselves up in the conclave at Perugia, where he died, the tenth day after his decease, pursuant to the constitution of Gregory X., in order to proceed to a new election. But they were immediately divided into two parties, equal in power as well as in number, and neither could be brought to yield to the other. At the head of the one party were cardinal Matthew Rossi, of the family of the Ursini, dean of the cardinal deacons, and Francis Caietan, the nephew of Boniface VIII., and cardinal deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin. These were for electing an Italian, and one favorable to the friends and relations of Boniface. The opposite party was headed by Neapoleon, likewise of the family of the Ursini, cardinal deacon of St. Hadrian, and cardinal Nicholas de Prato, whom the late pope had created cardinal, and preferred to the see of Ostia. These wanted a pope who was either a native of France, or a known friend to Philip the Fair, and the Colonna family, whose protection that prince had undertaken with uncommon zeal. These different views kept

the cardinals divided the remaining part of the year 1304, and about four months of the following year 1305, when cardinal Nicholas, bishop of Ostia, proposed the following temperament to cardinal Caietan; namely, that his party (cardinal Caietan's) should name three Frenchmen, or Transalpines, duly qualified for so high an office, and that the opposite party should be bound to elect one of the three in the term of forty days. This proposal being agreed to by the cardinals of both parties, cardinal Caietan's party nominated three archbishops, who had been all created by Boniface VIII., and were known to be sworn enemies to king Philip. The first of the three was Bertrand de Got, a creature of Boniface, who had preferred him first to the see of Comminges, and five years after to the archiepiscopal see of Bourdeaux. He was most zealously attached to the memory of his benefactor, and had on many occasions given remarkable instances of his aversion to the king. However, cardinal Nicholas knowing him to be a man of an unbounded ambition, and one who would readily quit his own and join the French party, to prevent any opposition from that

¹ Leander de viris illustribus Ordin. Predicat. l. 3. Krantzii Metropol. l. 8. c. 46.

¹ Apud Thomasin Vet.; et Nova Eccles. Disciplin. 2. c. 35.

The archbishop of Bourdeaux engages the king in his interest. What he promised to obtain the pontificate. Is elected;—[Year of Christ, 1305.] His birth, parentage, employments, &c.

nation or the king to his promotion, thought it advisable to consent to his election. The cardinals of his party fell in with him, and he thereupon dispatched, with the utmost secrecy, a trusty messenger to acquaint the king with the whole, and advise him to be reconciled with the archbishop, who was yet quite ignorant of what passed in the conclave.

The king wrote immediately a most friendly letter to the archbishop, desiring a private interview with him, and appointing an abbey in a wood near St. John d'Angeli for the place of their meeting. Thither they both repaired at the time agreed on, and the king, after exacting of the archbishop an oath of secrecy, told him, that he had it in his power to make him pope; that his consent alone was wanting to place him in the pontifical chair; and that he would consent to it provided he promised upon oath to grant him six favors. At these words the archbishop threw himself, in the utmost confusion, at the king's feet, and begging pardon for his past undutiful behavior, assured him, that since his majesty was disposed, with unexampled generosity, to return good for evil, he should think it his duty, if raised by his means to so high a station, to employ the whole power attending it in behalf of him to whom he owed it. The king raised him, and, embracing him, specified the favors he expected in return for his interest. These were, I. That he should grant the king a full and unlimited absolution from all the censures he might have incurred in the late dispute with Boniface. II. That he should receive into favor all who were any ways concerned in the proceedings against that pope. III. That he should grant him the tenths of all the ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom for the space of five years, to make amends for the expenses of his Flanders war. IV. That he should condemn the memory of Boniface. V. That he should reinstate the two cardinals of the Colonna family, should restore them to their former condition, and create some of the king's friends cardinals. As for the sixth favor, the king would not specify it then, but would wait, he said, for a more proper season, as it was to be kept inviolably secret. The archbishop bound himself, by an oath upon the eucharist, to perform all and each of these articles, delivering up to the king his own brother and his two nephews as hostages for his faithfully fulfilling them. The king, on his side, bound himself by the like oath to promote, to the utmost of his power, his election. And thus they parted good friends.

The king upon his return to Paris immediately dispatched a messenger to cardinal Nicholas, to acquaint him with what had passed in his interview with the archbishop, and desire him to communicate the whole

to the cardinals of his party, and proceed without delay to the election. The cardinal let all of his party into the secret; and it was agreed, that they should hasten the election, and should all concur with their suffrages in electing the archbishop of Bourdeaux. The cardinal notified accordingly to his brethren of the opposite party, that he and all of his party were ready to proceed to the election of one of the three whom they had nominated. They all met the very next day, when cardinal Nicholas, after a short discourse suited to the occasion (in which no mention, I suppose, was made of the Holy Ghost) elected in the name of all of his party Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bourdeaux, the first of the three they had nominated. His election was applauded by both parties, but out of very different motives, the one believing him to be an enemy, and the other knowing him to be a friend, to the French king and his kingdom; the *Te Deum*, &c. was sung by all with great joy, and the new pope proclaimed on Whitsunday eve, which in 1305 fell on the 5th of June. Such is the account John Villani gives us of this election in his history of Florence,¹ and it has been translated out of the original Italian into Latin by St. Antonine.²

The new pope was the son of Berald de Got, a nobleman of Aquitain, and lord of Villardrau, in the diocese of Bourdeaux, where the archbishop was born. His brother Berald was created cardinal by Celestine, and translated from the see of Lions to that of Albano. Boniface VIII. sent him with the character of his legate *a Latere* to conclude a peace between the kings of France and England. The present pope was preferred by the same Boniface to the see of Comminges in 1295, and in the latter end of the year 1299 translated to the see of Bourdeaux. As he owed his chief preferments to Boniface, the friends of that pope did not at all doubt but he would, if raised to the apostolic see, revenge the treatment his benefactor had met with from the French king and nation; the rather as his family had been treated with great severity by Charles de Valois, the king's brother, in the war carried on by the prince of Aquitain against the king of England, whose subjects they were. But cardinal Nicholas, who was well acquainted with him, knew he would sacrifice friendship and enmity as well as gratitude to his ambition.

The archbishop was in Poitou, visiting his diocese, when he received the news of his election, but from thence he returned to Bourdeaux as soon as he received it, and entered that city on the 15th of July, attended by the neighboring bishops and nobility, come to congratulate him upon his promo-

¹ Lib. 8. c. 80.

² Tit. 1. c. 1. part. 3.

Bertrand de Gott takes the name of Clement V. Orders the cardinals to repair to Lions. Is crowned at Lions. Several persons accidentally killed on that occasion. Absolves the king; creates ten cardinals, all Frenchmen; and restores the Colonnas.

tion. As he had not yet received the decree of his election, he continued to act only as archbishop. But the decree being brought and delivered to him on the 23d of July, he caused it to be published the next day, and showed himself to the people in all his pontifical ornaments, taking on that occasion the name of Clement V.¹ The decree was dated at Perugia the 5th of June, and with it was delivered a letter from the college of cardinals, dated the 8th of the same month, begging his holiness to come with all convenient speed to Perugia, where they would all continue till his arrival, in order to be present at his coronation. In answer to their letter, Clement, finding Italy was at this time rent into so many parties and factions, and most of the states there engaged in war among themselves, or with the neighboring states, desired the cardinals would dispense with his coming to Perugia, and at the same time ordered them to repair to Lions, to assist at his coronation. This command greatly alarmed all the cardinals, more especially the friends of Boniface and enemies of king Philip, as they now found that they had been over-reached by the opposite party. For from the pope's choosing to be crowned in France, they concluded he intended to continue there, and consequently would strive to oblige in all things that king. The cardinals, however, all complied with the order, except two, whom their great age prevented from undertaking so long a journey. We are told that cardinal Matthew Rossi, one of the heads of Boniface's party, said in a private conversation with cardinal Nicholas, while they were both upon the point of setting out for Lions, "You have accomplished your design of carrying the court beyond the mountains: I am acquainted with the temper of the Gascons, and will venture to foretell that it will not return in haste to Italy."²

The new pope immediately acquainted, by his circulatory letters, the bishops and all the Christian princes with his promotion, and at the same time invited the kings of France, England and Arragon, to assist at his coronation. St. Antonine supposes those princes to have been present at that ceremony; but he was certainly misinformed, no mention being made by the contemporary writers of any king but Philip of France. In the latter end of August the pope repaired to Lions, and two of the cardinals having died on their journey, he was there received by the rest. The king of France came some time after, with his brother, Charles de Valois, and the dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, and Lorraine. The ceremony was performed on the 14th of November, in the church of St. Justus, at Lions, and from thence the

pope returned to his palace on horse-back with the crown on his head, his horse being led first, a little way, by the king on foot, and afterwards by Charles de Valois and the duke of Brittany, likewise on foot. But the pompous procession was unexpectedly disturbed, and the joy that appeared on every face turned into grief, by the fall of an old ruinous wall, upon which more people had crowded to see the show than it could bear. The wall fell just as the pope passed by it, killed Galard, one of his brothers, upon the spot, and so bruised the duke of Brittany, John II., that he died in a few days, as did many other persons of distinction, and great numbers of the common people. Charles de Valois was very much hurt, but recovered. The king, who rode close by the pope, and the pope himself, had the good luck to escape unhurt. But his holiness in the fright fell from his horse, and the crown being struck off his head by the fall, a carbuncle of inestimable value was lost.¹ Under such auspices, say the Italian writers, was the holy see translated from Italy to France, from Rome to Avignon, where it remained for the space of seventy years and upwards. The stay of the popes there proved very prejudicial to Italy, and is therefore styled by the Italians the "Babylonish Captivity;" and it lasted the same number of years. On St. Clement's day, the 23d of November, the pope celebrated mass with great solemnity, and gave a grand entertainment to the cardinals, which ended not much better than the procession; for a quarrel arising between the attendants of the pope and those of the cardinals, a great deal of blood was shed on both sides. This, too, says Matthew of Westminster, was looked upon as prognosticating some great evil. That author adds, that Edward, king of England, presented the new pope with all the utensils for his chamber and his table of the purest gold.²

Clement's first and chief care, after his coronation, was faithfully to perform the promises he had made to the French king, and he began with granting him a full and unlimited absolution from all the censures he might have incurred, on any account whatever, in his dispute with Boniface. This was the first of the six favors the king had demanded; and the pope soon after granted him the fourth, creating on the 15th of December of the present year 1305, ten cardinals, all natives of France, except one Englishman, Thomas, king Edward's confessor, and restoring the two cardinal Colonnas to their former condition, or rather creating them anew, and declaring them capable of being even raised to the pontifical dignity.³ From Clement's letters it appears,

¹ Raymund ad ann. 1305, Num. 5. Bernard. Guidonus ad eundem ann. ² Antoninus ubi supra.

¹ Bernard. Guido. ad eundem ann.

² Westmonast. Hist. ad. ann. 1305.

³ Bernard. Guido in Vit. Clement.

Other favors granted to the king;—[Year of Christ, 1306.] The pope removes from Bourdeaux to Poitiers. The king urges the condemnation of the memory of Boniface. A full absolution granted to the king. Albert, king of the Romans, murdered;—[Year of Christ, 1308.]

that in process of time he conferred on cardinal James Colonna the dignity of archpriest of St. Mary the Greater, and that of archpriest of St. John Lateran on Peter Colonna, his nephew.

In the beginning of the following year 1306, the pope granted to the king, pursuant to his promise, the tenths of all the ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom for the space of five years, which was the third favor Philip had asked. On the 1st of February of the same year he revoked and declared null the bull of Boniface *Clericis Laicos*, &c., spoken of above, and with it the bull *Unum Sanctum*, by which it was pronounced, defined, and declared, that the kingdom of France, and of course all other kingdoms, was subject to the see of Rome in temporals as well as spirituals.¹ He likewise absolved the king from all obligation of restoring what he or his ministers had extorted from the clergy, during his war in Flanders, for the defence of the kingdom.²

In 1307 the pope removed with his court, and all the cardinals, from Bourdeaux to Poitiers, and there resided from the month of March of the present year to the latter end of August 1308. During his stay in that city the king desired a private interview with him upon affairs, he said in his letter, of the utmost importance. As the king offered to come in person to Poitiers, the pope appointed the 1st of April for the time of their meeting, when he should have dispatched the affairs which he was then engaged in, and be at leisure to attend his majesty. But being in the mean time taken ill, he put off the conference till the 7th of the same month, when the king came and privately disclosed to him the sixth favour, which he had not yet specified, but his holiness had before his promotion bound himself by a solemn oath to grant. The favor was, that he should cause the name of Boniface VIII. to be erased out of the catalogue of popes, his body to be taken out of the grave and publicly burnt, as it could be proved by the testimony of his own clerks that he was infected with heresy, and besides guilty of many enormous crimes. This demand alarmed beyond expression the pope and the cardinals, but most of all the pope, apprehending that his secret intrigues and agreement with the king, which he had industriously concealed, might come to light. He therefore advised with cardinal Nicholas, who was, as we have seen, privy to the whole, how to proceed at so nice and critical a juncture; and, by his advice, as the cardinal never wanted expedients, he returned the following answer to the king; that to condemn Boniface as a heretic would be declaring the promotion of the cardinals whom that pope had created, and by whom he himself had been elected, to be null, as well as all his

other acts, and that his own election would thus be disputed, and the validity of all his bulls in favor of the king and the kingdom of France be called in question. He added, that a pope could not be condemned till he was lawfully accused and convicted before a general council, which he would soon assemble; that the condemnation of Boniface should he be found guilty might redound to his great ignominy, and the king's greater glory. Thus Villani, and after him St. Antonine.³ But concerning this demand the many writers of this pope's life are all quite silent, some supposing the sixth favor asked by the king and promised by the pope, to have been the suppressing of the order of the Knights Templars, which was done, as we shall see, at the pursuit of the king in the council of Vienne. Others will have the reserved favor or demand to have been the translating of the empire from the Germans to the French in the person of Charles de Valois, the king's brother. But Ptolemy of Lucca, who lived at this time, seems to confirm what we read in Villani, saying the king demanded what he had no right or title, even as a king, to demand; which words have been understood by the modern writers as alluding to the condemnation of the pope. Be that as it may, the pope, to keep the king in good humor, issued a bull, dated at Poitiers, the 1st of June, in the second year of his pontificate, that is, in the present year, 1307, whereby he not only granted him a more full absolution from all the censures he might have incurred till that time, but forgave and absolved Nogaret, and a knight named Reginald Supinaus, who had been concerned with him in seizing and imprisoning Boniface, upon condition they expiated their crime, by humbly submitting to the penance that three cardinals, whom he names, should impose upon them.²

The following year, 1308, Albert of Austria, emperor, or king of the Romans, being treacherously killed by the duke of Suevia, his own nephew, Philip wanting to have the empire translated from the Germans to the French, as it had been transferred from the French to the Germans, resolved to apply to the pope in behalf of his brother Charles de Valois. This resolution was approved in the king's council, and it was agreed that it should be kept secret, and the king should repair in person to Poitiers with his brother, attended by the chief nobility of the kingdom, and propose the affair to the pope before he had the least notice of it, or could be biassed by the enemies of France against it. But the whole was privately discovered to the pope, who had his spies in all courts, by one of the king's own council. Clement was, on the one hand, unwilling

¹ Concil. Lab. tom. 11. p. 1499.

² Ibid.

³ Villani, l. 8. c. 91; et Antonin. part. 3. tit. 21. c. 1.
⁴ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1307.

The duke of Luxembourg, recommended by Clement, is elected king of the Romans. The Lateran church burnt, but rebuilt by Clement. Clement raises a physician to the see of Mentz. Transfers his see to Avignon;—[Year of Christ, 1309.] The Venetians seize the city of Ferrara.

to disoblige the king and the whole French nation. On the other he apprehended, and not without reason, that should the French, already a very powerful nation and lords of Sicily, become masters of the empire, the liberty of the states of Italy, and above all of the ecclesiastical state, would be in much greater danger from them than from the less powerful Germans. Being therefore at a loss what party to take, he had recourse to his oracle cardinal Nicholas; and the advice the cardinal gave him was, to write privately to the electors, who had met some time before, but could not agree among themselves, to recommend to them Henry, duke of Luxembourg, and command them to proceed, without further delay, to the election. Thus was the duke elected by a great majority within the term of eight days after they received the pope's command. The unexpected news of the election surprised the king, and he complained of it to the pope, discovering to him on that occasion his design. But Clement threw the whole blame upon the king, who had not acquainted him with it sooner.¹ However the king, adds the historian, suspecting the pope had not dealt fairly with him, was never afterwards perfectly reconciled with him.

While Clement still continued at Poitiers, he was informed by several letters from Rome, that in the night preceding the 6th of May, the Lateran basilic, and the patriarchal palace adjoining to it, had been destroyed by fire, nothing remaining of that stately temple but the chapel, called *Sancta Sanctorum*, where were kept the heads of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul.² The pope immediately despatched Isarnus, archbishop of Thebes, to Rome, with an immense sum of money; charging him, and with him cardinal James Colonna and the other cardinals then at Rome, to spare no expenses in rebuilding that church and restoring it to its ancient splendor. His letter to cardinal Colonna is dated at Poitiers the 11th of August 1308.³ He wrote at the same time to Charles, king of Sicily, requiring him to cause what timber should be wanted to be cut in the forests that belonged to the church in his Italian dominions, and order it to be conveyed to Rome.⁴ He likewise granted great indulgences to all who should any way assist in carrying on the work, or contribute to it. Thus was the loss in a very short time repaired, and a new church built far more magnificent than the old one. Ptolemy of Lucca, who lived at this time, tells us, that the Roman matrons distinguished themselves on that occasion in a very remarkable manner, drawing, with the assistance of some religious men,

the carriages loaded with the necessary materials into the church, lest it should be profaned by the brute animals.¹

Clement was taken dangerously ill, as has been said, at Poitiers. But fortunately for him Henry, duke of Luxembourg, afterwards emperor, had sent a very skilful physician, named Peter, to obtain of his holiness the then vacant see of Mentz for Baldwin, the duke's own brother. By him the pope was attended in his illness, and being perfectly recovered, preferred his physician to the archiepiscopal see, alleging that Baldwin was too young to be trusted with so great a charge, and it was fit that the cure of souls should be committed to one so expert at curing the body, the rather, as Peter was a man in other respects of an unblemished character. However, to satisfy the duke, he some time after raised his brother to the archiepiscopal see of Treves.²

In the end of the present year the pope resolved to quit the dominions of king Philip, in order to redeem himself from the importunity of that prince applying daily to him for new grants and favors, and fix his residence at Avignon, at that time subject to Charles, king of Sicily. He accordingly ordered the cardinals to repair to that city by the octave of the Epiphany, or the 13th of January of the following year, 1309, and in the mean time dismissed them, and gave them leave to retire whither they pleased. He returned himself to Bourdeaux, as appears from several of his letters written in the months of September, October, and December, dated at different places of that diocese. He kept his Christmas at Toulouse; went from thence to Comminges, of which city he had been formerly bishop, and there, on the 16th of January 1309, translated, with great pomp and solemnity, the remains of St. Bertrand, who had been bishop of the same city, had died in 1123, and had been canonized. The pope himself carried the remains of the holy bishop in his arms, and deposited them near the high altar in a coffin which he had caused to be made, and to be very richly adorned at his own expense. From Comminges he proceeded to Avignon, and arriving in that city early in the spring, found all the cardinals there.

The first exploit of Clement after his arrival at Avignon, was to excommunicate the Venetians, and that on the following occasion: Azo d'Este, marquis of Ferrara, dying in the beginning of August 1308, without lawful issue, his brother Francis d'Este and his natural son Fliscus quarrelled about the succession, and by their quarrel divided the whole city into two opposite parties. The Venetians availed themselves of that division, and attacking unexpectedly

¹ Villani, ubi supra, c. 100. ² Idem. *ibid.* c. 97.

³ Raymund. *ad eund.* ann. 8.

⁴ Bzovius in Vit. Clement. Num. 12.

¹ Ptol. Luc. in Vit. Clement.

² Serarius. Hist. Mogunt. l. 3.

The Venetians excommunicated by the pope. Their army defeated, and the city recovered. Robert, the son of Charles the Lame, crowned by the pope king of Sicily;—[Year of Christ, 1310.]

the place, made themselves masters of it. But the ground upon which the city stood had originally belonged to the apostolic see, and the city itself had been subject, said the pope in his bull, ever since its foundation, to the Roman pontiffs. Clement, therefore, thinking it his duty to ascertain the rights of his see, after several monitories, to which no regard was paid by the Venetians, ordered them, at last, on pain of excommunication, to withdraw their troops from the city and its territory within the term of thirty days. But the Venetians paying no more regard to this than to his holiness's other monitories, the pope on Maundy Thursday, which in 1309 fell on the 27th of March, thundered out a most dreadful bull against them—for by that bull the Venetians were all excommunicated, with their doge and other magistrates; their city and all the places subject to the republic on the continent were put under an interdict; the inhabitants were declared infamous and incapable of making any will; their dominions, territories, and possessions were given to any who should seize on them; their subjects were absolved from their allegiance; all were forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to sell any thing to them, even the necessities of life, or to buy any thing of them, or to enter into any alliance offensive or defensive with them; all the privileges granted to them by the apostolic see were revoked; their descendants were excluded to the fourth generation from all ecclesiastical offices, dignities, and preferments; and lastly, the bishops and the clergy, both secular and regular, were commanded to withdraw from the territories of the republic in ten days, leaving only a small number of priests to administer baptism to the infants, and absolve the adult at the point of death.¹ The pope wrote at the same time to the kings of Sicily, Spain, France, and England, to seize on the persons as well as the effects of all the Venetians in their dominions.

But these were all "bruta fulmina." The Venetians still kept Ferrara, nay, and grossly insulted the pope's nuncio, treating him as a spy, and driving him as such out of the city. His holiness, therefore, finding his spiritual arms proved so ineffectual, resolved to employ the temporal. He caused, accordingly, a crusade to be preached in France, with the usual indulgences, against the Venetians, as enemies to the church; and having by that means raised a considerable body of troops, he sent them into Italy under the command of Arnold de Pelagruë, cardinal of St. Mary in Porticu, a near relation of his. The cardinal, on his arrival in Lombardy, prevailed upon most of the cities there, jealous of the growing power of the

Venetians, and likewise upon the Florentines, to join him against them. His army being thus greatly reinforced, he marched against the enemy then encamped at Francolino on the banks of the Po, attacked them and put them to flight, with the loss of five or six thousand of their best troops. From the field of battle the cardinal led his victorious army against the city of Ferrara, and, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance he met with, took it by storm on St. Austin's day, the 28th of August, and obliged the inhabitants to acknowledge themselves vassals of the apostolic see, and swear allegiance to Clement, and his lawful successors in that see.¹

The following year, 1310, died on the 5th of May, Charles II., king of Sicily, and upon his death a dispute arose about the succession between Robert, the deceased king's son, and Charles or Carobert, the son of Charles Martel, king of Hungary. As Charles Martel was king Charles's eldest son, and had, as such, an undoubted right to the kingdom, Carobert claimed it as that prince's eldest son, and consequently heir to all his rights and dominions. The case was disputed at Avignon before the pope and the college of cardinals by the ablest civilians of the time, and their pleadings are to be met with among the works of Lucas di Penna and Matthew d'Afflitto.² But the pope and the cardinals, paying no regard to the arguments in favor of Carobert founded upon hereditary right, adjudged the kingdom to Robert, then duke of Calabria, for the two following reasons: 1. Because it was expedient for the peace of Italy and the good of the church, that the kingdom of Sicily should be governed by a prince, who had distinguished himself both in peace and war, and was perfectly well acquainted with the temper and the manners of his subjects, and not by a child (for Carobert was yet very young) utterly unacquainted with both. They added, that as the Hungarians would not suffer their king to reside out of their kingdom, he would be obliged to commit the government of Sicily to his ministers, which would probably be attended with great disturbances. Their other reason was, that in 1292 Boniface VIII. had decreed, with the consent and approbation of the late king, that to prevent the disturbances that the princes of the blood-royal might raise upon his demise about the succession, the eldest of those who were then the next of kin to him should succeed as lawful heir to the crown. Charles left three sons behind him, namely, Robert duke of Calabria, and the two princes of Taranto and Achaia; and it was chiefly in virtue of that constitution that the duke of Calabria, the eldest of the

¹ Bernard. Guid. in Vit. Clement. et apud Raynald. ad ann. 1309. Num. 8; et Bzovium, Num. 2.

² Villani, l. 8. c. 103, 115; et Ptol. Luc. in Vit. Clement.

² In tit. de Success.

King Philip urges anew the condemnation of Boniface. His accusers and defenders heard by the pope and the college of cardinals. The king prevailed upon to refer the whole affair to the pope;—[Year of Christ, 1311.] Nogaret absolved; what penance imposed upon him. Second promotion of cardinals.

three, claimed the crown and obtained it. The point in dispute being thus decided, Robert was crowned at Avignon, by the pope himself, on the first Sunday of August of the present year, taking the same oaths as his father and grandfather had taken on the same occasion.¹ It is observable, that king Robert, in all his edicts and other public writings, constantly styled himself Robertus primogenitus, &c., to show that the crown had fallen to him as the eldest of the late king's surviving sons, and nearer of kin to him than Carobert.

In the mean time the king of France revived his prosecution against the memory of Boniface, pressing the pope anew to expunge his name out of the catalogue of popes, as it could be proved by unexceptionable witnesses that he had been guilty of many most enormous crimes, and among the rest, of heresy. Clement, therefore, finding the king could by no means be prevailed upon to drop the prosecution, summoned, by a bull dated the 13th of September, the accusers of Boniface, as well as his advocates and defenders, to appear at Avignon on the first Sunday in Lent of the following year, 1310. The chief accusers of Boniface were Nogaret and de Plessis, and both appearing at the time appointed, charged him with heresy, simony, murder, unnatural lust, and many other shocking crimes, producing a great number of witnesses to prove them. On the other hand, cardinal Caietan, the accused pope's nephew, undertaking his defence, produced as many witnesses of his innocence as his prosecutors had done of his guilt, charging them at the same time with the murders they had committed at Anagni, when they seized the pope, with plundering his palace, and carrying off the treasure of the church. The trial lasted till the latter end of the year 1310, when the pope, unwilling to condemn Boniface, on account of the scandal it would give to the whole Christian world, and loth to absolve him, lest he should thereby disoblige the king, wrote most pressing letters to Philip, entreating him, as he tendered the honor, welfare, and peace of the church, to suffer the whole to be for ever buried in oblivion. The king yielded at last, and by a letter dated at Fons-biaudi, or Fontainebleau, in February 1311, left the whole affair to be determined by his holiness, in what manner he should think best, promising to acquiesce in his judgment and decision. In answer to this letter the pope, after bestowing the highest commendations upon the king, ascribes his proceedings against Boniface to his zeal for the purity of the catholic faith; excuses him as having been in no ways concerned in the taking and imprisoning of that pope, which,

he says, was done without his command, and quite unknown to him; revokes anew and annuls all decrees and constitutions that had been issued from the beginning of the dispute till that time, and might be in the least prejudicial to the king, the kingdom, or the subjects of France, and restores all things to the condition they were in at the commencement of the quarrel. He farther ordered all writings relating to that controversy, whether for or against Boniface, to be expunged out of the registers of the Roman church; and all who had any such writings in their possession, whether copies or originals, to destroy them, on pain of excommunication, within the term of four months, without communicating them in the mean time to, or suffering them to be transcribed by others. This letter, or rather diploma, is dated at Avignon the 27th of May, in the sixth year of Clement's pontificate, that is, in 1311.¹ Thus were all the original pieces relating to that controversy destroyed; and hence those that were published at Paris in 1655, from an ancient manuscript in the library of St. Victor in that city, are by many looked upon as spurious.

The pope, in all his bulls granting absolution to such as had been accessory to the violences committed against Boniface, had excepted Nogaret, Sciarra, Colonna, and all who had been immediately concerned in seizing the pope, and plundering his palace. However, to gratify the king, interceding in behalf of Nogaret, he absolved him by a bull, dated the 28th of May, from all the censures he might have incurred, enjoining him, by way of penance, to go in pilgrimage to seven sanctuaries, all mentioned in the bull, and among the rest to St. James of Compostella, and then to pass over with horses and arms to the Holy Land, and serve there the rest of his life, unless he obtained leave of the apostolic see to return.² The king, says Ptolemy of Lucca, who lived at this time, was so well pleased with the whole conduct of the pope, that he ordered 100,000 florins to be paid into the apostolic chamber to reward him for the trouble this affair had given him, and the pains he had taken happily to determine so long a dispute to the satisfaction of both parties.³

Clement, to oblige the king still more, created about this time five new cardinals, all Gascons, recommended to him by the king; which gave no small offence to the Italians, not one of that nation having yet been preferred by him to that dignity.

The pope, when pressed by the king to condemn the memory of Boniface, had alleged, as we have seen, that a pope could

¹ Bernard. Guidon. et Raymund. Num. 19. Vñlani, l. 8. p. 112.

² Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. Num. 26; et Bernard. Guid. in Vit. Clement.

³ Idem ibid, et Ptol. Luc. in Vit. Clement. ^a Id. ib.

The council of Vienne the 15th general council. First session. Second session;—[Year of Christ, 1312.] Charge brought against the Knights Templars. They are all arrested on the same day in France. The charge owned by many.

not be condemned unless accused and convicted in a general council; and to gratify the king, he had, by his letters dated at Poitiers, the 12th of August, 1308, appointed one to meet at Vienne, in Dauphiny, on the 1st of October, 1310. But being employed all that year in settling the affair of Boniface with the king, to avoid its being canvassed in a general council, he put off their meeting till the 1st of October of the following year, 1311. As the city of Vienne was not then subject to the French king, the pope chose it, says Villani, that the fathers, being under no awe from that prince, might speak their minds more freely.¹

The council consisted, according to some, of three hundred bishops and upwards; but, according to others, of no more than one hundred and fourteen, among whom were the two Latin patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. Most of the bishops, who assisted not in person, sent their deputies, and most of the princes their ambassadors. The kings of France and Navarre were present in person after the first session, attended by the flower of the nobility of both kingdoms.² The pope repaired from Avignon to Vienne about the middle of September, and on the 16th of October opened the council with a speech, acquainting the fathers with the motives that had induced him to assemble them: And these were, 1. To determine, with their advice, the affair of the Knights Templars, charged with many enormous crimes. 2. To procure immediate relief and supplies for the Christians in the Holy Land. 3. To reform the manners of the ecclesiastics, and restore the decayed discipline of the church.

The second session was not held till the 3d of April of the following year, 1312, the pope and the cardinals being entirely taken up, during the whole winter, in examining the accusations and the proofs of the accusations brought against the Knights Templars. That military order was founded in 1118 by the two knights Hugh de Paganis and Geoffery of St. Omar, and in 1128 approved and confirmed by the council of Troyes. When they were yet but few in number, Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem, allowed them an habitation in the palace near the temple, and from thence they were styled Knights of the Temple, or Knights Templars. They were instituted to guard the roads, and protect the pilgrims that went to visit the temple, and other holy places at Jerusalem. They soon became very numerous, and as they distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner in all the wars with the infidels, immense legacies were left them, and houses built for them in all Christian king-

doms. Being thus possessed of great wealth, all the vices that naturally attend wealth and power crept by degrees into the order, and many gross abuses and irregularities prevailed among them. However, as their order was looked upon as a bulwark against the infidels, the vices of particulars were connived at by the popes and the secular princes. But in the very beginning of Clement's pontificate the whole order was accused of the most shocking crimes. Their accusers were two of their own body, the prior of Montfaucon in the province of Toulouse, and one called Natto-Dei, a native of Florence. These being condemned for their crimes, turned informers against their brethren, hoping to escape by that means, as they actually did, the punishment which they had been sentenced to undergo. The crimes they declared and attested upon oath, as common to the whole order, appeared at first to king Philip, their chief prosecutor, to exceed all belief. However, spurred on by his aversion to the Templars in general, and to John Molay the grand master in particular, pretending they had under-hand encouraged an insurrection during his war in Flanders, he ordered the two informers to be strictly examined, and their depositions to be committed to writing. They deposed, that every knight was required, when admitted into the order, to deny Christ, to spit upon the crucifix, and adore an idol presented to him for that purpose by the person who received him; that all commerce with women was forbidden, but unnatural lust, in the order, permitted, approved, and encouraged. The other secret rules of the order, as well as the ceremonies said to have been practised by every knight at the time of his admission, are such as no one can hear or read without horror. The king, in his letter to the pope, owned the crimes to be too atrocious to deserve credit, but at the same time sent a private order to the magistrates, in the different provinces throughout the kingdom, to arrest all the Templars; and they were all accordingly arrested on the same day.

The next step the king took in this affair was to have the prisoners separately examined with respect to the heads of the complicated charge brought against them; and that business he committed to William Paris, a Dominican friar, and inquisitor-general for the kingdom of France. Several hundreds were examined at Paris by the inquisitor himself, and by his deputies in the different provinces; and all but seventy-four confessed most of the crimes their order was charged with. The renouncing of Christ at the time of their admission was denied even by some who had owned every other article of the charge. But one Gonneville, who had been admitted into the order in England, being

¹ Villani, l. 8. c. 91.

² Idem, l. 9. c. 23. Marius Belga et continuator
Nangii ad ann. 1311.

Some retract their confession, and persist in their retraction. The sentiments of some cardinals concerning this prosecution. The pope gained over by the French king. The Templars every where arrested. In most places plead not guilty, and the affair referred to the council.

interrogated upon that head, declared, that at the time of his admission he was required to deny Christ, and that upon his appearing not a little shocked at such a request, the superior told him, that it was a custom approved by the order; that it had been introduced by a grand master, who having been unfortunately taken prisoner by the sultan, could obtain his liberty upon no other condition; and that it might therefore be safely complied with. In a provincial council held at Paris by the archbishop of Sens, one hundred and thirty-one knights were examined, and most of them pleaded guilty, confessing the crimes which their order was accused of. But fifty-nine afterwards retracted their confession, declaring that they knew nothing amiss of the order; that it was innocent of the crimes which it had been charged with by two base renegadoes, who, to earn impunity for themselves, had impeached all their brethren; that every article of the charge was absolutely false, and entirely groundless; and that they themselves, knowing them to be so, had nevertheless attested them as true, to avoid the punishment they were threatened with if they denied them. As they persisted in their retraction, the council sentenced them to be burnt alive as relapsed heretics; and that cruel punishment they underwent with the greatest firmness and constancy, declaring amidst the flames the innocence of their order, begging pardon of God and the world for the injustice they were guilty of in defaming their innocent brethren, and hoping that their dying for the truth would, in some degree, atone for their witnessing so many falsehoods.

The king had, from the beginning, acquainted the pope with the depositions of the two informers, and with his having caused all the templars throughout his dominions to be thereupon arrested, in order to their being examined by proper judges concerning the crimes deposed against them. The charge appeared at first to the pope and the whole college of cardinals altogether incredible; nay, it was even suggested by some of the cardinals that, as the king was known to be no friend to the templars, he might be actuated, in proceeding against them, by very different motives from those of justice or religion; that it was repugnant both to justice and religion to arrest and confine, as guilty, a whole order of men, upon no better evidence than that of two criminals unworthy of credit, as being themselves convicted of most enormous crimes, and that in consideration of the eminent services they had rendered to the Christian religion, his holiness ought to take them into the protection of the apostolic see till the crimes alleged against them were proved by more unexceptionable witnesses. The pope seemed inclined, in compliance with this

advice, to put a stop, for the present, to the prosecution. But in the mean time, one of the Templars, a man of rank, who had been arrested with the rest, being privately examined by the king himself, owned the charge, with respect to the principal articles, to be true. The king sent him immediately to the pope, in whose presence he confirmed, being examined by his holiness himself and five cardinals, what he had declared to the king. We are told that a Knight Templar of the pope's own court, finding the irregularities of the order were come to light, ingenuously confessed them to his holiness, and obtained absolution. However that be, the pope resolved to have the affair thoroughly examined; and in order thereunto empowered first the inquisitors, and afterwards the bishops to proceed against them in their respective provinces, reserving to himself the trial of the grand master, and of some other persons whom he named, of great distinction in the order. In France most of them owned the enormous crimes alleged against them; but some died in the flames, as we have seen, protesting against the depositions of their brethren, as extorted by fear or promises, and declaring, with their last breath, their own innocence, and that of the order.

The prosecution was carried on, by the pope's order, in other countries and kingdoms, as well as in France. In England the Templars were all arrested on the same day, and being examined in a synod that was held at London, and sat two whole months, many of them confessed the crimes they were charged with. They were in like manner arrested, at the pressing instances of the pope and the French king, in the different states of Italy, and the different kingdoms of Spain. But when examined by the inquisitors and the bishops, most of them every where solemnly declared, that they knew nothing of the many crimes and execrable practices that were said to be not only permitted, but approved by the order; that their being required, at the time of their admission, to deny Christ, and worship an idol, was a mere invention of their enemies; that they had ever distinguished themselves above all others in the defence of Christ and his holy religion; that no order of men was so much dreaded as theirs by the enemies of both; that many thousands of them had defended, and all were ready to defend, the Christian religion at the expense of their lives; that many of their brethren were kept at that very time in slavery amongst the infidels, from which they might redeem themselves by denying Christ, but chose rather to live and die in chains and misery than purchase their liberty at so dear a rate, &c. These reasons were hearkened to by their judges, and thought to overbalance all the

The order suppressed by the pope in a private consistory. The bull suppressing it communicated to the council. What ordained by that bull. The cruel fate of the grand master.

depositions against them. However, as a general council was soon to meet, they thought it advisable to leave the final determination of the whole affair to that council. It appeared, on occasion of these inquiries, that many of the Templars led more lewd and debauched lives; perhaps not more lewd and debauched than are led by another military order still subsisting, but the charge lay against the order in general, and not against particulars.

The council met, as has been said, at Vienne on the 1st of October 1311, and the first session being held on the 16th of the same month, the pope, the cardinals, and some of the bishops were wholly employed from that time to the 3d of April, 1312, in examining the proceedings that had been transmitted to them from the different provinces and kingdoms against the Templars. As the accused had, in most places, appealed to the council, some of the bishops, admitted to these private conferences, were of opinion that they ought to be heard, as well as their accusers, by the fathers of the council, and the whole affair left to their determination, as that was one of the motives that had induced his holiness to assemble them. But others, and amongst the rest William Durant, bishop of Mende, a man universally esteemed for his learning, thinking the crimes charged upon the order sufficiently proved, were for the pope's suppressing it by his own authority, as they were, being a religious order, immediately subject to the apostolic see. During these consultations arrived at Vienne king Philip, with his three sons, Lewis, king of Navarre, Philip, and Charles, and most of the nobles of the first rank in the kingdom. He had several private conferences with the pope, the result of which was a bull, destroying and annihilating for ever, to use the expression of the historian, the order of the Templars.¹

The bull was dated the 22d of March, but was not published till the 3d of April, the time appointed for the second session. The bishops being met, the pope gave them a succinct, but very partial, account of the proceedings against the Templars, pretended the crimes they were charged with, atrocious and incredible as they were, to have been proved by unexceptionable witnesses and owned by themselves, exaggerated the scandal they had given to the whole Christian world, nay, and to the very enemies of the Christian name; and then, without consulting the bishops, ordered his bull to be read, saying, he did not doubt but they would concur with him in the resolution he had taken of delivering the church from so wicked, so dangerous, and so hurtful a set of men. As the king, who had that affair greatly at heart, says the historian, was pre-

sent at this session with his three sons, the bull was received with great applause, and approved by the whole assembly.¹

By that bull all were forbidden, upon pain of excommunication, to enter thenceforth into the order of the Knights Templars, or to wear their habit; such as persisted in denying the crimes charged upon them were to be judged by the bishops in their provincial synods, and punished according to the nature of the said crimes; but they who confessed them, and seemed truly penitent, were to be forgiven, and to be maintained, quitting their habit, in the houses where they had made their profession, out of the revenues of the said houses. As for the immense wealth the order was possessed of throughout Christendom, their immovables, or real estates, were, by a bull dated the 2d of May, given to the Knights Hospitalers; and it was ordained, that they should in the term of one month be every where put in possession of them, except in the kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, Portugal, and Majorca, where the princes were allowed to enjoy the revenues of those estates till they had driven the Moors out of their respective kingdoms.

As the pope had reserved to himself the judging of the grand master, and three other knights of high rank, who had been arrested at Paris with the rest, he sent two cardinals to pronounce sentence against them, in his name, and see it executed. The cardinals, on their arrival at Paris, caused a scaffold to be erected before the great gate of the church of Notre-Dame, and having ordered the supposed criminals to be brought thither, they read to them the judgment his holiness had given against them, which was deposition and imprisonment for life. The grand master and another, the brother of the dauphin of Vienne, on hearing the sentence read, declared, in the most solemn manner, that they as well as the order were innocent of the crimes for which they were condemned; that, if any of their brethren had confessed them, their confession must have been extorted by fear or promises; and that, as for themselves, they were ready to undergo all the torments cruelty itself could inflict in defence of their own innocence and that of their order. But the cardinals, declaring that they were not sent to judge them, but only to pronounce the judgment his holiness had given against them, delivered them up, after degrading them, to the provost of Paris. The king thought the punishment too slight; and he therefore ordered the grand master and the dauphin's brother, who had maintained their innocence, to be burnt alive, as obstinate and irretrievable heretics. They both denied to the last the crimes for which they suffered, and died appealing for their innocence to the just and all-knowing Judge,

¹ Bernard Guid. ad ann. 1312.

¹ Bernard Guid. ad ann. 1312.

Whether the Templars were justly or unjustly condemned. Their confession extorted. The charge altogether incredible.

at whose tribunal they were that moment to appear. As the two other knights said nothing in favor of themselves or their order, knowing it would stand them in no stead, the king, willing to construe their silence into a tacit acknowledgment of their guilt, granted them their lives.¹

Thus, in the year 1312, was the famous order of the knights templars every where entirely suppressed, when they had served for the space of one hundred and eighty-four years, with great reputation, in all the wars against the infidels in the East. But whether they were justly or unjustly condemned is a question that has divided the historians both ancient and modern. That many irregularities prevailed in that as well as in most other religious orders is not denied even by their advocates. But that they were guilty of the enormous crimes, that drew upon them their final destruction, must, I think, still appear as incredible to every considering man as it did at first to the king and to his holiness himself. For, in the first place, that the crimes they were charged with exceeded all belief was owned both by the pope and the king. And upon what evidence were crimes exceeding all belief believed by both? Why, they were at first believed by the king upon no better evidence than that of two criminals condemned for their crimes, and unworthy of credit. For it was upon their testimony alone that the knights were arrested by the king's order throughout his dominions and their estates sequestered, both real and personal. Philip himself was, it seems, sensible of the injustice of such proceeding, and to excuse it pretended to have taken that step to prevent the templars, who were very numerous, powerful, and rich, and had great connexions, from kindling a war in the bowels of the kingdom, and obstructing by that means all further inquiries. It is indeed true, that in France most of those unhappy men owned the crimes they were charged with. But it must be observed, that all who did so met with the kindest treatment, were dismissed with some slight penance, or even rewarded; while they who denied them were treated with the utmost barbarity, were most inhumanly tortured, and either burnt alive or condemned to a dungeon for life, if they still continued to deny them; and yet that some still continued to maintain their innocence, nay, and several, who had pleaded guilty upon the rack, or to avoid it, retracted afterwards their confession, declaring, that it had been extorted by the torments they had been threatened with or had undergone, and died proclaiming amidst the flames their own innocence and that of the order. And who can suppose that, had the charge been true, so many would have persisted to the last in

denying it, and died with a lie in their mouths, when they could have redeemed themselves from the most cruel deaths by owning the truth! What but their being conscious to themselves of their innocence could have inspired them with so much resolution, constancy, and fortitude? As Philip was, according to all the contemporary historians, entirely bent upon the destruction of the order, it seemed to be a greater crime with him to deny the enormities they were charged with than to have committed them. In the province of Ravenna the archbishop caused the knights to be all arrested in one night, in compliance with an order from the pope. But as he would not suffer them to be tempted by promises nor awed by fear, they all to a man maintained the innocence of the order, charging, at the same time, their brethren in France with having owned what they knew to be false to gratify the king, who sought their destruction.

The improbability of the charge may, in the second place, be urged as a proof, and indeed an incontestable one, of its falsity. For is it not highly improbable, altogether incredible, and next to impossible, that a whole society of men, of so many different nations and conditions, some of the highest rank, spread all over the Christian world, should have all and every where renounced the religion, which they were bound by their profession to defend, and fallen into all the most abominable crimes that human nature is capable of in its greatest depravity? That such unheard-of wickedness and impiety should have been kept concealed from the world for the space of near a hundred years, though many had left the order during that time, and many had been turned out of it for their misbehaviour. That none who, deserting from the order, had fled over to the Saracens, and embraced their religion, should never have offered to justify their apostacy by alleging the abominations that were allowed and even approved by the order, if any such had really been allowed and approved; and, lastly, that none who, out of a motive of piety and religion, presented themselves to be admitted into the order, as we may well suppose many to have done, should have scrupled to renounce Christ and adore an idol, which was required of all, as was pretended, at the time of their admission? The ceremonies (if I may call them so) said to have been practised by all, on occasion of their admission, were such as no man could submit to who was not lost to all sense of honor and shame as well as religion. And can we suppose all to have been so, who for the space of about a hundred years were admitted into the order! Is it credible, that none, during that time, should have withdrawn, shocked at their impiety and obscenities, and discovered them to the world! Of these objections

¹ Vide Spondan. ad annos 1307, 1311; et Baluz in Notis ad Vit. Pap. Aven.

The proceedings against the Templars illegal. Owned to be so by the pope himself. The council orders a new crusade to be preached. The errors of the Beguardi and Beguinæ condemned.

father Pagi was aware, and therefore could not help owning, that the crimes charged upon the Templars would be credited by none, if it did not appear from the diplomas of the pope and the strictest inquiries that the charge was not groundless.¹ But how those inquiries were carried on we have seen. They who confessed those crimes earned impunity by their confession, while they who denied them were tortured to death or burnt alive as impenitent heretics. As to the pope's diplomas, they are all grounded upon depositions and confessions extorted by fear or promises. Indeed it appears from some of the pope's letters, that he would have willingly waved this affair, which could only be owing to his being sensible of the injustice of such a prosecution. However, upon the king's promising to leave the estates of the Templars at the disposal of the apostolic see, should they be found guilty, his holiness, caught with that bait, not only joined in the prosecution carried on against them in France, but extended it, upon the same condition, to all other kingdoms.

But that he really did not believe them to be guilty of the crimes they were charged with appears, I think, pretty plain from the manner in which he proceeded in the final sentence itself. For though the accused had every where appealed to the general council that was soon to meet, yet he would not suffer the affair to be examined and determined by the fathers of that assembly, but condemned them in a private consistory of the cardinals, and a few bishops, who he knew would concur with him in any measures to gratify the king. In that consistory, or private meeting, a bull was drawn up to extirpate the order; but the pope did not communicate it to the council till the arrival of the king with his three sons and the chief nobility of the kingdom, not doubting but the fathers of the assembly would be awed by their presence into an approbation of it: and so it happened. It is observable, that the pope himself owned in his bull, that according to the inquiries that had been made and the processes or method of proceeding in the cause of the Templars, he could not legally pronounce a definitive sentence; "*non per modum definitivæ sententiæ, cum eam super hoc secundum inquisitiones et processus super his habitos non possemus ferre de jure*;" and therefore by way of provision rather than condemnation, "*per provisionis potius quam condemnationis viam*," he suppressed the order and abolished it for ever, reserving their persons and estates to be disposed of by himself and the church. If he could not *de jure*, or according to law, proceed to a definitive sentence, and abolish the order *by way of condemnation*, he evidently could not, according to law, abolish

it *by way of provision*, or by any other way whatever; so that the abolishing of it was arbitrary and illegal; and his holiness acted therein like a judge who should declare, that, according to law, he could not condemn the person accused at his tribunal, and yet should sentence him to be executed by way of provision.

The third session of the present council was held on the 6th of May, when it was resolved, that a new crusade should be preached throughout Christendom, and great indulgences were granted to all who should engage in it. King Philip promised to take the cross in a twelvemonth's time from the 1st of March of the present year, and within the term of six years to pass over in person to the Holy Land with his three sons, his brothers, and all the nobility of the kingdom. At the same time his eldest son bound himself to perform what his father had promised, should he be prevented by death or any lawful impediment from performing it himself. The council, therefore, in order to enable them to make the necessary preparations for that expedition, granted them, with the approbation of the pope, the tenths of all the benefices in the kingdom for the space of six years. But the promise never was performed by either.¹

In the same session were condemned the Beguardi and the Beguinæ, a sect of men and women lately sprung up in Germany. The doctrines they taught and the council condemned were: 1. That a man may in this life attain to such a degree of perfection as to become impeccable, and incapable of acquiring any new perfection; for if he could, said they, daily improve in grace and perfection, he might in the end become more perfect than Christ himself. 2. That when a man is arrived at that degree of perfection, it is needless for him to fast or pray, sensuality being then so entirely subdued by reason and the Spirit, that a man may indulge the body as he pleases. 3. That at that height of perfection and liberty of spirit one owes no obedience to any human creature, nor is he bound to observe the commandments of the church; for where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. 4. That to practice acts of virtue is the part of a man still imperfect; for he who is perfect has nothing to do with virtues. 5. That to kiss a woman is a mortal sin when you are not prompted to it by inclination, but that no sensual act can be sinful when your inclination leads or tempts you to it. 6. That at the elevation of the host the man who is perfect ought not to rise up nor pay any reverence to it, it being an imperfection to descend from the purity and sublimity of contemplation to employ your thoughts about the eucharist, or the sufferings of Christ's

¹ Pagi, Breviar. Pont. Rom. l. 4. p. 30.

¹ Continuator Nang. ad ann. 1312.

The cause of Boniface not heard in the council. Villani mistaken in asserting that it was. Celestine V. canonized;—[Year of Christ, 1313.] Henry VII. crowned emperor at Rome.

human nature. These and some other absurdities held and taught by the above-mentioned sectaries, were condemned in the present council, and the inquisitors ordered to proceed every where against them with the utmost severity.¹ Whence they were called Beguards and Beguines is uncertain, but certain it is that they were very different from the Beguines who still subsist at Liege, and in several places in Flanders. They are an order of nuns, instituted about the middle of the twelfth century, by a devout priest of Liege, called Lambert, and from his stammering surnamed *Le Begue*, whence they took the name of Beguines. They lead a religious life, but may return to the world and marry. John XXII., the immediate successor of Clement, declared by his bull "*Recta ratio, &c.*," that the bull of his predecessor and the sentence pronounced by the council of Vienna against those, who bore the same name with them, did not extend to them.²

The constitution of Gregory X., relating to the conclave, confirmed by Celestine V. and Boniface VIII., was confirmed anew by the present council; and it was further ordained, that no cardinal under any pretence of excommunication, suspension, or interdict whatever should be excluded from the election. Villani writes, that the cause of Boniface was heard in this council, and it was declared, that he had been lawful pope, and never had been infected with any heresy. He adds, that two Catalan knights offered in the council to maintain the innocence of Boniface by single combat against any two knights the French king should name. Thus Villani.³ But though he lived at this very time, and we may safely rely, generally speaking, upon the accounts he gives us of the affairs of Italy, where he wrote, he was often misled by the informations of others with respect to what happened in other countries; nay some of his mistakes are quite unaccountable. Thus, for instance, he tells us, that the present council was held on the 1st of November, when from the pope's circulatory letter to the bishops, it appears that they were summoned to meet on the 1st of October, and in the acts of the council the first session is said to have been held on the 16th of that month. He likewise supposes St. Lewis, the son of Charles II., king of Sicily and bishop of Toulouse, to have been canonized by Clement in this council, when it is manifest from the bull of his canonization, that the honor of saintship was conferred upon him by John XXII., on the 7th of April, 1317; and it is no less manifest from the bull of the canonization of pope Celestine V., that he was sainted by Clement on the 5th

of May, 1313, and not, as Villani wrote,¹ by John XXII., in 1328. The same writer will have Clement to have returned to Bourdeaux upon his dismissing the council. But we have several diplomas of his dated at different places on the road from Vienna to Avignon, a few days after the breaking up of the council. As Villani therefore, though living and writing at this very time, was misinformed with respect to these particulars, he might have been so too with respect to the above declaration of the council in favor of Boniface. Indeed that he was so is manifest from the acts of the council, no mention being made there of any such decree or declaration, which we may well suppose would not have been omitted: and why should it had it ever passed? Add to this the testimony of all the other contemporary historians, telling us that the pope, being unwilling to have the affair of Boniface canvassed by the council, had the address to settle it privately with the king before the council met. If what Villani says of the two Catalan champions be true, it must have happened, not in the council, but on some other occasion.

The council broke up on the 6th of May, and the pope, leaving Vienne, set out soon after, with his court on his return to Avignon,² where he remained all this and the greater part of the following year. He there canonized Celestine V. on the 5th of May, 1313, styling him in his bull, *St. Peter*, which was his Christian name, and not *St. Celestine*, the name he took upon his promotion to the pontificate, to show that at the time of his death he was not pope Celestine, but Peter de Murrone, and thus declared his resignation to have been valid; which many questioned. However, he is now every where honored and invoked under the title of *St. Celestine*, pope and confessor.

Henry, duke of Luxemburg, had been elected king of the Romans in 1308, had been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 6th of January, 1309, and Clement had not only confirmed his election, but by a letter dated at Avignon, the 26th of July of the same year, had promised him the imperial crown. That promise Henry challenged in 1312, having then settled his affairs in Germany, and five cardinals were thereupon ordered by the pope to repair to Rome and perform the ceremony. Among these were Arnold, bishop of Sabina, and Nicholas, bishop of Ostia; and both claimed the honor of placing the crown upon the emperor's head, the bishop of Sabina pretending that it belonged to him, as he stood next to the pope when he crowned the emperor, and held the imperial crown till it was placed by his holiness upon the emperor's head. On the

¹ Raynald ad ann. 1313. Num. 17.

² Vit. John XXII. apud Baluz. ³ Villani, l. 9. c. 22.

¹ Villani, l. 8. c. 5.

² Amalric in ejus Vit.; et Bernard. Guido.

Henry espouses the cause of the Ghibelines. Quarrels with the king of Sicily. Will not allow the oath he had taken to be an oath of fidelity. Declares the king of Sicily an enemy to the empire.

other hand it was alledged by the bishop of Ostia, that, as he crowned the pope, no other could have a right to crown the emperor in the absence of the pope. But that dispute the pope decided in favor of the bishop of Sabina, as being at the head of the legation and representing his person; which was declaring that he was on that account alone to perform the ceremony, but that it belonged of right to the bishop of Ostia to perform it. Thus both were satisfied, and on the 29th of June, 1312, Henry was anointed by the bishop of Ostia, and crowned, after taking the usual oaths, by the bishop of Sabina.¹ No emperor had taken the imperial crown since the time of Frederic II., crowned by Honorius III. on the 22d of November 1220, and therefore all who succeeded Frederic till the time of the present emperor, Henry VII., are by most historians only styled kings of the Romans or kings of Germany.

The ceremony of the coronation was not performed, as was usual, in the church of St. Peter, but in the Lateran, and that happened on the following occasion: Henry had declared that he would humble the Guelf faction in Italy, looking upon those of that party as the disturbers of the public peace. He accordingly sent a considerable body of troops to Rome, to join there the Colonnas and the other Ghibelines, and jointly with them drive the Ursini and the rest of the Guelfs out of the city. Daily skirmishes happened between the two parties, and a great deal of blood was shed. But the Guelfs, though driven out of Rome, kept, in spite of all the efforts of the opposite party, the Leonine city, with the church of St. Peter and the Vatican palace; so that the ceremony of the coronation could not be performed there. In the mean time Robert, king of Sicily, whom the pope had appointed vicar of the ecclesiastic state, hearing of these disturbances, and being at the same time informed that the king of Germany was advancing to Rome with a numerous body of German troops, to receive the imperial crown, sent his brother John, duke of Achaia, with the flower of his army, to do honor to the emperor, as he pretended, and attend him at his coronation, but in truth, to prevent him from making himself master of Rome in the absence of the pope, which he apprehended was his real design. Henry, on his arrival at Rome, attempted to drive the Guelfs from the Leonine city; but being obliged by the duke of Achaia, who had joined them, to abandon the attempt, he declared the king of Sicily, by whose command the duke had acted, an enemy to the empire, and before he left Rome concluded an alliance with Frederic, king of Trinacria, against him.²

The pope hearing of this quarrel wrote to the cardinals, whom he had sent to Rome to crown the emperor, requiring them to interpose in his name, and reconcile the two princes, representing to them that they were both, in a particular manner, sons of the Roman church; that both were bound, by the oath of fidelity they had taken, to defend her; and that instead of quarreling with one another, they ought to join, and jointly undertake her defence against all who should presume to encroach upon her rights. When the pope's letter was communicated to the emperor by the cardinals, he expressed the greatest indignation at its being said there that he had taken an oath of fidelity to the Roman church, and sending for several notaries, he declared in their presence that he had taken no such oath, and ordered them to register that his answer, that he might not be reproached with debasing the imperial dignity, by acknowledging any superior power upon earth. He added, that no oath of fidelity had been ever taken by any of his predecessors in the empire, and that the words which he and they were required to pronounce on occasion of their taking the imperial crown, were mere sounds without any meaning. This gave occasion to a constitution, declaring the oath that Henry had taken, and all his predecessors before him, to be a true oath of fidelity and obedience, and not mere words or sounds, having no meaning annexed to them. That constitution Clement caused to be inserted into the seventh book of the decretals, or among the Clementines, of which I shall speak hereafter.¹

The emperor, despairing of being able to reduce the Leonine city, left Rome, and marching into Tuscany, stopped at Pisa, being well received there by some of the leading men of that republic, no friends to the king of Sicily. During his stay in that city, he declared Robert, king of Sicily, an enemy and traitor to the empire, proscribed him as such, deprived him of his kingdom, and forbade him, on pain of death, to set foot in the territories of the empire. This sentence he published at Pisa on the 25th of April 1313, and caused copies of it to be dispersed all over Italy, exhorting the Ghibelines to join him against the avowed enemy of their party, and enable him to carry the sentence he had given into execution. On the other hand the pope, espousing the cause of king Robert, thundered out the sentence of excommunication against any, by what dignity soever distinguished, whether pontifical, imperial, or royal, who should invade the dominions of the king of Sicily. This sentence is dated at Neufchatel in the diocese of Avignon the 12th of April, 1313.² However, the emperor being joined by pow-

¹ Apud Raynald, Num. 22.

² Villani, l. 9. c. 38. Baluz. Vit. Paparum, Aven. tom. 1. p. 18. et seq.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1312. Num. 40 et seq.

² Ibid. Num. 21.

Henry dies. His sentence annulled by the pope. The king of Sicily created senator of Rome, and vicar of the empire. Clement dies;—[Year of Christ, 1314.] His character. His writings.

erful reinforcements from the Ghibeline cities, set out from Pisa on his march to Apulia, declaring that he marched against the king, whom he intended to chastise, and not against his dominions; and consequently that the pope's sentence, excommunicating any who invaded the king's dominions, could not affect him. Clement, therefore, by another constitution of the 6th of September of the same year, excommunicated any who should enter the kingdom of Apulia armed, or in a hostile manner.¹ But in the mean time the emperor pursuing his march, died on the 24th of August at a place called Buonconvento, twelve miles from Siena. His death is by most writers said to have been occasioned by poison, administered to him in a consecrated host by a Dominican friar, whom his enemies had gained. But whether it was owing to poison, or, as some will have it, to a fever, occasioned by the pestilential air of the place where he died, the pope no sooner heard of it, than he declared his sentence against Robert, king of Sicily, void and null, as that prince had not been lawfully summoned, nor had he been previously heard, and besides was no subject of the empire, but under the immediate jurisdiction of the Roman church, the absolute, independent, and supreme mistress of the kingdom of Sicily, and all its appurtenances; pronounced and defined the Roman pontiffs, lawfully elected, to be alone the supreme lords of the said kingdom, and revoked and annulled all the proceedings, as well as the sentence against Robert, king of Sicily, as encroachments upon the authority and undoubted rights of the apostolic see.²

In the same year, 1313, the pope created Robert senator of Rome, and the following year appointed him vicar of the empire in Italy, obliging him to promise upon oath to resign that dignity, with all the power annexed to it, as soon as a new emperor was elected, and his election approved by the apostolic see.³ The constitution, vesting that dignity in the king of Sicily, is dated at Montil, in the diocese of Carpentras, the 19th of March 1314.

The pope had for some time been greatly indisposed, and therefore finding all other remedies proved ineffectual, he resolved to repair to Bourdeaux for the benefit of his native air. But his complaints increasing daily, for he had long labored under a complication of diseases, he died on the way at a place called Roquemaure, in the diocese of Nîmes. His death happened on the 20th of April 1314, when he had held the see, from the day of his election, the 5th of June 1305, eight years, ten months, and fifteen days.⁴ His body was translated from Ro-

quemaure to Carpentras, where his court then resided, and from thence in the following August, to a village in Gascony, called Uzeste, as he had desired to be buried in the church he had built there in honor of the Virgin Mary. His nephew Guillardus de Mota, cardinal deacon of St. Lucia, began a magnificent monument of alabaster in honor of his uncle. But as he died in the mean time, he ordered, by his last will, his heirs and executors to complete it. It was not, however, quite finished till the year 1359, when the remains of the deceased pope were translated to it in a silver coffin, richly adorned with precious stones, which had cost count Bertrand, another of Clement's nephews, an immense sum.¹ In 1577 that noble monument was plundered and destroyed, and the remains of the pope burnt by some of Calvin's disciples, not actuated by "zeal according to knowledge."

As for the character of Clement, Villani charges him with an unbounded avarice, with simony, and a criminal commerce with the beautiful countess of Perigord, the daughter of Count de Foix. That writer adds, that wanting to know what was become of the departed soul of one of his nephews, he had recourse to magic.² But as we have six lives of this pope, written by authors who lived in those times, or near them, and no notice is taken by any of them of what we read in Villani, Baluzius and Spondanus suppose that writer, as well as the poet Dante's placing Clement in his hell, to have been misinformed, and, being provoked at his translating his see from Italy to France, to have credited and related every idle tale they heard to his disadvantage. However that be, certain it is, if we may rely upon the accounts of the contemporary writers, that his election had too much of human policy and deceit for the Holy Ghost to be in any ways concerned in it; that his ambition knew no bounds; that he sacrificed to it all other regards, and acted, during the whole time of his pontificate, as a mere tool of the French king, to whom he owed his promotion.

Clement wrote many constitutions relating to different subjects, and ordered them to be called "The Seventh Book of the Decretals." They have been known since his time by the name of the "The Clementines," were approved by the council of Vienne, and published by Clement, at Montil, not long before his death, that is, on the 21st of March 1314. As he was prevented by his illness and death, that soon ensued, from sending them to the universities, they remained in a manner suspended till the year 1317, when his successor, John XXII., sent authentic copies of them to all the universities, ordering them not only to be taught in the schools, but to be quoted, as standing laws, in the courts of justice.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1312. Num. 23; et Ptol. Luc. in secunda Vit. Clement.

² Ibid. Num. 16 et seq.

³ Ptol. Luc. in ejus Vit.; et apud Raynald ad ann. 1314. Num. 2.

⁴ Bernard. Guid. et Ptol. Luc. in Vit.

¹ Bzovius ad ann. 1330.

² Villani, l. 6. c. 58.

The cardinals enter into the conclave. The conclave set on fire, and the cardinals disperse. The election of the bishop of Palestrina opposed. The cardinals quarrel for two whole years about the place where they should meet. How brought at last to meet at Lyons;—[Year of Christ, 1316.]

JOHN XXII., THE HUNDRED AND NINETY-THIRD BISHOP OF ROME.

[ANDRONICUS, *Emperor of the East*.—LEWIS of *Bavaria*, FREDERIC of *Austria*, *Kings of Germany*.]

[Year of Christ, 1314.] Clement died, as has been said, at Roquemaure, in his way to Bourdeaux. But as the court resided at the time of his death at Carpentras, the cardinals, in all twenty-three, shut themselves up in the episcopal palace of that city, in order to proceed to the election of a new pope. But the Italian cardinals being all for electing an Italian, or one who promised to fix his residence at Rome, while the French and the Gascons strove to promote a native of France or Gascony, who should reside in France, they continued in the conclave without coming to any agreement till the 24th of July, when the Gascons, finding they could not succeed in raising one of their own countrymen to the papal chair, and no longer able to bear the inconveniences of the conclave, (for they were all kept closely confined, and their subsistence was daily lessened) set fire to the palace, which consumed great part of the city. Thus the Italian cardinals, in their circulatory letter dated at Valence the 8th of October.¹ But Bernardus Guido, and Amalricus Stugerius, both contemporary writers, seem to impute the firing of the city to the domestics of the cardinals, and not to the cardinals themselves. For the domestics of the cardinals, say they, quarrelling while their masters were shut up in the conclave, great disorders were committed, the merchants' houses were plundered, and the city was set on fire.² The Italian cardinals add in their letter, that while they were quietly attending to the business for which they had met, the rabble, headed by Bertrand, count of Lomagne and Raymond, the deceased pope's two nephews, surrounded the conclave, threatening them (the Italian cardinals) with immediate death, if they did not dispatch the election. These disorders obliged the cardinals to quit the city of Carpentras, and disperse, some retreating to one place, and some to another.

The Italian cardinals, at their first entering the conclave, nominated William de Mandagoto, formerly archbishop of Aix, and at that time cardinal bishop of Palestrina, having been preferred by the late pope to that dignity in 1312. He was a native of France, was one of the most learned men of his time, and his character was in every

respect unexceptionable. However, his election was strenuously opposed by the Gascon cardinals, who formed a considerable party in the conclave, Clement having raised many of his countrymen to that dignity.

The cardinals, upon their withdrawing from Carpentras, had agreed to meet again in a short time; but as they could not agree about the place where they should meet, the Italians insisting upon the election being made at Rome, and the French as well as the Gascons urging the constitution of Gregory X. for their re-assembling at Carpentras, or, if they thought not themselves safe there, at Avignon, two whole years passed before they could settle that point. In the latter end of the year 1314, the Italian cardinals gave up their pretension, and instead of Rome chose the city of Lyons, where two general councils had been held, and where they had no reason to apprehend the violence and insults they had met with at Carpentras, and would, probably, meet with at Avignon. The proposal was approved by Philip the Fair, and he wrote to the two French cardinals Berengarius, bishop of Tusculum, and Arnald, cardinal deacon of St. Mary in Porticu, exhorting them to acquiesce in it as altogether reasonable. But Philip dying in the latter end of November 1314, the cardinals remained dispersed all the following year, 1315.

But in 1316 Lewis X. who had succeeded Philip, offended at the scandalous division of the cardinals, and thinking the city of Lyons the most proper place for their re-assembling, sent his brother Philip, earl of Poitiers, to Lyons, with private instructions to invite all the cardinals to that city, but each of them separately, and unknown to the rest. Having thus assembled them, he represented to them the evils attending so long a vacancy, exhorted them, since they had all met to proceed without further delay to the election, and lest they should object to their being shut up, promised upon oath to leave them at full liberty. The cardinals met daily, and after voting returned to their respective habitations. But in the mean time king Lewis died on the 5th of June, which greatly embarrassed his brother Philip. For, on the one hand, he was unwilling to leave the work unfinished which he had undertaken, and had much at heart. On the other, his presence was, at so critical

¹ Apud Baluz. Vit. Paparum, Aven. tom. 2. p. 286.

² Bernard. Guid. in Chron. Pont. Rom.; et Amalric. in Vit. Clement V.

John XXII. chosen. Whether he nominated himself. He eludes the oath he had taken to go to Rome. Is crowned at Lions. His birth, education, employments, &c. before his promotion.

a juncture, absolutely necessary at Paris. He knew that the cardinals, if left at liberty, would in his absence only quarrel and wrangle among themselves, and he scrupled to confine them, apprehending it to be a breach of his oath. But the casuists of those days, whom he consulted, assuring him that the oath he had taken was unlawful, and consequently not binding, he appointed the cardinals to meet him in the convent of the preaching friars, and when they were all come, he let them know that they were not to depart from thence, till they had filled the so long vacant see. He then ordered guards to be placed at all the avenues to the convent, and exhorting the cardinals to proceed, without further delay, to the election for their own sake, as well as for that of the church, he set out on his return to Paris.¹

The cardinals, though thus shut up and closely confined, still continued divided for the space of forty days, that is, from the 28th of June till the 7th of August, when they unanimously elected James de Ossa, or rather de Eusa, who took the name of John XXII.² We are told by Rebdorsius and Villani, both ancient writers, that the cardinals, after spending forty days in useless and warm debates, agreed in the end among themselves to receive for lawful pope the person whom cardinal de Eusa, then bishop of Porto, should nominate, and that thereupon he nominated himself. But though his enemies, and among them the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, have charged him with many crimes, and even with heresy, exerting their utmost endeavors to prejudice the world against him, yet not one of them has ever reproached him with his having thus obtained the pontificate, which we may well suppose they would have done, if what we read in those writers had had any foundation in truth. Besides, John himself, in his circulatory letter, acquainting the princes and the prelates of the church with his promotion, tells them, that though unanimously elected by the cardinals, he remained for some time in suspense whether he should undertake so important and so arduous a charge. Now Baluzius thinks it altogether incredible that he should have had the impudence, or rather the impudence, to write thus, had he nominated himself to so arduous and so important a charge.³ Add to this the testimony of Alvarus Pelagius, who begins his book *de Planctu Ecclesiæ*, written at this very time, with the following words: "It is certain and notorious to the whole world, that lord pope John was unanimously elected by all the cardinals."⁴

Cardinal de Eusa, to gain the Italian cardinals, had promised upon oath to cardinal

Neapoleo Ursini, the leading man of that party, never to mount a horse or mule, but in order to go to Rome. Thus Ciaconius, who adds, that, lest he should be charged with a breach of his oath, he never mounted horse or mule after his coronation, but went by water from Lions to Avignon, walked from the water-side to the palace, and never stirred from it during the eighteen years of his pontificate, unless it was to go to the cathedral that stood at a very small distance from the palace. As Ciaconius is but a modern writer, Spondanus supposes him to write without sufficient authority. But what he wrote he copied from Ptolemy of Lucca, a contemporary historian, often quoted by Spondanus himself; nay, that historian further tells us, that cardinal Neapoleo, highly offended at the pope's having thus broken or evaded his oath, would not attend him when at the point of death, though he was then in Avignon, and was sent for; nor would he be present when his will was opened, nor assist at his exequies.¹

John, though elected, as has been said, on the 7th of August, was not crowned till the 5th of September, that pompous ceremony having been put off first for a fortnight, and again for eight days more at the request of Philip, regent of France and Navarre, desirous to see it. Philip begged a further delay of eight days. But the pope ordered cardinal Arnald to write to the regent in his name, and satisfy him, that the present state of the church did not allow him to defer his coronation any longer, as he could not dispatch many important affairs, nor send nuncios to the different courts, till that ceremony was performed. The cardinal added in his letter, that the city of Lions was crowded with princes, with prelates, and nobility, come from distant countries to see that solemnity, and his holiness was unwilling to keep them any longer at a great expense from home. This letter is dated at Lions the 29th of August, and the pope was crowned with the usual pomp and solemnity eight days after, that is, on the 5th of September, which in 1316 fell on a Sunday.

John XXII. of that name was a native of Cabors, the son of a tavernkeeper, according to Villani, and, according to St. Antonin, of a cobbler. But Albertus Argentinensis, his contemporary, says that he was descended from a noble family, "de militari progenie."² He had been employed in state affairs by Charles II. king of Sicily, and count of Provence, and had acquitted himself in them with the reputation of an able minister. King Robert raised him to the dignity of chancellor of the kingdom of Sicily, and by the great interest he had at the court of Clement V. got him preferred to the bishopric of Frejus, and from thence translated to the

¹ Apud Baluz. tom. 2. p. 293.

² Bernard. Guid. in Chron. Pont. Roman.

³ Baluz. in Notis ad Vit. Papar. Aven. p. 717.

⁴ Idem ibid.

¹ Ptol. Luc. in ejus Vit. apud Baluz. p. 178.

² Albert. Argentin. p. 125.

The pope writes to the two pretenders to the Empire. Fixes his see at Avignon. Divides several bishoprics, and erects new ones. Proceeds against the bishop of Cahors; who is condemned to a most cruel death. Forbids the study of magic, in vogue at this time.

see of Avignon. In 1312 he was created cardinal upon the recommendation of the same powerful patron, and soon after translated from the see of Avignon to that of Porto, which he held at the time of his promotion to the pontificate. "He was little in stature, but great in knowledge and abilities," says John, canon of St. Vicar at Paris, who was his contemporary; and Petrarch mentions him as one wholly addicted to study, and taking in nothing so much delight as in reading.¹

At the time of John's election a bloody war was carried on in Germany by the two pretenders to that crown. For the emperor Henry of Luxemburg dying, as has been said, in August 1314, the electors were divided, and a double election thereupon ensued. By the archbishops of Mentz and Treves, by John king of Bohemia, and Wolkmar marquis of Brandenburg, was elected Lewis, duke of Bavaria; and by the archbishop of Cologne, and Rudolph count Palatine, was nominated Frederick duke of Austria. Both were crowned, Lewis at Aix-la-Chapelle by the archbishop of Mentz, and Frederic at Bonne, by the archbishop of Cologne. Thus some of the German states and princes espousing the cause of the one, and some that of the other, an obstinate and destructive war was kindled in the bowels of their country. The new pope undertook, as soon as raised to the papal chair, to compose the differences of the two competitors, and prevent the war from extending, as he apprehended it soon would, to Italy. With that view he wrote, on the 5th of September, the very day of his coronation, to both, exhorting them to adjust their differences in an amicable manner, and forbear the shedding of more Christian blood.²

The pope in the mean time leaving Lions in the latter end of September, set out by water, to avoid the breach of the oath he had made, on his return to Avignon. He arrived in that city on the 2d of October, and on the 27th of December, created there eight new cardinals, of whom seven were Gascons, and one an Italian, namely, John Caetan of the Ursini family, and by birth a Roman.

As the diocese of Toulouse was of an immense extent, the pope erected that city into an archiepiscopal see, and exempting it from the jurisdiction of the see of Narbonne, to which it had been subject ever since its foundation, he divided its extensive diocese into five bishoprics, all under the jurisdiction of the new metropolitan. At the same time he removed the bishop of Toulouse from that see, Gaillardus de Pressaco, nephew to the late pope by his sister, thinking him unworthy of the metropolitan dignity, as he had

squandered away the immense revenues of his see in vain pomp and ostentation. He offered him, however, a small bishopric, which he refused, and thus remained a bishop without a bishopric. The pope divided in like manner many other dioceses, erecting every where new bishoprics, and thus providing for his creatures and dependants. These new bishoprics were all erected in the months of July and August 1317.

In the same year many heavy complaints were brought to the pope against Hugh Gerald, bishop of Cahors, who had, for some time, led a most exemplary life. The pope did not credit them; but, nevertheless, for the satisfaction of the complainants, and to give the bishop an opportunity of vindicating his character in the most public manner, he ordered him to be imprisoned and strictly examined. Upon examination, he was found guilty of many most enormous crimes, and among the rest, of having formed a design of poisoning the pope and several of the cardinals, and having actually prepared a powerful poison for that purpose, which he only waited for an opportunity to administer. He was, therefore, degraded in a formal manner by Berengarius Fredole, cardinal bishop of Tusculum; and then delivered up to the secular power, or the civil magistrates of Avignon, who sentenced him to be dragged through the city; and, being first flayed, to be burnt alive.¹ The pope suffering, as he did, a sentence of such unheard-of barbarity to be carried into execution before his eyes, is alone sufficient to show that he has not been wronged by those who have painted him as a man void of all humanity. The bishop was likewise charged with applying himself to the study of magic and necromancy, and cardinal de Viva, the pope's nephew, dying at this time, the lingering distemper of which he died was supposed to have been the effect of the bishop's magic, and his intercourse with the infernal spirits.

From several of the pope's letters it appears, that the study of magic was in vogue at this time. For, in one of his letters, he orders several persons, whom he names, to be strictly examined, as he has been informed that, by a damnable curiosity, they apply themselves to the study of magic and necromancy; that they frequently make use of looking-glasses and images consecrated after their manner; that placing themselves in circles, they invoke the demons, and pretend to afflict with maladies or destroy whom they please; that they confine by their magic the infernal spirits to looking glasses, rings, and circles to interrogate them not only concerning past, but future events, and thus enable themselves to foretell what will happen; and, lastly, that by making images

¹ Petrarch. *Rerum memorand.* l. 2.

² In Vit. Johan. ad ann. 1316.

¹ Bernard. Guid. Amalric in Vit. Johan. apud Baluz. p. 737.

The pope declares himself vicar of the empire. The friars Minorites quarrel among themselves. The refractory friars punished as heretics. Cambridge erected into an university ;—[Year of Christ, 1318.] The doctrine of John de Polliaco condemned ;—[Year of Christ, 1320.]

of wax, by provoking and tormenting them, they prick, torment, and destroy the persons whom these images represent. The pope adds, that they had thus attempted to take his life away, but he had been providentially preserved, and three of their images had fallen into his hands.¹ The pope believed, it seems, all the wondrous effects of magic, else he would not have ascribed his preservation to a particular providence. But whether he believed them or not, he forbade the practice of those arts as highly criminal, and ordered all who practised them to be punished with the utmost severity, whether ecclesiastics or laymen.

As the two competitors for the imperial crown paid no regard to the pope's letter, exhorting them to adjust their differences by some other means than by arms, as in war fortune often declared for the worst cause, he sent to both in the beginning of March of the present year 1317, a peremptory summons to appear in person, or by their deputies, at the tribunal of the apostolic see, and lay their different claims before the only true and lawful judge of the controversy. But to that summons no greater regard being shown by either than they had shown to his exhortations, he declared by a constitution, dated the last day of March, the empire vacant, and himself vicar of the empire till a new emperor was elected, and his election approved by him. However, he afterwards confirmed the constitution of Clement, appointing Robert, king of Sicily, vicar of the empire during the vacancy of the imperial throne.

The pope was wholly employed during the remaining part of the present year in striving to reconcile the friars Minorites, quarrelling among themselves about the true meaning of some of the rules of the order. This quarrel began in the latter end of the preceding century, some of them pretending the habit they then wore to be different from that of their founder, St. Francis, and his first disciples. They likewise maintained, that it was absolutely inconsistent with the poverty they professed, to keep in their granaries the grain, or in their cellars the wine, which they had got by begging in harvest and vintage time. The pope, to put an end to such vain and unprofitable disputes, as he styled them, by a constitution dated at Avignon, the 13th of April, referred the whole to the determination of the general and other superiors of the order, excommunicating all who did not acquiesce in their decision with respect to their habit as well as their vow of poverty. The reformers, or the "Spiritual Brethren," the name they assumed, instead of complying with the pope's constitution, publicly opposed it, and separating from those who received it, formed a new order.

As they maintained that the pope could no more alter the rule of St. Francis than he could the gospel upon which it was grounded, that by his constitution he had condemned the doctrine which Christ and his apostles had taught and practised, and that to obey him was to disobey them, the pope ordered the inquisitors to proceed against them as heretics. Pursuant to that order, five of the ring-leaders among them were apprehended by the inquisitor of Provence and Languedoc, and four of them, upon their refusing to acknowledge the power of the pope, were burnt alive at Marseilles. The fifth recanted, and was only condemned to close and perpetual imprisonment. The cruel treatment these met with did not intimidate the rest; nay, they publicly inveighed against the pope as the antichrist, or the forerunner of the antichrist, and against the Roman church as the synagogue of Satan, honored their brethren who had suffered with the title of martyrs, and invoking them, as such, presented themselves to the inquisitors, that they might have the happiness of dying as they had done in the flames. Great numbers of them died so, with as much firmness and constancy as any of the primitive martyrs. The rest, wherever found, were closely confined, without any sustenance but bread and water.¹ And thus was the new order utterly extirpated in a very short time, and the "Spiritual Brethren" were no more heard of.

I find nothing recorded of the present pope in the two following years, 1318, 1319, besides his dividing some of the more extensive dioceses of Spain, and founding new bishoprics there, as he had done in France, his canonizing Thomas de Cantilupe, who died bishop of Hereford in 1282, his confirming the order of Mount Olivet, founded by Bernard Ptolomeo, a nobleman of Siena, his creating seven new cardinals, all natives of France or Gascony, and his erecting Cambridge, at the request of king Edward, into an university. The pope's letter or diploma, ordaining that there should be thenceforth for ever a general study at Cambridge; that the college of masters and scholars of the said study should be reputed an university, and should enjoy all the rights that any university lawfully instituted can or ought to enjoy, is dated at Avignon the 9th of June in the second year of his pontificate, that is, in 1318.²

In 1320 the pope condemned the following propositions, advanced by John de Polliaco, professor of divinity in the university of Paris: I. That they who confessed their sins to the religious, or to men of any religious order, were bound to confess them anew to their parish priest. II. That the

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1317. Numb. 51—55.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1317.

² Raynald. ad ann. 1318.

Disputes concerning the poverty professed by the Minorites;—[Year of Christ, 1321.] Their doctrine condemned by the pope;—[Year of Christ, 1322;]—though it had been defined by another pope.

faithful were all bound to confess their sins once a year to the priest who was charged with the cure of their souls: and, III. That the pope could not absolve them from that obligation. These three propositions the pope condemned as false, erroneous, and deviating from the doctrine of the church; forbade them to be taught by any for the future, and ordered John de Poliacó publicly to retract them and teach the opposite doctrine; which order he readily complied with, apprehending he might otherwise meet with the same treatment as the Spiritual Brethren had lately done.¹

In 1321 a new dispute arose between some divines, men of great learning, and the whole Franciscan order, concerning the poverty they professed. One of these, called Beguini or Fraticelli, having publicly maintained, that neither Christ nor his apostles had any property either in particular or in common, the archbishop of Narbonne and the inquisitor in those parts had caused him to be arrested, in order to proceed against him as a heretic. But Berengarius, professor in the convent of the Franciscans or Minorites at Narbonne, undertook to prove the doctrine, which they were about to condemn as heretical, to have been defined by pope Nicholas III. and consequently to be entirely orthodox, nay, and an article of the catholic faith. The inquisitor ordered him to recant; but he, appealing to the judgment of the apostolic see, repaired to Avignon, and acquainted the pope with the state of the question, urging the decretal of his predecessor Nicholas III. in favor of his opinion. For that pope had declared in his decretal, "*Exiit qui seminat*," that the perfection of poverty consisted in the renouncing of all common as well as private property. From thence Berengarius concluded that Christ and his apostles, who practised the most perfect poverty, had no property either in private or in common. The present pope, not trusting to his own infallibility in a point of such infinite consequence, wrote to all the universities, and to every man in particular in any reputation at that time for his learning, requiring them to examine the point in dispute, and let him know, whether in their opinion it was or was not heresy, to assert that Christ and his apostles had possessed nothing in private or in common that they could call their own.

In the mean time a general chapter of the Minorites being held at Perugia the following year 1322, under Michael of Cesena, general of the order, it was declared, that to assert that Christ and the apostles possessed nothing in private or in common, was no heresy, but sound catholic doctrine, having been received as such by pope Nicholas III.

They further declared, that they themselves possessed nothing either in private or in common; that the property of the things they used was lodged in the apostolic see, and they had only the bare use of them. The pope, provoked at their deciding a controversy which they had left to be decided by him, deposed the general, and on the 8th of December published his decretal "*Ad Conditorum Canonum*," distinguishing between things that were, and things that were not consumed by use. The latter, such as books, houses, furniture, &c. were, he said, the property of the apostolic see: but as to the former, that is, to what they ate and drank, he maintained, and alleged many subtle arguments to prove that the use and property were one and the same thing, and consequently that if they had the use they had the property, or if they had not the property they could not have the use, and must die of hunger to observe the rule of their founder. As to the Decretal of his predecessor Nicholas III. declaring the property of every thing the Minorites had or used to be vested in the apostolic see, he understood and explained it as extending to such things only as were not consumed by use. For who in his right senses, says he, can believe, "*Quis sanæ mentis credere poterit*,"—that it was the intention of so great a man, meaning Nicholas III. to declare, that the property of one egg, of a bit of cheese, or a crust of bread, given to the friars to be immediately consumed by them, is vested in the apostolic see. He therefore renounced that property, and by a constitution of the 10th of November forbade the friars to teach for the future such a doctrine on pain of being reputed rebels to the Roman church.¹ As to the proposition, that neither Christ nor his apostles had any property in private or in common, he condemned it as erroneous and heretical.² The reason he alledged for condemning and proscribing the said proposition was, that if the things, which Christ and his apostles used and consumed by use, were not their own, it would follow from thence that the use they made of them was unjust, it being unlawful and unjust for a man to destroy what is not his own. Pope Nicholas had declared in his constitution, "*Exiit qui seminat*," that the renouncing of all property whatever, both in private and in common, was highly meritorious; that Christ and his apostles had taught and practised it, and excommunicated all who should presume to maintain the contrary opinion. The present pope not only maintained but defined the contrary opinion. And thus did the two popes, both infallible, evidently contradict one another, and what was heresy in the opinion of the one was an

¹ Extravagant. l. 5; et Raynald. ad ann. 1320. Num. 46.

² Inter Extravagantes Tit. de Verborum Significatione.

² Ibid. cap. Cum inter nonnullos.

Lewis of Bavaria defeats Frederic of Austria, and acts as king. The pope's monitory against him ;—[Year of Christ, 1323.] The duke of Milan excommunicated. Embassy from the king to the pope.

article of faith in the opinion of the other. One of the two must have therefore erred, but which, it is not worth our while to inquire.

The pope had, during the rest of his pontificate, a more powerful enemy to contend with than the poor Minorites. He had sent, as has been said, a peremptory summons to the two competitors for the empire, Lewis of Bavaria, and Frederic of Austria, to appear in person, or by their deputies, at his tribunal, and leave the controversy to be decided by the apostolic see. To that summons no regard was had by either. But Lewis having gained a complete victory over Frederic in 1322, and even taken him prisoner, he immediately wrote to the pope to acquaint him with his success. The pope, instead of congratulating him upon it, returned answer, that he was ready to hear both, and determine the controversy agreeably to the laws of justice and equity. But Lewis, looking upon the controversy as already determined, began to act, without any further application to the apostolic see, as king and emperor. That the pope could not bear, and being, besides, provoked at Lewis' protecting Galeazzi Visconti, duke of Milan, whom he had excommunicated, and at his countenancing the Ghibelines in Lombardy, he published the following most insolent monitory against him :

"The Roman empire having been, in former times, translated by the apostolic see from the Greeks to the French, and from the French to the Germans, the election of an emperor was committed to certain princes. These, upon the death of Henry of Luxemburg, have been divided among themselves, some having elected Lewis, duke of Bavaria, and some Frederic, duke of Austria.—Lewis has assumed the title of king of the Romans, without waiting till we had examined and confirmed his election, which belongs to us alone. Not content with the title, he has taken upon him the administration, in contempt of the Roman church, which alone has a right to govern the empire during the vacancy of the imperial throne. He has obliged the vassals of the empire to swear allegiance to him, the ecclesiastics as well as the laity ; has disposed, at his pleasure, of the honors and employments of the empire ; and has, besides, undertaken the protection and defence of Galeazzo Visconti, though condemned as a heretic. To obviate, therefore, such attempts for the future, and vindicate the rights of the Roman church, we admonish him by these presents, and command him, on pain of excommunication, to be incurred "*ipso facto*," to relinquish, in the term of three months, the administration of the empire ; to abandon the protection of the enemies of the church, (meaning the duke of Milan and the other Ghibelines,) and to revoke and annul all he has done since he as-

sumed the title of king. If he complies not with this our injunction, we shall think it incumbent upon us to employ the power that has been put into our hands, in defence of the rights of our see. In the mean time we forbid all bishops and other ecclesiastics, on pain of suspension, all cities, communities, and secular persons of whatsoever rank and condition on pain of excommunication upon their persons, of interdict upon their territories, and the loss of all their privileges, to obey Lewis of Bavaria in any thing relating to the government of the empire, or to acknowledge him either for king of the Romans or for emperor."¹ This monitory is dated at Avignon, the 8th of October, in the eighth year of John's pontificate, or in 1323, and copies of it were sent to all the archbishops and bishops of Germany, Italy, France, England, Hungary, and of all other Christian kingdoms.

Galeazzo Visconti, mentioned in the monitory, was at the head of the Ghibelines in Lombardy ; had driven the Guelfs out of the cities they held there, and obliged the army, which the pope had sent to besiege the city of Milan, to raise the siege, the legate himself, Bertrand de Poiet, who commanded the army, having narrowly escaped falling into his hands. He likewise encouraged several cities in the March of Ancona to revolt from the pope, and declare themselves free. At Recanati the governor placed there by the pope was inhumanly murdered, and none was spared who did not join in the revolt. The example of Recanati was followed by the cities of Osimo, of Fermo, of Camerino, and most other cities in that neighborhood. The city of Macerata alone continued in those parts faithful to the pope, who to reward their fidelity and at the same time to punish the rebellious Recanatense, transferred the episcopal see from Recanati to Macerata.² As the duke of Milan was supposed to be at the bottom of all these disturbances, the pope caused a crusade to be preached against him as a heretic, pretending that he denied the resurrection, and commanded Lewis, who supported him, to abandon his protection.

Lewis was not a little surprised at the hasty conduct of the pope, and upon the first notice he had of the monitory he immediately dispatched Albert, grand master of the Knights Hospitallers in Germany, Ernestus, archdeacon of Wirtzburg, and Henry, canon of Prague, to know of his holiness himself what had given occasion to his late monitory, and to beg he would put off the execution of the sentence to a further term. This commission is dated at Nuremberg the 4th of November. The ambassadors arrived at Avignon on the 4th of January, 1324, and

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1323. Num. 30

² Ughell. Italia Sacra. tom. 2. p. 808.

The king appeals to a general council. The pope declares him excommunicated;—[Year of Christ, 1324.]
The doctrine of Marsilius of Padua and John of Ghent condemned.

the pope in compliance with their request granted to the king a two months delay from the 7th of that month, not to answer or argue, but to repent and obey the monitory; which if he delayed beyond that time, the punishments contained in the said monitory would *ipso facto* take place, as being due to his enormous and unrepented crimes.¹ These enormous crimes were, his taking upon him the administration of the empire, and his styling himself king, when he had been elected, according to most of the contemporary writers, by a majority, and had now no rival to contend with.

The king did not wait for the return of the ambassadors; but taking it for granted that the pope would not depart from his former resolution, he assembled some of the chief princes of the empire, and having laid before them the violent proceedings of the pope, he protested in their presence against the monitory, and from the pope misinformed appealed to the pope when better informed, or to a general council. In his appeal he answers the accusations brought against him by the pope in his monitory, proves the validity of his election, and from thence concludes the government of the empire to belong to him alone. His holiness, says the king, is angry at our assuming the title of king, which he pretends we have no right to. But we have been elected by the major part of the electors, have been crowned at the usual places, and it is every where well known, especially in Germany, that he who is thus elected and crowned is acknowledged for king, takes that title, and exercises all the royal functions. It belongs to him, and to him alone, to receive oaths of allegiance, to bestow fiefs, and dispose as he pleases of the dignities and employments of the kingdom. We are therefore unjustly accused by the pope of usurping the royal title and the kingly functions, and he shows himself therein utterly unacquainted with our laws. The empire is not vacant, as he pretends, for we have been lawfully elected, and placed in the throne by those who alone have a right to dispose of it. Neither does it belong to the apostolic see to approve our election, or disapprove it, nor is the pope to concern himself any ways about it, unless the affair be brought to his tribunal by way of complaint or appeal, and neither we nor our competitor have ever thought of complaining or appealing to the Roman church. As for the charge of protecting Galeazzo Visconti, and his brothers, said to have been condemned as heretics, as well as other rebels to the Roman church, we know that they who are faithful to the empire are often styled heretics and rebels to the church. The king closed his appeal with urging the necessity of assembling without delay a general council, at which he declared he would

assist in person, being bound by his oath to maintain the rights of the empire, and oppose the unjust and wicked attempts of the pope, striving to engross all temporal as well as spiritual power to himself.¹

The two months which the pope had granted to the king being elapsed, he declared, and caused it to be notified to all the Christian princes, that Lewis of Bavaria, who styled himself king of the Romans, had incurred the excommunication, which he had been threatened with in the monitory. But as to the other penalties, they were suspended for three months more, from the 23d of March of the present year, 1324. If he did not, within that time, lay down the title of king, forbear all royal functions, resign the government of the empire, abandon the protection of the Visconti, of the sons of the marquis of Este, who held the city of Ferrara, and of all the other rebels to the church, he was to forfeit all the right that his election might give him to the crown. As the king paid no more regard to this monitory than he had done to the other, the pope, by a constitution, dated at Avignon the 11th of July, declared him deprived of all right that his election might have given him to the crown, forbid, on pain of excommunication, all the subjects of the empire, of what rank soever or condition, to acknowledge him for king, or obey him as such, threatening him at the same time with other punishments to be afterwards inflicted, if he still continued to concern himself with the government of the empire, or to protect the enemies of the church. This sentence he ordered all the bishops throughout Christendom to publish in their respective dioceses, that it might be known to the whole Christian world, and none might plead ignorance in any ways assisting the usurper of the crown of Germany.²

From this sentence the king appealed anew to a general council, solemnly declaring that he would acquiesce in their judgment; and two of the most learned men of that age, espousing his cause, employed their pens in defence of the rights of the empire against the usurpations of the pope. These were Marsilius of Padua and John of Ghent. The former published a treatise under the title of “Defensor Pacis,” or “The Defender of Peace,” and the latter, one “on the Power of the Church.” Both pieces were calculated to prove the following assertions: 1. That Christ, by paying tribute to Cæsar, owned that his worldly goods were subject to the emperor, and he himself was a subject of the empire, bound in justice to pay tribute, as well as other subjects. From thence they concluded the temporalities of the church to be subject to

¹ Hervart ad ann. 1323. Villani, l. 9. c. 227.

² Bzovius Anecd. tom. 2. Baluz. Vit. Papar. Aven. tom. 1. p. 141.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1323.

Edict published by the king against the pope. His answer to it. Agreement between Lewis and Frederic;—[Year of Christ, 1325.] Disturbances at Rome. The pope invited thither by the Romans;—[Year of Christ, 1327.]

the emperor, and the pope himself, as well as all the other prelates, to be vassals of the empire. II. That Christ, ascending to heaven, left no visible head of the church, no vicar upon earth; and that St. Peter had no more authority than the rest of the apostles. III. That it belongs to the emperor to confirm the election of the pope, to depose and punish him if he misbehaves. IV. That all priests, whether they be popes, archbishops, or only priests, are by the institution of Christ, equal in power, authority, and jurisdiction. V. That neither the pope alone nor the whole church with him, can inflict any punishment without the permission of the emperor, if the delinquent does not voluntarily submit to it. These propositions the pope, we may be sure, condemned as heretical, by a constitution dated at Avignon the 23d of March 1327, and ordered the authors to be prosecuted as heretics. But they had taken refuge in the court of the king, and were entertained there with all possible marks of esteem.¹ They are supposed to have penned the edict, or rather invective, which the king published at this time against the pope, painting him as one who trampled upon all laws, both human and divine, to gratify his ambition and avarice; as a ravenous wolf, fleecing and devouring the flock committed to his care; as the minister of Satan rather than the vicar of Christ; as guilty of the most bare-faced simony, and an avowed heretic, condemning as a heresy the doctrine concerning the poverty of Christ, which the good pope Nicholas had established as an article of faith.²

Of all these reproaches the pope thought that of heresy alone worthy of an answer, and therefore, taking no notice of the rest, he issued on the 10th of November of the present year a new constitution, beginning with the words "*Quia quorundam*," calculated to prove the doctrine concerning the poverty of Christ and the apostles, which he had condemned, to be not only heresy, but blasphemy. In order to that he lays it down as a first principle, that no man has a right to use, and destroy by use, what is not his own; and from thence he concludes, that if the things which Christ and his apostles used and destroyed by use, were not their own, their using them would have been unjust and unlawful, which it is heresy and blasphemy to assert. The champions for the papal infallibility have taken a great deal of pains to reconcile this constitution with that of pope Nicholas, mentioned above.³ But from the present pope's revoking, as he did, the constitution of Nicholas, it is manifest he was himself sensible that he had condemned what his predecessor had defined.

The following year the two competitors for the empire, Lewis and Frederic, came to an agreement. Frederic had been defeated by Lewis, and taken prisoner in 1322, as has been said above. But in the present year he recovered his liberty upon the following conditions: that Lewis should appoint Leopold of Austria, Frederic's brother, vicar-general of Italy; and that in the absence of Lewis, who was preparing to march into Italy, Frederic should govern the empire, according to some authors with, and according to others without, the title of king, or any ensigns of royalty. But as this agreement was made without the knowledge or consent of the pope, he no sooner heard of it than he declared it null, deprived both of the right derived to them from their election, and wrote to the electors to choose a new king. At the same time he absolved Frederic and Leopold of Austria, from the oath they had taken to stand to the above conditions.¹ It was not therefore without reason that Lewis reproached him with fomenting divisions among the German princes, the better to establish his usurped power over the empire. "When we were at war," said the king, "you exhorted us to agree, and forbear the effusion of Christian blood; and now that we have agreed, you annul our agreement, and strive to kindle a new war, not caring how much Christian blood be shed to gratify your lust of power and boundless ambition."²

Great disturbances happened in the mean time at Rome. For the people, driving all the nobility out of the city, appointed fifty-two citizens, four out of each ward, to govern them under Sciarra Colonna, whom they made governor-in-chief. At the same time they dispatched some of the leading men among them to invite the pope to come and reside at Rome, as his predecessors had done; and let him know that if he complied not with this, their invitation, they would take care of themselves, and in due time and place provide the city with a high pontiff. The pope received the deputies with particular marks of kindness, pretended to be very desirous of restoring the see to Rome, but pleaded the danger of the roads beset by his enemies, the disturbances that reigned in their city, and his great age, being eighty and upwards, for not undertaking so long a journey. He therefore appointed James Savelli and Stephen Colonna senators, to govern the city in his name, exhorting the Romans to live in peace among themselves, and jointly oppose Lewis of Bavaria, a condemned heretic, and an enemy to the church.³

The Romans, not satisfied with the pope's answer, wrote to the king upon the return of their deputies, inviting him to Rome, and

¹ Bzovius et Raynald. ad ann. 1327.

² Rebdorsius in Annal. et Villani, l. 9. p. 205, 275.

³ See Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 14. Wading. in Annal.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1325.

² Aventin. Annal. Bejor. l. 8.

³ Villani, l. 20. c. 20. Naucier. General. 45.

Lewis declares the pope a heretic. Is crowned at Milan. The king excommunicated a third time. Ten new cardinals. Lewis crowned emperor at Rome;—[Year of Christ, 1328.] The pope deposed by the emperor.

pressing him to hasten his march, as they were all ready to receive him with open arms. The king, upon this invitation, set out immediately for Italy, and arriving at Trent, he held a diet in that city, at which were present all the heads of the Gibelines in Lombardy; and in that diet pope John was declared a heretic, unworthy of the pontifical dignity on many accounts, but chiefly for his heretical doctrines concerning the poverty of Christ. From Trent, Lewis proceeded to Milan, and was crowned there with the iron crown on the last day of May, Whitsunday, by Guido Petramala, bishop of Arezzo, who had been deposed and excommunicated by the pope. During his stay at Milan he was supplied by the Milanese, and the other Gibelines of Lombardy, with the sum of two hundred thousand florins of gold, and with that supply he set out for Rome on the 15th of December. Before he left Milan he sent ambassadors to the pope at Avignon, to let him know that he intended to go to Rome, to receive there the imperial crown, and desire him to come in person, or to send two cardinals, to perform the ceremony of the coronation in his name.¹

The pope, provoked beyond measure at such an embassy, rejected the demand of the king with the utmost indignation, and on the 23d of October thundered out the third sentence of excommunication against him, declaring him deposed, and divested of all dignity as a heretic, and an abettor of heretics. At the same time he dispatched into Germany the prior of the Knights Hospitalers, to acquaint the electors with the deposition of Lewis of Bavaria, and persuade them to proceed to the election of a new king of the Romans. The two archbishops of Mentz and Cologne were for gratifying the pope, but the archbishop of Treves and the king of Bohemia would by no means consent to it.² In the latter end of the present year the pope created ten new cardinals, among whom were one Spaniard, Peter of Toledo, and three Italians, Anibald Gaitan archbishop of Naples, Matthew Ursini a Dominican friar, and John Colonna, all three Romans. The rest were all natives of France.³

The king, setting out from Milan, as has been said, on the 15th of December, on his march to Rome, arrived at Viterbo on the 2d of January 1328, and reaching Rome on the 7th of the same month, he was there received by the Roman people with loud acclamations, and all possible marks of joy. The pope's legate, cardinal John Ursini, who was then in Tuscany, hearing of the reception the king had met with from the Romans, interdicted the city; which obliged

the clergy to leave it, lest they should be required to perform divine service, and be put to the alternative of incurring the displeasure of the pope or the king. But the king had many of the clergy, and some bishops in his retinue, who scrupled not to officiate in defiance of the interdict. Lewis had been but a few days in Rome, when the council of fifty-two, mentioned above, appointed Sciarra Colonna their president to crown the new emperor; and that ceremony he performed with great solemnity in the church of St. Peter on the 17th of January, which in 1328 fell on a Sunday. The queen was crowned at the same time, and both were consecrated, before they received the imperial crown, by James, bishop of Venice, and an Austin friar, bishop of Corsica.⁴ When the ceremony of the coronation was over, Lewis, whom I shall henceforth style emperor, caused three edicts to be read, wherein he promised to maintain the catholic faith, to honor the clergy, and protect the widows and orphans, which were received with great applause.

The pope, upon the first news of the emperor's coronation, declared it null, and excommunicated all who had been any ways concerned in it. This sentence is dated at Avignon the 30th of March. On the other hand, the emperor having appointed the Roman people to assemble in the square before St. Peter's on the 18th of April, he appeared upon the top of the steps of that church in his imperial robes, and placing himself in a magnificent throne with the imperial crown on his head, he first commanded silence, and then ordered one Nicholas of Fabriano in the March of Ancona, an Austin friar, to cry out three times aloud, "Will any person here present undertake the defence of James of Cahors, priest, who styles himself pope John XXII.?" As nobody answered, a German abbot, Ciaconius, says the abbot of Fulda, preached a sermon to the multitude, or rather a panegyric upon the emperor, and a most virulent satire against the pope. When he had ended his sermon, he produced and read aloud, so as to be heard by all, a very prolix sentence or edict, containing many heavy accusations, some true, and some false, against James of Cahors, who styled himself pope, but had by his scandalous life and enormous wickedness forfeited that and every other ecclesiastical dignity. The emperor, therefore, who bore not the sword in vain, divested him, and declared him from that moment divested of the pontifical, and every other dignity whatever, and delivered him up to his magistrates, to be punished by them, wherever found, as a notorious heretic, and a rebel to his lawful sovereign. By the same edict

¹ Trithem in Chron. ad ann. 1328.

² Anecd. l. 2. col. 698.

³ Bernard. Guid. in ejus Vit. apud Baluz.

VOL. III.—11

⁴ Anecd. tom. 2. col. 727.

Bold attempt of James Colonna in favor of the pope. An imperial edict ordering the popes to reside at Rome. Peter de Corbario elected pope. His birth, education, and character.

the subjects of the empire, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, were all forbidden, on pain of death, to acknowledge thenceforth James of Cahors for lawful pope, or obey him as such.¹ The edict ended with a promise from the emperor to provide, without delay, the vacant see with a person worthy of and equal to so high a dignity.¹

Four days after the publication of this sentence, that is, on the 22d of April, James Colonna, a youth and a layman, provoked at the emperor's edict, and fired with zeal for the honor of the pope, repaired to the square of St. Marcellus, and there in the presence of above a thousand Romans first read, and then affixed to the door of that church, the pope's bull, excommunicating and deposing Lewis of Bavaria, which none had yet dared to publish. At the same time he briefly confuted the chief charges brought by the emperor in his edict against the pope, declared John XXII. lawful pontiff of the holy Roman catholic church, and Lewis of Bavaria, who styled himself emperor, an usurper of the empire, and a condemned heretic, with his council of fifty-two, and all who adhered to him or to them. In the close of his speech he drew his sword, declaring that he had advanced nothing but what he was ready to maintain sword in hand against any one who should assert or maintain the contrary. The valiant champion, however, did not think it advisable to wait till his challenge was accepted, but mounting his horse, flew full speed to his father's house at Palestrina, and thus escaped falling into the hands of those whom the emperor had sent to apprehend him. The pope, hearing of this bold attempt, invited the young hero to Avignon, and there, after bestowing the highest commendations upon him in a full consistory, he rewarded his courage with a bishopric, though he had not yet attained to the age required by the canons in a bishop.²

The next day, the 23d of April, the emperor, having assembled the chiefs of the Roman people, published with their approbation and consent an edict, importing that the pope for the time being should reside no where but at Rome; that he should not be absent from thence above three months in the year; that he should not remove from that city beyond the distance of a two days' journey without the permission of the Roman people; and that, if he did not return after three admonitions, he should forfeit his dignity, and the Roman people should be at liberty to proceed to a new election. To these regulations he added one against heretics, ordering them to be punished as guilty of high treason.

This edict was calculated to justify the in-

tended election of a new pope. For the emperor having commanded the people and clergy to meet in the square before the church of St. Peter, on the 12th of the following May, he appeared there attired as emperor in a high throne, with a Minorite or Franciscan friar, named Peter Raynalducci, and commonly called Peter de Corbario, from the place of his birth, sitting by him in a chair of state. The emperor rising from his throne commanded silence, and then the Austin friar, Nicholas of Fabriano, who had preached on occasion of the deposition of the pope, preached again, and taking for his text the words of St. Peter, when delivered out of prison by the angel, "Now I know, &c." he compared the emperor to the angel, the pope to Herod, and the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, &c., to the Jews. When he had done, James, bishop of Venice, asked the multitude three times whether they would acknowledge Peter de Corbario for true and lawful pope. As they all answered with one voice that they would, the emperor ordered their answer to be registered, and to be read to them, and upon their confirming it, he declared Peter de Corbario canonically elected high pontiff, put the ring upon his finger, and even assisted him in clothing himself with the pontifical robes. Being thus clad, the emperor placed him in the same throne on his right hand, gave him the name of Nicholas V., and attended him, walking on his left hand, into St. Peter's church, where he was consecrated by James, Bishop of Venice, mentioned above, and by several other bishops, and crowned by the emperor himself.²

We cannot depend upon the accounts we read, even in the contemporary writers, of the birth, education, and character of pope or anti-pope Nicholas V. He was a native of Corbarium or Corbiera, a small village of Abruzzo, and belonged, at the time of his promotion, to the convent of the Minorites, called Ara Caeli, in Rome. He was, according to the author of the Chronicle, called Aulæ Regiæ, who lived at this time, related to the Colonna family; but according to Bernard Guido, who likewise lived and wrote at this very time, he was the son of a poor peasant.³ Bernard adds, that before he took the monastic habit, he married a woman of Corbiera, named Joan, and having cohabited with her five years, left her against her will, and turned friar without her consent. That author adds, that Joan, hearing of her husband's promotion, forty years after their separation, applied to the bishop of Rieti, their diocesan, to have her husband again, and that the bishop, having heard and thoroughly examined the case, sentenced Peter to return to and cohabit with his wife,

¹ Baluz. Vit. Papar. Aven. tom. 2. col. 512.

² Villani, l. 10. c. 71. Petrarch. Epist. familiar. 6. l. 4.

³ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1328. Num. 21.

¹ Acts, c. 12: ver. 11.

² Villani, l. 10. c. 73.

³ Bernard. in Vit. Johan. apud Baluz.

Peter creates seven new cardinals. Crowns the emperor a second time. Publishes two decrees against pope John. Sudden revolution at Rome.

as he had forsaken her by a manifest and unlawful breach of the conjugal bond: This judgment was given by the bishop of Rieti, on the 29th of November, of the present year, 1328, that is, six months and sixteen days after Peter's promotion to the pontificate. Thus Guido, who wrote, as he informs us, in the following year, 1329.¹ The sentence of the bishop, with the whole process, was sent to pope John, who immediately transmitted copies of it to all the Christian princes.² As Joan never had pretended, for the space of forty years, that her husband had left her against her will, and never had re-demanded him till he was seventy years of age and upwards, there is, I think, no room to doubt that it was at the instigation of the pope, and the bishop of Rieti, that she re-demanded him at this juncture, to expose him by that means to the contempt and derision of the world. As no notice is taken of his marriage by any other contemporary writer, I am inclined to think that the woman was suborned to personate his wife, and the whole was an invention of his enemies. However that be, Odericus, who lived at this time, and is owned by all to have been a very candid writer, tells us, that for the space of forty years and upwards, Peter led a most irreproachable life among the Minorites, was a man of wonderful abstinence, observed the strictest poverty and obedience, was a famous preacher, and reclaimed many from their wicked ways; which recommended him to the post of the pope's penitentiary at Rome.³ On the other hand, Alvarus Pelagius, one of the same order, who knew Peter, and lived some time with him in the same convent of Ara Cæli, at Rome, paints him as the basest of hypocrites, and will have his abstinence, his poverty, and obedience to have been mere show, and impositions upon the public.⁴

Whatever was his true character, he began soon after his consecration to act as true and lawful pope, and on the 14th of May, created seven new cardinals. These were James bishop of Venice; Nicholas of Fabriano, the Austin Friar; the abbot of Fuld, who had all three distinguished themselves in his cause, as we have seen; the abbot of St. Ambrose of Milan; the bishop of Modena, and two Romans, not named, who are said to have rejected with indignation the offered dignity, scorning to receive it at his hands. Villani observes, that though Nicholas held the rigorous doctrine of his order concerning the poverty of Christ and the apostles, yet he lived in as great splendor and magnificence, kept as expensive a table and as numerous a retinue, as any pope had done before him, raising money for that pur-

pose from the sale of privileges, dispensations, ecclesiastical dignities and benefices.¹

As some scrupled to acknowledge Lewis for emperor, because he had not been crowned by the pope, Lewis, to remove that objection, resolved to have the ceremony of the coronation performed anew by Nicholas. With that view he left Tivoli, whither he had retired for the sake of the air, and arriving at Rome on the 22d of May, he was met at the Lateran by Nicholas in his pontifical robes, attended by his new cardinals, and conducted by him to the church of St. Peter, where the whole ceremony was reiterated amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude.² On this occasion the emperor first delivered to Nicholas the red cap worn by the pope, and then Nicholas placed the crown on the emperor's head; which so resembled a theatrical coronation, that the Germans themselves could scarce forbear smiling.

Nicholas finding himself thus supported by the emperor, and acknowledged not only by the Roman people, but by the Gibelines throughout Italy, despatched legates into the different provinces, appointed new governors of the cities subject to the apostolic see; preferred his friends to the best bishoprics; deposing those who did not own him for lawful pope. He did not stop here, but on the 27th of May, published two edicts, declaring by the one, that he confirmed the sentence pronounced by the emperor against James of Cahors, forbid any one thenceforth to style him pope, or to question the lawfulness of his own promotion, on pain of being anathematized and punished as a heretic. By the other edict all were forbidden, under the same penalties, to obey the said James of Cahors, to receive or execute any order or orders from him. These two edicts were rigorously executed; and two persons, the one a Lombard, the other a Tuscan, were burnt as heretics, for maintaining that John was true pope, and Corbario an anti-pope and an apostate.³

The emperor and his pope were hitherto attended with all the success they could have wished for. But affairs took all at once a very different turn; which was by some ascribed to the prayers that the pope ordered to be every where offered up for the peace, union, and welfare of the church. Frederic, king of Trinacria, had promised to join the emperor with all his forces. But that promise he could not perform, his own dominions being then threatened with an invasion by Robert, king of Sicily or Naples. The Gibelines of Lombardy had engaged to send him, within a limited time, powerful supplies both of men and money; the time was elapsed, and no supplies were yet sent

¹ Bernard in Vit. Johan. apud. Baluz.

² Wading. ad ann. 1328.

³ Chron. MS. apud Wading.

⁴ Alvarus Pelag. de Planctu Eccles. l. 5. c. 27.

¹ Villani, l. 25. c. 75, 76.

² Bzovius ad ann. 1330.

³ Villani, l. 11. c. 76.

The emperor withdraws from Rome. Deposits the pope anew. Nicholas well received at Pisa;—[Year of Christ, 1329.] Confirms there the deposition of pope John. The emperor returns to Germany;—[Year of Christ, 1330.] Deploable situation of Nicholas.

either in men or money. Besides, Lewis found that his presence was no longer acceptable to the Romans, as they were obliged to maintain his troops, during his stay in their city. He therefore resolved to leave Rome, and set out accordingly on the 4th of August on his march into Tuscany, taking Nicholas with him, and all his cardinals. On this occasion the Roman people gave a remarkable instance of their fickleness and inconstancy. They had invited the emperor with the most pressing and repeated instances into their city, had received him with the loudest acclamations, and engaged to support him, as their deliverer, at the expense of their lives and their fortunes. But being now become a quite different people, they insulted him, as he marched out, in the grossest manner, loaded him with curses as a condemned heretic, and crying out, Long live pope John, discharged showers of stones upon those of his retinue, and even killed some of them. The night after the emperor's departure, cardinal Ursini entered the city with a strong body of troops, and John, cardinal of St. Theodore, the pope's legate, arriving a few days after, assembled the heads of the people, and with their approbation and consent caused all the edicts, and decrees of the emperor and his pope to be publicly burnt in the capitol. The revolution was general, and even the children, says Villani, took part in it, digging up the bodies of the Germans, and the other partisans of the emperor, who had died during his stay at Rome, dragging them through the streets, and throwing them into the Tyber.¹

From Rome the emperor marched to Viterbo, and from thence to Pisa, where he passed the winter. As he wanted money to pay his troops, great part of his German cavalry forsook him, and returned to Germany. However, to maintain his authority, he confirmed by a public edict the sentence of deposition, which he had pronounced at Rome on the 18th of April against James of Cahors, and caused it to be affixed to the door of the great church at Pisa, that it might be seen by all, and none might plead ignorance in acknowledging him for lawful pope. This edict is dated at Pisa the 12th of December, in the fourteenth year of Lewis's reign, and the first of his empire, that is, in 1328.² On the other hand, the pope excommunicated anew and deposed Lewis of Bavaria, and all who acknowledged or obeyed him as emperor.³

The emperor had left Nicholas with his court at Viterbo, where he staid the remaining part of the present year 1328. But the following year he repaired to the emperor at Pisa, and made his public entry into that

city on the 3d of January, being met at the gate by the emperor, the people, and the clergy in procession. On the 8th he preached to the people, and granted indulgences to all who did not acknowledge his competitor. On the 19th of the same month he conferred, at the emperor's recommendation, the dignity of cardinal upon John Visconti, canon of Milan, who was then at Pisa, and appointed him his legate for Lombardy. On the 19th of the following February, Nicholas in a public assembly, at which was present the emperor in person, with most of the Pisan nobility, thundered out the sentence of excommunication against James of Cahors, Robert king of Sicily, and the Florentines, acknowledging the said James of Cahors for true and lawful pope. On that occasion some of Nicholas's more zealous partisans, having made an effigy of straw, representing pope John with all his pontifical ornaments, first stripped it of those ornaments, and then publicly burnt it. Villani writes, that on the day that assembly was to meet, such a dreadful storm arose of lightning, hail, and rain, as deterred many from assisting at it; that the marshal, whom the emperor sent to command in his name their attendance, was seized with a sudden chill, and that having caused a bagnio to be made of "aqua vitæ," in order to remove it, and recover his natural warmth, the "aqua vitæ" accidentally caught fire, and the marshal was burnt alive; a plain proof, says that writer, that such proceedings were displeasing to heaven.¹ John, returning excommunication for excommunication, thundered out on Maunday Thursday, which in 1329 fell on the 20th of April, new anathemas against Lewis of Bavaria, his false pope Corbario, and all who adhered to either.²

The emperor, no longer able to maintain his troops in Tuscany, and finding that for want of subsistence they daily deserted in whole bodies, withdrew from Pisa, and leaving Nicholas in that city, marched with the small remains of his army into Lombardy, and laid siege to Milan, where the Gueff faction had prevailed. But his army mouldering away daily, he was obliged to abandon that undertaking, and retire to Trent. He intended to assemble there the states of Germany and Lombardy in order to apply to them for new supplies. But news being brought him in the mean time of the death of Frederic of Austria, his competitor, he left Trent and hastened back into Germany. Nicholas, thinking himself now no longer safe at Pisa, applied to Tarlatus, whom the emperor had appointed his vicar in Tuscany, for a safe conduct to follow the emperor into Germany. But Tarlatus could not be prevailed upon either by Nicholas

¹ Villani, l. 10. c. 98.

² Apud Baluz. Vit. Paparum, Aven. col. 545.

³ Villani, l. 10. c. 115.

¹ Villani, l. 10. c. 123. ² Thesaur. Anecd. col. 771.

Nicholas submits, and writes to the pope. The pope writes to him. Upon what terms delivered up. Abjures, and is absolved. Goes to Avignon. Makes there a full confession.

himself or his friends to grant him his request, being unwilling to disoblige the pope, lest he should transverse the design he had formed of making himself sovereign lord of Pisa. At the same time Nicholas received certain intelligence, that the archbishop of Florence and the bishop of Lucca had received orders from the pope to get him by all means into their power, and send him to Avignon.

In these unhappy circumstances he had recourse to a friend of his, Count Boniface Novelli, a nobleman of Pisa, who, pitying his condition, took him into his protection, and conveyed him privately to one of his castles at the distance of thirty-six miles from Pisa. There he kept him three months, no one knowing what was become of him. But in the mean time the Florentines having unexpectedly entered that part of the Pisan territory, Count Boniface, apprehending that he might fall into their hands, got him secretly conveyed to his house in Pisa. It being soon known that he lay concealed there, the pope wrote to the archbishop of Florence and the bishop of Lucca to treat with the count about his delivering him up into their hands. In that deplorable situation Nicholas, abandoned by all but his friend the count, resolved to throw himself upon the generosity and mercy of his enemy. He wrote accordingly a most submissive letter to the pope, with the following direction: "To our most holy father and lord John XXII., friar Peter of Corbiera, worthy of all punishment, prostrate at his feet." In the letter he owns and confesses himself guilty of a most enormous crime in accepting a dignity which he had no right to claim, nor had they who conferred it on him any right to dispose of; declares that he most sincerely repents his having ever assumed a title, of which he knew himself altogether unworthy; that he is ready publicly to resign and renounce it for ever at Pisa, at Rome, or at whatever other place his holiness shall think fit to name; and ends his letter with begging his holiness's pardon and recommending himself to his mercy.¹

The pope, transported with joy at the receipt of this letter, wrote immediately to the archbishop of Florence and the bishop of Lucca to absolve friar Peter Corbario from all censures upon his publicly confessing and abjuring his errors. On the 13th of July the pope wrote to him a most friendly letter, congratulating him upon his repentance, and assuring him that he should find in him not a severe judge, but a tender father. But count Boniface, who had taken him into his protection, not trusting to his holiness's fair promises, would not deliver him up but upon the following terms, namely, that his life should be safe; that none

but the pope should have any power over him, and that a yearly income should be settled upon him for his subsistence. To these terms the pope agreed, and to gratify the count settled upon his friend the sum of three thousand florins, to be paid yearly out of the apostolic chamber, promising to add to that sum if it was not thought sufficient.¹

The count being satisfied, Corbario appeared, and on the 25th of July abjured his errors, renounced the dignity he had assumed, and promised upon oath to obey the apostolic mandates and acquiesce in the judgment of his holiness pope John XXII., the only true sovereign pontiff. This was done at Pisa in the presence of Raymund, the pope's nuncio, of the archbishop of Florence, of the bishop of Lucca, of many other bishops, of all the nobility of Pisa, and an immense multitude of people. When he had ended his abjuration he was absolved by the nuncio and the two above-mentioned prelates from all the censures he had incurred, and his abjuration was sent in his own handwriting to the pope, who immediately communicated it to Philip, king of France.²

On the 4th of August, Corbario embarked at Pisa for Avignon, in compliance with the order he had received from the pope, and arriving on the 6th of the same month at Nizza, the last town of Italy, he was there delivered to the officers whom the pope had sent to receive him. At Nizza he made a public abjuration, and did so in all the cities of Provence through which he passed. He arrived at Avignon on the 24th of August, and the very next day prostrating himself at the pope's feet in a full consistory, with a rope about his neck, owned him for lawful pontiff, confessed and abjured all his errors, submitted himself, without reserve, to the will of the only true vicar of Christ upon earth, and begged, bathed in tears, that he would, in his great mercy, forgive him, and readmit him, however unworthy, to the communion of the church. The pope, say Villani and the continuator of Nangius, seeing his competitor at his feet, tenderly embraced him, with tears in his eyes, and admitted him to the kiss of peace.³

Corbario, not satisfied with this abjuration, made a more full one on the 6th of September, in a private consistory, none being present but the pope, the cardinals, and the officers of the court. In that abjuration or confession he specified the wicked measures he had pursued to attain to the pontifical dignity, enumerated the many wicked actions he had been guilty of while he bore it; inveighed in most bitter terms against the emperor, calling him a condemned heretic

¹ Wadingus ad ann. 1330.

² Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1330. Num. 26.

³ Villani, l. 11. c. 164. Continuator Nangii, ad ann.

¹ Wadingus ad ann. 1330.

Corbario is absolved by the pope, and confined for life. Terms of accommodation proposed by the emperor, and rejected by the pope;—[Year of Christ, 1331.] The pope's doctrine concerning the beatific vision. Opposed by several divines;—[Year of Christ, 1332.]

and apostate, the tool of Satan, the avowed enemy and infernal persecutor of the church, &c., which was courting the pope's favor most effectually. He ended this long abjuration with a confession of his faith, declaring that he held and believed the doctrine that was held and believed by the holy Roman church, and by her true head and pastor, John XXII.; that in particular he abjured, as rank heresy, the opinion that it belonged to the emperor to appoint and depose the pope, and likewise the doctrine asserting that Christ and his apostles had no property in private or in common. He then threw himself at the pope's feet, begging he would restore him to the communion of the church, and promising to perform what penance soever he should think fit to inflict upon him.¹

The pope absolved him, or rather confirmed the absolution that had been given him at Pisa, and reconciled him to the church. But to prevent his ever re-assuming the dignity he had resigned, and giving rise to a new schism, he assigned him a room in his own palace and confined him to it. There he was strictly guarded night and day, but yet allowed to see company, with this precaution, that none should be admitted to him unknown to the pope. He was received, says Bernardus Guidonis, and treated with mercy—but by way of precaution, kept in an honorable confinement—and at the time I am writing, is still treated as a friend, but guarded as an enemy.² Corbario lived thus confined three years and one month: for he died in the latter end of September 1333, and was buried in the Franciscan habit, in the church of that order at Avignon.³ Some will have the first book, and some the first three books "Of the Imitation of Christ," to have been written by Corbarius in his confinement; but that opinion has been solidly confuted by Papebroche and others.

In the mean time died Frederic of Austria, Lewis' competitor for the empire, and upon his death, several German princes, to prevent the kindling of a war in Germany, undertook to mediate a reconciliation between Lewis, who had now no competitor, and the pope. With that view they prevailed upon Lewis to promise that he would acknowledge John for lawful pope, would revoke his appeal to a general council, and even own that he had not been unjustly excommunicated; but this upon condition, that the pope, in his turn acknowledged him for lawful emperor, or at least for king of the Romans, and left him in the quiet possession of the kingdom. With these terms the German princes sent a solemn embassy to Avignon, not doubting that his holiness would agree to them; as to them they appeared

extremely honorable to the apostolic see, and had been with great difficulty extorted from the emperor. But his holiness, far from agreeing to them, received the ambassadors in the most haughty manner, rejected the terms with the utmost indignation, and in the letter he wrote to the king of Bohemia, one of the mediators, he severely reprimanded him for interposing in behalf of a condemned and anathematized heretic. In that letter he maintains, and endeavors to persuade the king of Bohemia, that Lewis of Bavaria has no better right to the crown of Germany, or to the imperial crown, than any other man never thought of by the electors, having forfeited the right derived to him from his election, the only right he could have, by his disobedience to the church, "As to his acknowledging us for sovereign pontiff, it matters little," says the pope in the same letter, "whether we are, or are not, acknowledged by a condemned heretic and a lawless tyrant; and as for his appeal to a general council, it is null in itself, being from one who has no superior upon earth." The pope closes this remarkable letter with declaring Lewis of Bavaria incapable, as an avowed heretic, of being ever elected to the royal, imperial, or any other dignity whatever, and exhorting the king of Bohemia and the other electors to proceed without delay to the election of a new king of the Romans. But the electors were not so regardless of the good of their country as to hearken to his exhortations, calculated to involve it in new wars and bloodshed.¹

The two following years the pope was engaged in a controversy of a very different nature. In two sermons, the one preached on the third Sunday of Advent, 1331, the other on the eve of the Epiphany, 1332, he asserted, that "the blessed departed see not, nor will they see, the divine essence, or God, face to face, till the day of the general resurrection; and that none are, or will be admitted till that day to the beatific vision, but will only see the humanity or the human nature of Christ." This doctrine gave great offence, and as the pope had caused copies of both his sermons to be every where dispersed, in order to propagate that opinion, several eminent divines undertook to confute it. Among the rest Thomas Wallis, an Englishman, of the order of preachers, had the boldness to preach publicly against it, even in Avignon; and he was on that account thrown into prison, and condemned to live upon bread and water. The bishop of Meaux, Durant de Saint Poranin, of the same order, wrote and published a treatise to prove that the doctrine taught by his holiness was repugnant to the scriptures as

¹ Thesaur. Anecd. col. 800.

² Bernard. apud Baluz. tom. 1. p. 145.

³ Villani, l. 18. c. 164.

⁴ Apud Raynald, Num. 28.

The pope's doctrine condemned by the university of Paris. Ordered by king Philip of France to retract it. His answer to the king. Owns his doctrine to be erroneous, and retracts it;—[Year of Christ, 1334;]—and dies.

understood by all the fathers. As that piece made a great noise, and was universally approved, the cardinals were for the pope's taking no further part in the dispute, but leaving it to be freely examined and decided by the universities and the divines. But John, instead of hearkening to their advice, spared no pains nor rewards to gain proselytes to his opinion. Having sent at this time the general of the preaching friars and a learned divine of the Franciscan order to negotiate a peace between the kings of England and Scotland, he charged them to stop at Paris, and exert their utmost endeavors to get his doctrine approved by that university. But it was rejected by all those divines as soon as proposed, and even condemned as rank heresy. The king, Philip VI., hearing that a doctrine, taught by the pope, and recommended by his legates, had been condemned by the university as a heresy, sent for the legates, to learn of them the true state of the question, appointing ten of the ablest divines of the university to meet them; and dispute the point about which they disagreed in his presence. The king heard with great attention what was offered on both sides; but, thinking the subject in dispute deserved a more mature discussion, he summoned all the divines of the university, and with them all the bishops and abbots then at Paris, to meet at the castle of Vincennes. At that assembly he assisted in person, laid before them with great perspicuity the doctrine of the pope with respect to the "beatific vision," and desired them to deliver freely their opinions concerning it. The pope's doctrine was thoroughly examined by that learned assembly, and by all, to a man, condemned as repugnant to scripture and heretical. The king ordered an authentic act to be drawn up of what passed at this assembly, and sent it to the pope, signed by twenty-six divines, requiring, or rather commanding him to acquiesce in their judgment, and not suffer himself to be any longer misled by the flattering clerks of his court, who were either utterly unacquainted with or knew very little of divinity; nay, fired with zeal for the catholic faith, he ordered the pope, says cardinal Peter d'Ailly, to retract his opinion, else he would cause him to be burnt as a heretic.¹

The pope, in his answer to the king's letter, pretended to have advanced nothing but what he thought might be made good from the Scripture and the fathers; that he had nothing in view but the discovery of the truth, and had, in order to that, left the point in question to be decided by the learned.² Here his holiness advanced a most notorious falsehood; for he did not leave the point in question to be decided by the learned, but

decided it himself, and punished, as we have seen, with great severity those who did not acquiesce in his decision. The pope's answer to the king's letter is dated the 18th of November 1333. But as it was not thought satisfactory, either by the king or the university, seeing the doctrine that had occasioned the present dispute remained still unretracted, the pope on the 3d of January 1334, solemnly declared in a public consistory, that he never intended to assert, or propose any thing to be believed, that was contrary to the Scripture or the catholic faith; and that if he had inadvertently dropt any such thing in his sermon upon the "beatific vision," he retracted it.¹ He did not yet own his doctrine to be contrary to Scripture and the catholic faith, but only retracted it, if it was. And what heretic, however wedded to his opinion, would not have thus retracted it? He acknowledged, however, his error at last, and by a public and absolute retraction in some degree atoned for the scandal he had given. For, being taken dangerously ill, he sent for all the cardinals and bishops then in Avignon, and in their presence owned, that the blessed departed were admitted to the "beatific vision," and saw the essence of God or God face to face as soon as they were purged from their sins; retracted whatever he had said, preached, or written to the contrary, and submitted to the judgment of the church and to that of his successors whatever he had said, preached, or written relating to other subjects. This retraction he made on the 3d of December of the present year 1334, and he died early next morning; so that he did not retract his heretical doctrine till a few hours before his death, and may therefore be said to have lived a heretic, but to have died a good catholic. He died in the ninety-first year of his age, when he had held the see eighteen years and four months wanting two days, taking into the account, with Ptolemy of Lucca, the day of his election, the 7th of August 1316, and the day of his death, the 4th of December 1334.² But from his letters and diplomas it appears that he reckoned the years of his pontificate from the day of his coronation, the 5th of September. He was buried in the cathedral of Avignon, where his tomb is to be seen to this day. Villani writes, that either his whole body or part of it was conveyed to Cahors, his native country, and buried there.³ But that writer, living in Italy, was frequently misled by false reports with respect to what happened at Avignon.

John XXII. is commended by all the contemporary writers for his parts, but at the same time charged with the most scandalous

¹ Petrus de Ailliac, apud Lenfant. Concil. de Pise,

1. 2. p. 146. ² Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1333. Num. 46.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1334, Num. 29.

² Ptol. Lucen. in Vit. apud Baluz.

³ Villani, l. 11. c. 20.

John leaves an immense treasure; by what means acquired. His writings. Benedict XII. unanimously elected.

avarice, inventing daily new methods of gratifying that predominant passion. He is supposed to have invented the Annates, obliging every clergyman preferred to a benefice to pay into the apostolic chamber one year's income before he took possession of the benefice. This tax alone, as managed and improved by the pope, brought in immense sums. For when a rich benefice became vacant he presented one to it who had a smaller, to the smaller he presented another, and thus made one vacancy often produce six or more presentations, always preferring him who had the smaller benefice to a better. Thus they all paid and all were satisfied. Under color of zeal for the observance of the canons, forbidding the scandalous abuse of pluralities, he obliged those who had more benefices, to resign them all but one, and by conferring them upon different persons got the value of one year's income out of each of them. This scandalous imposition extended to all the new archbishoprics, and the many bishoprics which he erected, by dividing the more extensive dioceses, in the manner we have seen. No wonder, therefore, that in a pontificate of eighteen years he should have accumulated the immense sums that are said by Villani to have been found at his death in the treasury of the church. For though he spent and gave away as freely as any of his predecessors, yet he left at his death, according to that writer, eighteen millions of florins of gold in coined money, and seven millions in ingots, jewels, plate, furniture, &c. the whole amounting to twenty-five millions. This Villani says we may depend upon, as he had it from his brother, a man of veracity, and merchant in Avignon, who learnt it of the very persons employed by the cardinals

to make an inventory of the deceased pope's effects, and appraise them.¹ The precise sum John left is mentioned by no other writer; but in this they all agree, that he died possessed of immense wealth, which he had hoarded up, as some pretend, not out of avarice or love of money, but with a design to set on foot a new crusade, and attempt once more the recovery of the Holy Land. That expedition he certainly had much at heart, and had even prevailed upon the kings of France, Arragon, Majorca, Sicily, Cyprus, and Hungary to take the cross. But the Christian princes quarreling among themselves, the intended expedition was laid aside, and in the mean time the pope died.

All the contemporary writers, and among them Villani, though not at all partial to this pope, own him to have been a man of learning, and a generous friend to the learned. He wrote the following pieces; a treatise on the Contempt of the World, which would, perhaps, have better come from one less intent upon heaping up worldly riches; another treatise on the Transmutation of Metals, which was translated into French and published at Lyons in 1557; some sermons upon the Blessed Virgin, mentioned by Jacobus a S. Carolo in his *Bibliotheca Pontificia*, but never yet published; sermons upon the Beatific Vision, (those sermons that gave occasion to the famous dispute) said by father Antony Pagi to be lodged in manuscript in the public library of Cambridge; and, lastly, twenty constitutions, which he ordered to be called *Extravagantes*, as making no part of the other collections, and they are sometimes quoted by the canonists under the names of *Johanninæ*, as those of his predecessor are styled *Clementinæ*.

BENEDICT XII., THE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FOURTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[ANDRONICUS, SEN., ANDRONICUS, JR., *Emperors of the East*.—LEWIS of Bavaria, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ 1334.] John XXII. dying on the 4th of December in the episcopal palace at Avignon, the count of Noailles, seneschal to Robert, king of Sicily, that is, chief governor of Provence, shut up the cardinals, in all twenty-four, in the same palace, nine days after the decease of the pope, agreeably to the Constitution of Gregory X. But they were divided into two factions, Taillarandus, formerly bishop of Auxerre, and then cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, being at the head of the French party, the more numerous of the two, and John Colonna, cardinal of St. Angelo, at

the head of the opposite party, the Italian. Both parties agreed upon their first entering the conclave to nominate John Comminge, brother to the count of Comminge, formerly archbishop of Toulouse, and at that time cardinal bishop of Porto, a man of a most unexceptionable character, and allowed by both parties to be the best qualified of any in the sacred college for so high a dignity. They accordingly offered him, all to a man, their suffrages. But the French cardinals requiring him to promise, before they pro-

¹ Villani, l. 11. c. 20.

Benedict's birth, education, preferments, &c. Crowned;—[Year of Christ, 1335.] The doctrine of pope John concerning the beatific vision condemned;—[Year of Christ, 1336.]

ceeded to a formal election, that he never would go to Rome, he rejected their offer, saying, he would rather renounce the dignity of cardinal than accept the papal upon such a condition, as he thought it highly prejudicial to the church. The cardinals being at a loss, upon his unexpected refusal, whom to nominate, some of them proposed James Fournier, cardinal of St. Prisca, merely to employ their time, Fournier being the most inconsiderable of the whole college, "*omnium infimus*." The proposal was received, contrary to all expectation, with great applause, and the person, whose election had never been seriously thought of by any of the cardinals, was, as soon as nominated, unanimously elected by them all. Thus was the cardinal of St. Prisca, or Benedict XII. the name he took, raised to the pontificate on the 20th of December, when the cardinals had been but seven days in the conclave. His promotion is commonly ascribed by the writers of those days to Divine inspiration, and with as good reason as that of any of his predecessors.¹

Benedict was a native of Saverdun, in the diocese of Pamiers, come, according to some, of a noble, according to others, of an obscure and ignoble family. Ciaconius will have him to have been the son of a miller. If he was so meanly born, those writers must have been misinformed, as father Pagi has observed, who suppose him to have been nephew to the late pope John XXII., who was descended from a noble family. Be that as it may, he embraced from his youth a religious life among the Cisterians in the abbey of Boulbone, in the diocese of Mirepoix. Having received the degree of master of divinity in the university of Paris, he was made abbot of the monastery of Fontfroide, in the diocese of Narbonne, and when he had governed that monastery six years with great applause, he was preferred to the vacant see of Pamiers, and nine years after translated to that of Mirepoix, which he had held but twenty months, when he was, on the 18th of December 1327, created by his predecessor cardinal presbyter of St. Prisca. He was at last, when he expected nothing less, raised to the papacy on the 20th of December 1334, in the manner we have seen.²

Benedict, seeing himself preferred to a dignity, which it had never entered into his thoughts to seek or aspire to, told the cardinals, either out of humility, or because he knew himself to be very little acquainted with public affairs, that they had elected an ass for their pope. He was indeed a stranger to the refined arts of the court, but an eminent divine, thoroughly acquainted both

with the civil and the canon law, and, what redounds more to his honor, a man of a most exemplary life and known probity. The day after his election, the 21st of December, he distributed among the cardinals one hundred thousand florins out of the treasure left by his predecessor, and a few days after allotted fifty thousand for the repairing of the churches in Rome. He put off his coronation till the 8th of January 1335, when he was crowned in the church of the preaching friars with the usual solemnity; and from the day of his coronation he reckoned the years of his pontificate, as appears from several of his letters.¹ The day after his coronation, the 9th of January, he wrote to all the bishops and Christian princes, to acquaint them with his promotion, owning himself with great humility unequal to so great a charge. The day after, the 10th of the same month, he ordered all the bishops, and other ecclesiastics, who had benefices with cure of souls, to return to their respective churches before the festival of the purification, or the 2d of the ensuing February, threatening to proceed against them according to the canons if they remained beyond that time at Avignon without a just cause, and his permission. On the 30th of January he revoked all the commendams and expectatives, or promises of benefices before they became vacant, which the churches, says the author of his life, had been loaded with by his predecessor.²

On the 2d of February, the festival of the purification of the Virgin Mary, Benedict preached a famous sermon upon the beatific vision, asserting that the just departed saw the essence of God, or God face to face, before the day of the general resurrection. Thus he publicly contradicted, as early as he could, the doctrine taught and preached by his predecessor, lest he should be thought to hold the same doctrine. Two days after he held a consistory, to which he invited all who had embraced the opinion of pope John, in order to know of them what they had to offer in defence of it. Having heard their reasons and arguments, he wrote a treatise to confute them, and establish the contrary opinion, and on the 6th of July went to Pont de Sorgue, at a small distance from Avignon, taking with him some very able divines, with a design to have his treatise examined by them in that place of retirement. It was upon the strictest examination universally approved, nothing having been urged in support of the opposite opinion, that was not there, in the opinion of all who were present, unanswerably confuted. The pope however did not finally decide the question till the 29th of January

¹ Villani, l. II. c. 21. Albert Argentin. in Chron. Vit. Benedict. apud Baluz.

² Apud Baluz. in Vit. Paparum. Aven.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1336. Num. 22.

² Vit. Benedict. apud Baluz. col. 798.

What prevented Benedict from residing in Italy. Builds a palace at Avignon. Is inclined to absolve the emperor. By whom diverted from it.

of the following year, 1336, when he published a constitution, declaring, 1. That the souls of the just, who have departed this life before or since the passion of Christ, and were, or stood in no need of being purged, and likewise the souls of children who were baptized, but died before they attained to the years of discretion, have enjoyed, ever since the ascension of Christ into heaven, the sight of the divine essence, or the beatific vision. 2. That the souls of the just, who shall depart this life, will be admitted at their death, or as soon as duly purged, to the same beatific vision, and the souls of the infants, dying after baptism, at the very instant of their death, as being purged from the original sin, and not guilty of any other. 3. That the souls of all who die guilty of any mortal and unrepented sin or sins, are thrown into hell the moment they leave the body, to be there tormented for ever. 4. That nevertheless all will appear on the last day at the tribunal of Christ, to give an account of their actions, and receive, in the presence of the whole human race, the deserved punishment or rewards. This constitution Benedict closes with commanding the doctrine there defined to be held by all, and all to be prosecuted as heretics who shall thenceforth hold, teach, or obstinately and knowingly defend by word of mouth or in writing the contrary doctrine.¹ Thus was the doctrine held and taught by one pope as entirely orthodox, condemned by another as rank heresy. The definition of Benedict was afterwards confirmed in the last session of the council of Florence, and in the 25th of the council of Trent.

Benedict sensible that his two immediate predecessors had been obliged, in many instances, to gratify the kings of France, contrary to their inclination, and sometimes to their conscience, and that he and his successors would be no better than their vassals so long as they resided at Avignon, resolved to quit the French dominions, and restore the see to Italy. As great disturbances, attended with daily murders, prevailed at this time in Rome, he chose for the present, the city of Bologna for the place of his residence, and sent nuncios to acquaint the citizens with this his intention, and to hire and furnish palaces for himself and the cardinals, provided the Bolognese were willing to receive him. But they had lately revolted from the Roman church, had driven the legate out of their city, and set up, as well as most of the other cities subject to the apostolic see, for a free people. This intelligence obliged the pope, much against his will, to lay aside all thoughts of going to Italy, and fix his residence at Avignon.² Having taken that resolution, he immediately set about

building, with the money his predecessor had left behind him, a most magnificent palace for himself and his successors, who should choose to reside at Avignon. It was both a palace and a fort, being built with very thick walls and strong towers at proper distances. That work the pope carried on at an immense expense so long as he lived, and yet left it unfinished. As he had chosen for his own palace the spot where the bishop's stood, he ordered a new palace, and a very stately one, to be built, at his expense, for the bishop in another part of the city.¹

What this good pope had, as a lover of peace, above all things at heart, was to compose the differences between the emperor Lewis of Bavaria and the apostolic see, which had been carried to a great height, as we have seen, in the late pontificate. With that view he wrote to Lewis soon after his coronation, exhorting him, in a most friendly manner, to revoke the edicts he had issued to the prejudice of the apostolic see, and return to the bosom of the church. The emperor, taken with the kind expressions of the pope and his pacific disposition, despatched immediately a solemn embassy to Avignon, to assure his holiness that he was ready not only to revoke all his edicts, any ways prejudicial to the honor or the interests of the apostolic see, but to give him all the satisfaction he could reasonably require, being very confident that his holiness would require nothing but what was reasonable. The ambassadors met with a most honorable reception from the pope, whom they found as desirous to absolve their master, as he was desirous to be absolved, from the repeated excommunications of the late pope. But being informed by the cardinals in the consistory he called on that occasion, that the emperor had entered into an alliance with Edward, king of England, and the princes of Flanders, against Philip, king of France, which would oblige that prince to defer his intended expedition to the Holy Land, Benedict suspended, for the present, the desired absolution, and was afterwards prevailed upon by Philip, and the cardinals he had gained, to deny it. Thus was the pope, notwithstanding his pacific disposition, diverted by the king and the cardinals from settling in an amicable manner the differences that had so long subsisted between the church and the empire. But they could by no means persuade him to renew or confirm the sentence of excommunication and deposition, pronounced so often against the emperor by his predecessor; nay, he seemed rather to excuse that prince, as having been driven by the hard usage he met with into the measures he pursued.² Thus most writers of those times, though the German and Italian

¹ Bzovius ad ann. 1336.

² Vit. Benedict. apud Baluz. et Bosquet.

¹ Vit. Benedict. apud Baluz. et Bosquet.

² Vit. Benedict. apud Baluz.

Revokes the tenths granted by his predecessor to the king of France ;—[Year of Christ, 1337.] Creates six cardinals. Prefers none but men of merit. Reforms some religious orders ;—[Years of Christ, 1339, 1340.] The city of Bologna submits to the apostolic see.

historians of later ages will have Benédict to have confirmed, as soon as raised to the see, all the sentences of his predecessor against the emperor as an usurper and a heretic.

Philip VI. of France had, in the latter end of the preceding pontificate, taken the cross, with a design to pass into the East at the head of a powerful army, and pope John had granted him the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices in his dominions for carrying on that expedition. But Philip being obliged, by the war that broke out in Aquitaine, between him and Edward, king of England, to lay aside all thoughts of such an undertaking, Benedict revoked the grant of his predecessor. This Philip highly resented, as he had almost emptied his coffers in making the necessary preparations for his intended war against the infidels, and went in person to Avignon with his son John, duke of Normandy, to remonstrate against it. The pope received them with all possible marks of kindness, respect and esteem, but could by no means be prevailed upon to consent to the money of the church being employed by one son of the church against another. It is said by one of the authors of this pope's life (for his life has been written by eight different authors) that at his first interview with the king he assured him, before that prince could acquaint him with his request, that out of the great regard, friendship and affection he had for one so well deserving of the church and the apostolic see, he would, if he had two souls, endanger one of them to gratify him; but as he had only one, and was determined at all events to save it, he hoped his majesty would ask nothing but what he could grant without exposing himself to the danger of losing it. The king endeavored to persuade the pope that he might, with a safe conscience, allow the money granted for carrying on the war against the infidels, to be employed even against a Christian prince, obstructing that war by his unseasonable ambition. But Benedict persisted in his former resolution, in spite of all his remonstrances, entreaties, and even menaces.¹

The following year the pope created six new cardinals, all men of eminence, and in great reputation for their learning and abilities, and all, but Gocius of Remini, the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, natives of France. He was not biassed in his choice by any partiality for his countrymen, but preferred those whom he knew to be the best qualified to assist him in the government of the church, and to govern the church, as the pope was chosen out of the college of cardinals, and every cardinal had a chance of being preferred to that high dignity, and trusted with the most important charge upon earth. He used frequently to

say that all other sins were pardonable in a pope, but to admit worthless men into the college of cardinals, the seminary of high pontiffs, was a sin never to be forgiven, being against the Holy Ghost, by whom the church was governed; and lest he should be guilty of that sin, he made but one promotion, and created only six cardinals during the seven years of his pontificate.¹

Benedict was no less cautious and reserved in disposing of vacant benefices, choosing rather that they should remain vacant, than be conferred upon persons who had no particular merit to recommend them. He hearkened to no other recommendation but that of merit, and preferred none till after most diligent inquiry into their character. His great backwardness in disposing of church preferments gave occasion to his being painted, as we are told he was, with his fist closed. Petrarch, speaking of Gregory XI., raised to the see in 1371, commends that pope for not following the example of his predecessor, Benedict XII., in bestowing benefices upon none but men of consummate virtue: for in that case all benefices, says that writer, would remain vacant, or would be all conferred on very few.² Though Benedict only preferred deserving men, yet he would suffer none, however deserving, to hold more benefices than one, but obliged those whom he preferred for some extraordinary merit to richer benefices, to resign the poorer, thinking it was robbing others to bestow more benefices upon one.³

The two following years, 1339, 1340, were chiefly employed by Benedict in restoring the decayed discipline in several religious orders, especially in the Benedictine, the Cistercian, and in that of the regular canons of St. Austin, where the original rules established by their founders were either entirely neglected, or observed by very few. The zeal he exerted in reforming those religious orders provoked the monks, and by some of them he has been painted for all his good qualities and eminent virtues, in the blackest colors, as I shall have occasion to observe in the sequel. In 1340 Benedict had the satisfaction of seeing the Bolognese return to the obedience of the church. They had revolted in 1334, had driven out pope John's legate, and refused to receive the present pope, desirous of residing in their city. By him, therefore, the city was laid under an interdict in 1337, the third year of his pontificate, when he had employed in vain all other means of reclaiming them; the chief authors of the revolt were excommunicated, and the university, then the most famous, as it is to this day, in all Italy, was deprived of all its privileges. In that condition they continued three years; but the

¹ Vit. apud Baluz.

¹ Vit. apud Baluz.

² Petrarch. Epist. 38.

³ Vit. apud Baluz. col. 824.

Benedict dies;—[Year of Christ, 1342.] His character. Neglects his family and relations. Aspersions cast upon his memory.

leading men disagreeing among themselves about the government of their new republic, and great disturbances arising daily from their disagreement, they resolved to submit anew to the yoke they had shaken off, and sent accordingly deputies to Avignon in 1340, to profess their obedience and subjection to the Roman church; to beg his holiness would forgive them; would receive them again, as his subjects, into his protection; would reinstate them in the privileges they had justly forfeited, and restore them to the communion of the church, being willing to give what satisfaction his holiness should think fit to require. Benedict granted them their petition at once; but to deter other cities from following their example, he imposed upon them a tribute of eight thousand florins of gold, to be paid yearly into the apostolic chamber.¹

As this good pope was wholly intent upon reconciling the kings of France and England then at war, he was taken dangerously ill, and died in a few days. He had been long troubled with a humor in his legs, which his physicians stopped, as it happened to flow more plentifully than usual, and occasioned by that means his death. He died in the palace he had built at Avignon, on the 25th of April 1342, after a pontificate (reckoning from the day of his election) of seven years, three months, and eighteen days. Great encomiums are bestowed upon him by all the contemporary writers for the sanctity of his life, his disinterestedness, his contempt of all worldly grandeur and pomp, and his zeal in restoring discipline, and banishing simony out of the church. Benedict, says one of the authors of his life, was raised to the pontificate by divine inspiration, to show, by his example, what a good pontiff ought to pursue, and what he should avoid. His death, says another, was lamented by all good men, and with a great deal of reason, as he gave just cause of offence to none, and made it his study to oblige all, and gain them to Christ. He was a generous encourager of learning, and in his time none wrote learnedly, and remained unrewarded. He spent great part of the treasure, left by his predecessor, in rewarding men of merit, in relieving the poor, and in repairing and beautifying several churches in Rome, especially that of St. Peter, gone almost to decay.²

Benedict, far from employing, enriching, and aggrandizing his relations, as most other popes had done, could scarce be prevailed upon to admit them to his presence when they came to congratulate him upon his promotion, saying, "James Fournier had relations, but pope Benedict has none," and contented himself with ordering the expenses

of their journey to be defrayed out of the apostolic chamber. He had a nephew in orders, a man of merit, and an untainted character; yet he had overlooked him, however deserving, till the cardinals exerting jointly all their interest in his behalf, obtained for him, and with great difficulty, the vacant see of Arles. He had a niece, who was courted by many persons of the first rank; but when they asked her of the pope, he returned them the following answer, which I shall give in the Latin words of the author, "*non decebat talem equum hanc habere sellam,*" and gave her in marriage to a merchant of Toulouse, with a fortune suitable to his circumstances and condition.¹ Mezeray, therefore, had reason to say, "that this good pope, having more at heart the exaltation of his see than that of his family, left a great treasure to the church, and nothing to his relations but salutary instructions for the good of their souls."²

Benedict for all his good qualities wanted not his enemies, who, being provoked at his extirpating the many abuses that had crept into the church and several religious orders, spared no calumnies to blacken his memory, charging him with avarice, cruelty, and obstinacy, with delighting in buffoonery, and lewd conversations, with frequenting the company of women, and making love to them, especially to the celebrated Petrarch's sister, whom they say he debauched. They add, that he liked wine as well as women; that in his time "*bibere papaliter,*" to drink like a pope, was the current phrase to express hard drinking, and that a few days after his funeral the following distich was fixed upon his tomb:

Iste fuit Nero, laicis mors, vipera Clero
Deivus à vero, cuppa repleta merq.³

But if Benedict had been a man of that character, would so many creditable historians of so many different nations have extolled him, in the manner we have seen, for his exemplary life and eminent sanctity, nay, and proposed him as a pattern of every virtue becoming the high station to which he was raised?

The following pieces written by this pope, some before, and some after his promotion, have reached our times, namely, two volumes upon the state of souls before the general judgment; eleven questions upon the same subject; sermons for the chief festivals of the year; and these different works are all lodged in manuscript in the Vatican library. He wrote, besides, several constitutions relating to the reformation of some religious orders, commentaries upon the Psalms of David, a great many letters, and some poetical pieces.

¹ Vit. Benedict. apud Baluz. p. 816.

² Mez. abrégé Chron. tom. 3. p. 146.

³ Vide Baluz in notis ad vitas Papar. Aven. tom. 1. p. 825.

¹ Vit. apud Baluz. col. 824. Raymund. ad ann. 1340. Num. 60.

² Vit. Benedict, apud Baluz.

Clement elected. His birth, education, preferments, &c. Is crowned. Creates ten cardinals. The Romans send a solemn embassy to the new pope.

CLEMENT VI., THE HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIFTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[JOHANNES PALÆOLOGUS, JOHANNES CANTACUZENUS, *Emperors of the East*.—FREDERIC, *Duke of Austria*, CHARLES, *Marquis of Moravia*, *Emperors of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1342.] Benedict died on the 25th of April 1342, and the cardinals, in all seventeen, entering into the conclave nine days after his decease, that is, on the 5th of May, which fell on a Sunday, elected unanimously on the following Tuesday, the 7th of the same month, Peter Roger, cardinal presbyter of St. Nereus and Achilleus, who took the name of Clement VI.

He was the son of William Roger, lord of Rosiere, was born about the year 1292 in the castle of Maumont near Pompadour in the diocese of Limoges, and embraced a religious life, when but ten years old, among the Benedictines in the monastery of Chese-Dieu in Auvergne. He studied at Paris, and at the age of thirty was admitted by that university to the degree of master or doctor of divinity. John XXII. preferred him to the priory of St. Baudille of Nismes, afterwards to the abbey of Fecamp in Normandy, and soon after to the bishopric of Arras. As he was no less esteemed at the court of France than at that of Avignon, the king, Philip VI. made him keeper of the royal seals and chancellor. In 1330 he was translated by pope John from the see of Arras to the archiepiscopal see of Sens, and in 1338 created cardinal by his successor Benedict XII. That see he held till the year 1342, when upon the death of Benedict he was elected in the manner we have seen to succeed him.¹ Papius Massonus tells us, in his life of this pope, that having been robbed, while he was yet a monk, and stripped quite naked in returning from Paris to his monastery of Chese-Dieu, a priest, named Stephen Aldebrand, supplied him with clothes, and whatever else was necessary to pursue his journey, and that, upon his asking when he should return the favors he had received, the priest answered, "when you become pope." This Clement remembered, and soon after his election sent for the priest, appointed him his chamberlain, and afterwards raised him first to the archiepiscopal see of Arles, and not long after to that of Toulouse, which he held till the year 1363.² This fact is well attested, but it does not prove the priest to have been a prophet, nor the promotion of Clement to have been revealed to him.

The new pope was crowned in the church of the preaching friars on Whitsunday the

19th of May, and attended on that occasion by John, duke of Normandy, king Philip's eldest son, by the dukes of Bourbon and Burgundy, by the dauphin of Vienne, and by all the chief nobility of France and Gascony, who waited upon him to the pontifical palace, being all taken with his polite and obliging behavior, quite the reverse of that of his predecessor.¹ The day after his coronation he acquainted all the Christian princes, but the emperor, with his promotion, and a few days after sent the two cardinals Peter de Pratis bishop of Palestrina, and Hannibald bishop of Tusculum, with the character of his legates *a Latere*, to mediate a peace between the kings of France and England. The legates could not persuade the two princes at war to conclude a peace, but prevailed upon them, not without great difficulty, to agree, according to some, to a three, according to others to a four years' truce.²

As the college of cardinals was reduced at this time to twenty-two or at the most to twenty-three, the late pope having been, out of a motive of conscience, very cautious and reserved in disposing of that or any other ecclesiastical dignities, Clement made on the 20th of September a promotion of ten cardinals, among whom were Hugh Roger, his brother, who refused, as we shall see, the pontificate upon the death of Innocent VI. William, his nephew by his sister, and Gerald de Guardia, general of the preaching friars, and nearly related to him. For Clement was as kind to his own relations as Benedict had been unkind to his.

The Romans, hearing of the election of Clement, sent a solemn embassy to Avignon, consisting of six persons, out of each of the three different states of the city, the highest, the middling, and the lowest, in all eighteen. They were sent to congratulate him upon his promotion, to do him homage in the name of the three different states, to offer to him, not as pope but as Peter Roger, the government of their city for life, and to beg the two following favours: I. That he would come and reside at Rome, at the Lateran, his own church and the first of all churches. II. That he would order the jubilee to be celebrated every fiftieth year. They conferred upon him as Peter Roger the supreme

¹ Vit. apud Baluz.

² Auctor primæ et tertię Vit. Clement. apud Baluz., et apud Raymund. ad ann. 1342. Num. 6.

¹ Baluz. Vit. Papar. Aven. col. 267, 282.

² Papius. Masson. Vit. Clement. et Baluz. ubi supra.

The jubilee reduced at their request to every fiftieth year;—[Year of Christ, 1343.] Clement excommunicates the emperor; who sues for absolution;—[Year of Christ, 1344.] Upon what terms offered him.

magistracy, and not as pope, lest his successors should claim it. The deputies, among whom was the celebrated Petrarch, met with a most favourable reception. Clement thanked them with great politeness for the joy they expressed at his promotion, pretended a great desire of going to Rome and residing there, but at the same time alleged many plausible reasons why he could not, for the present, comply with their request and his own inclination. However, as he found his account as well as the Romans did theirs in the shortening of the time between one jubilee year and another, people flocking in crowds on that occasion from all parts of the world to Rome, he promised to gratify them in that respect, and he published accordingly, on the 27th of January of the following year 1343, a constitution beginning with the words "*Unigenitus Dei filius*," and ordering the jubilee to be celebrated every fiftieth year.¹ Petrus de Herentalis, who flourished in 1380 and wrote the life of Clement, takes no notice of the bull "*Unigenitus*," but gives us a very different one to the same effect, beginning with the words "*Cum natura humana*," in which the pope, after fixing the next jubilee to the year 1350, and ordering that solemnity to be renewed every fiftieth year, "commands the angels of heaven to introduce into the glory of Paradise, quite free from purgatory, the souls of those who in the year of the jubilee shall die in their way to Rome." But Baluzius will have that bull to be supposititious; and alleges the following reasons to prove it: 1. Because it is written in a low grovelling style, as different from that of Clement in his genuine writings as two styles can possibly differ from one another. 2. Because Albericus a Rosate, who lived at this very time, and has given us at length the bull in question, says, in express terms, that he knows not whether it be genuine, and seems rather inclined to think it supposititious, as he could find no copies of it at Rome in 1350, when he went with his wife and his three children to the jubilee. 3. This bull is dated at Avignon the 28th of June 1344, the third year of Clement's pontificate, whereas out of the six different authors of Clement's life four agree in this, that he reduced the jubilee to every fiftieth year in the first year of his pontificate, the date that the bull "*Unigenitus*" bears.

The late pope had shown, on all occasions, a great desire of composing, almost upon any terms, the differences that had so long subsisted between the emperor Lewis and the apostolic see, and though diverted from it by the cardinals in the French interest, he could never be prevailed upon to confirm any of the sentences pronounced

by his predecessor against that prince. But Clement, a man of a very different temper, renewed and confirmed by a bull, dated the 23d of April, in the first year of his pontificate, 1343, all the censures and punishments inflicted by his predecessor John XXII. upon Lewis of Bavaria for his enormous crimes, and at the same time thundered out the sentence of excommunication against Henry, archbishop of Mentz, who had openly espoused the emperor's cause. Lewis being quite tired with this contest, and desirous of restoring peace to Germany, sent a solemn embassy to the new pope, to propose an accommodation, and to learn of his holiness himself upon what terms he would absolve him. Clement received the ambassadors with great haughtiness, and upon their declaring, pursuant to their instructions, that their master sincerely repented of his past conduct towards the holy see, and had, out of his earnest desire of being reconciled to the church, ordered them to agree, in his name, to what terms soever his holiness should think fit to prescribe, he answered, that he would advise with the cardinals, and then let them know upon what terms their master might hope for absolution from the censures and other punishments, which he had drawn upon himself by his enormous wickedness. Two days after he sent for the ambassadors, and exaggerating anew the wickedness of their master, acquainted them with the terms, the only terms, he said, upon which he could grant him absolution. These were, I. That he should own himself guilty of all the heresies he was charged with, should renounce and abjure them all, especially the opinion, that it belonged to the emperor to appoint or depose the pope. II. That he should quit the title of king or emperor, should resign the government of the empire, and not resume it without the permission of the apostolic see. III. That he should deliver up to the pope, and leave, without reserve, at his disposal, himself, his children, and all his hereditary dominions, territories, and estates. IV. That he should acknowledge the empire to be in the gift of the apostolic see. These articles, no less dishonorable to the empire than to the emperor, the ambassadors agreed to, and signed them in a public consistory, to the great surprise of all the cardinals, only desiring to have an authentic copy of them, to be sent to their master for him to sign; which was granted. The emperor, astonished at the extravagant demands of the pope, resolved to improve them to his own advantage. With that view he caused copies of them to be sent to all the princes, states, and cities of the empire, declaring in a letter, which he wrote to them on this occasion, that for the sake of the public peace and tranquillity he was ready to acquiesce in the demands of his

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1342; Num. 11. et Baluz. col. 862.

The terms rejected by the German states and princes. The emperor excommunicated anew ;—[Year of Christ, 1345.] Charles of Bohemia recommended by the pope to the electors. Is elected king of the Romans ;—[Year of Christ, 1346.]

holiness, how exorbitant soever and unjust, so far as they related to him; but as the honor and the majesty of the empire were at stake as well as his own, he would not agree to them without their approbation and consent. The demands of the pope being heard by all with the greatest indignation, the emperor appointed a diet to meet at Francfort, in order to deliberate with the princes of the empire about the most proper means of defeating the ambitious views, and opposing the encroachments of the pope. The diet met in September 1344, when the demands of the pope were declared unjust, highly prejudicial to the empire, and repugnant to the oath which both they and the emperor had taken. It was therefore decreed, that they should by no means be complied with; that ambassadors should be sent to Avignon to beg his holiness would waive them; and that, in case he could not be prevailed upon to do so, they should meet again at Retz upon the Rhine, and there determine what further measures they should pursue to maintain, as they were bound by their oaths, the honor and dignity of the empire.¹

Clement, concluding, from the conduct of the emperor, that he never intended to perform the articles of the agreement, and that it was only to engage the states and princes of Germany in his cause, as the cause of the empire, that he had procured a copy of them, renewed and confirmed all the sentences that had been pronounced against him either by his predecessor, pope John, or himself; and at the same time wrote to the electors, ordering them to proceed forthwith to the election of a new king of the Romans, Lewis of Bavaria having forfeited, as "an avowed and impenitent heretic," all right to that as well as to the imperial crown, and to every other dignity whatever. But the electors putting off the election under various pretences, the pope on the 28th of April of the following year sent them a peremptory order to elect a new king of the Romans in a limited time, else he would nominate one to that dignity, as the right of electing was originally derived to them from the apostolic see.² At the same time he warmly recommended to them Charles duke of Moravia, who was then at Avignon, and had come with his father, John king of Bohemia, to offer himself to the pope as a candidate for the empire, and engage his interest. He was of the family of Luxemburg, being the grandson of the emperor Henry VII. duke of Luxemburg, was well known to the pope who had formerly been his preceptor, and was on that account preferred by him to all the other

candidates; but not till he had signed and sworn to observe the following articles, in case he should be raised to the imperial throne by the interest and recommendation of the apostolic see. I. That he should revoke all the edicts of his grandfather Henry VII. against Robert heretofore king of Sicily, as well as against the Romans and the Florentines. II. That he should leave all the differences between the empire and the king of France to be determined by the apostolic see. III. That he should lend all the assistance in his power to the church and the holy see against Lewis of Bavaria. IV. That he should never invade, but protect and defend the domains of the apostolic see in and out of Italy. V. That he should not enter Rome till the day of his coronation; should leave it the same day; and should not take upon him the administration of the affairs of Italy till he was crowned emperor.¹

These terms being agreed and sworn to both by Charles and his father, John king of Bohemia, the pope wrote to Walram and Baldwin, archbishops of Cologne and Treves, to the duke of Saxony, to the count Palatine of the Rhine, and the other electors, exhorting them to proceed forthwith to the election of an emperor, after so long a vacancy of the imperial throne, and recommending to them Charles of Bohemia, a prince equal in every respect to so great a charge. The letter is dated the 28th of April 1346. As Baldwin, archbishop of Treves, had been excommunicated, on what account history does not inform us, the pope sent the bishop of Acco to absolve him, and at the same time empowered Baldwin himself to absolve such of the other electors as had incurred the excommunication, by communicating with Lewis of Bavaria and obeying him as emperor. As Henry, archbishop of Mentz, adhered to Lewis, the pope, who had excommunicated him on that account, deposed him on the present occasion, and raised to that see the young Count Gerlac of Nassau, canon of Mentz, upon his promising his vote to Charles. The electors thus gained by the pope met at Renz, in the diocese of Mentz, (the city of Francfort, where the election was usually made, being zealously attached to the emperor Lewis,) and about the 20th of July Charles, duke of Moravia, was elected king of the Romans by all the electors who were present. The new king despatched immediately ambassadors to Avignon, to acquaint the pope with his election, and at the same time to take the usual oaths in his name, and beg his holiness to confirm his election. With that request Clement very readily complied, and on the 6th of November of the present year he issued a bull declaring Charles, duke of

¹ Raymund. ad ann. 1344. Num. 42, 58. Baluz. Vit. Clement. tom. 2. p. 245.

² Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1346.

¹ Apud Raymund. ad ann. 1346. Num. 19.

The emperor Lewis dies;—[Year of Christ, 1347.] A revolution at Rome. Great disturbances in Naples, occasioned by the murder of the king. Behavior of queen Joan on that occasion.

Moravia, king of the Romans lawfully elected, and ordering all to acknowledge and obey him as such.¹ The election of Charles being thus approved and confirmed by the pope, he was crowned king with the usual ceremonies by the archbishop of Cologne at Bon, the inhabitants of Aix-la-Chapelle, where the kings of the Romans were usually crowned, refusing to acknowledge him or admit him into their city.² Several other cities in Germany continued faithful to the emperor Lewis, which would have kindled a new war in the bowels of that unhappy country, had not the death of that prince, which happened on the 11th of October of the following year, 1347, prevented it.

In the present year great disturbances were raised in Rome by one Nicolo di Lorenzo, called Cola di Rienzo, a man of a mean descent, some say the son of a miller; but of great eloquence, craft and address. He frequently harangued the multitude, and by pretending great zeal for their rights and liberties, of which, he said, they, once lords of the world, had been most unjustly deprived, he got himself elected tribune of the Roman people, with all the power annexed of old to that office. The tribune began the exercise of his new authority by driving all the nobles out of the city, and with them Raymund, bishop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar. Being thus become absolute lord of the city, and supported in his usurpation by the Roman people all to a man, he notified to all princes, by a manifesto, or edict, that the Roman people revoked all the privileges that had ever been granted to the prejudice of their authority; that they, consequently, had the same jurisdiction, power and authority over the whole world that they ever had claimed, and that Rome was still the metropolis and mistress of the universe. Nay, elated with his power, he arrived at such a height of presumption, or folly, or fanaticism, as to declare, that the empire, and the election of the emperor, belonged to the Roman people, and to summon the pretenders to that dignity to plead their cause at their tribunal and his. But the people growing soon tired of his government, as he engrossed all power to himself, leaving only to them the bare name of liberty, and the nobles forming at the same time a powerful alliance against him, he was forced to leave Rome, and fly in disguise to Naples.³ Of this insurrection a very curious and entertaining account has been lately published in French. As for that which we read in the Life of Rienzo, written in the language that was spoken in those days by the vulgar at Rome, it is

fraught, as has been observed by Baluzius, with many notorious falsehoods.

The revolution that happened at this time in the kingdom of Naples was a more serious affair. Robert, king of Naples, dying on the 16th of January, 1343, that kingdom, then called Sicily and Sicily citra Pharum, as well as the county of Provence, fell to Joan, his grand-daughter, by the duke of Calabria, his only son, who left no issue male behind him. King Robert had married her to Andrew, the second son of his nephew Carobert, king of Hungary, with a design of restoring the kingdom of Sicily to the descendants of his elder brother, Charles Martel, as he could not acquiesce, says the famous lawyer, Bartolus, in the decision of pope Clement V., preferring him in the succession to Carobert, his elder brother's son. The new king was received with great applause by all ranks of men. But as he suffered his Hungarians to engross the whole administration to themselves, to insult the natives, and even to lord it over the princes of the blood, a conspiracy was soon formed against him, and while he was with the queen at Aversa, the conspirators, getting into the castle, where he kept his court, in the night of the 17th of September 1345, strangled him and threw the dead body out of the window. Early next morning the queen, leaving Aversa, repaired in great haste to Naples, and assembling all the barons who were then in that city, declared to them, in the most solemn manner, that she was altogether innocent of the barbarous murder of her husband; and, as it was whispered about that she was privy to it, she charged Hugh del Balzo, high judiciary of the kingdom, to make a strict inquiry after the authors of her husband's death, and to bring such as should be found guilty to condign punishment. At the same time she wrote to the pope, to Lewis, king of Hungary, her brother-in-law, who had succeeded his father Carobert in that kingdom, and to all the other Christian princes, to clear herself from all suspicion of having been any ways accessory to that horrid murder. She not only wrote, but sent the bishop of Tropea to the king of Hungary, to persuade him of her innocence, and beg he would take herself, a widow, and her son Carobert, his nephew, into his protection. But Lewis had been persuaded beforehand, that the queen had been the chief actress in that bloody tragedy, and therefore told the bishop with great wrath, that he was fully convinced of her guilt, and that neither she nor any of her accomplices should escape the vengeance that was due by the laws, both human and divine, to so enormous a crime. As for the pope, he had no sooner heard of Andrew's death, than, thinking it chiefly belonged to him to prevent the disturbances

¹ Apud Bzovium Num. 91. Raynald. Num. 34.

² Mâth. Villani, l. 12. c. 17. Raymund. ad ann. 1347.

³ Raynald. ad ann. 1347. Albert. Argent. in Chron. p. 140. Baluz. in Vit. Pap. Aven. p. 256, &c.

The queen marries again. The kingdom invaded by the king of Hungary, the deceased king's brother. The queen retires from the kingdom. The king of Hungary enters the kingdom without opposition. How he revenged the death of his brother.

that such an event might produce in the kingdom, a fief of the apostolic see, he appointed cardinal Aymericus de Castellucci to govern it, with the character of his vicar in temporals, till the queen was found guilty or innocent. At the same time he solemnly excommunicated all who had been privy to, or in any manner whatever aiding and assisting in so horrid a murder, declared their estates confiscated, all their honors forfeited, and the places where they were, or that belonged to them, interdicted. In the mean time, several persons of different conditions being taken upon suspicion, and strictly examined, it appeared from their depositions that several of the chief barons were concerned in the conspiracy, and among the rest the count of Evoli, high steward of the kingdom. But most of them had fled, and the rest had retired to their castles and strong holds, which were not to be reduced easily; and it was, besides, apprehended that the princes of the blood, whom the king had greatly disoblged by his partiality to the Hungarians, would take them into their protection, and a bloody war would be thus kindled in the bowels of the kingdom.

In the mean time the queen's friends, hearing of the immense preparations that the king of Hungary was daily carrying on, with a design to invade the kingdom, and at the same time to revenge the death of his brother, advised her to marry again, and choose for her husband a prince capable of protecting both her person and her kingdom against so powerful and so merciless an enemy. With that advice she readily complied, being still in the flower of her age, and the prince of Taranto, her grandfather, king Robert's brother, having proposed to her Lewis, his second son, a prince no less beloved for his affable behavior than esteemed for his valor, of which he had given some signal proofs, she closed with the proposal, and a year being elapsed since the death of her first husband, the nuptials were immediately solemnized. But the public rejoicings on that occasion were scarce over when news was brought to court of the arrival of the king of Hungary in Abruzzo, at the head of a very numerous and powerful army. As the queen had not yet raised, nor had she time to raise, a sufficient force to face the enemy, and besides apprehended that many of her subjects, as she was commonly believed to have been privy to the death of her husband, would forsake and betray her, she resolved to save herself by flight from falling into the hands of the enraged king of Hungary. This, her resolution, she communicated to all the barons, to all the magistrates, governors, and syndics of the different cities, summoned to Naples for that purpose, telling them in a no less

eloquent than artful harangue, that though she was very confident they would all, to a man, stand by her to the last drop of their blood, yet she had resolved to quit the kingdom and repair to Avignon, for two reasons, which she did not doubt they would approve of; the one to make her innocence as well known to Christ's vicar upon earth as it was to Christ in heaven; the other to spare the blood of her loving subjects, for whom she had too much tenderness and affection to involve them, for her sake, in the calamities of a cruel and destructive war. She then ordered them to make no resistance, to carry the keys of all the forts, castles, and cities, to the king of Hungary as soon as he appeared before them, and declared them released from the oath of allegiance they had taken to her. Having ended her speech, she left the assembly all bathed in tears, and embarking the same day with her small retinue on board three galleys, which she had sent for from Provence, she followed her husband, who had sailed a few days before, to Avignon.

In the mean time the king of Hungary advancing to Naples, was every where received without the least opposition, the cities opened their gates to him, and the barons flocked from all parts to do him homage. On his march from Benevento to Aversa he was met by all the princes of the blood in a body, carrying with them Carobert, his brother's only child by queen Joan, then three years old. The king received them, and the barons who attended them, with great seeming kindness, took young Carobert in his arms, and kissing him, expressed great concern at the unhappy and undeserved fate of his father. He staid five days at Aversa, and on the sixth, when he was to leave the place, he armed himself cap-a-pie, and marching at the head of his army in battle-array, he halted over against the castle where his brother had been strangled. There he called to him the duke of Durazzo, the eldest son of the prince of Morea, the late king Robert's brother, and asked him out of which window the body of his brother king Andrew had been thrown. The duke answered that he knew not, nor could he give him any information concerning the circumstances of his brother's death. The king then produced a letter to Charles of Artois in the duke's own hand-writing, from which it appeared that he had been privy to the whole, and telling him that he wanted no better evidence, he caused his head to be struck off upon the spot, his body to be thrown out of the same window, and to lie unburied a whole day, as had happened to the body of his brother. In the next place he ordered all the other princes of the blood to be seized, to be confined in the castle of Aversa, and to be sent from thence under a

The king of Hungary's entry into Naples. Returns to Hungary. The queen arrives at Avignon;—[Year of Christ, 1348.] Pleads her cause before the pope and the cardinals; and convinces them of her innocence. Is invited by her subjects back to her kingdom. Sells Avignon to the pope.

strong guard, with his nephew Carobert, into Hungary. The king then proceeded on his march to Naples, which city he entered in his armor with a black standard carried before him, representing the murder of his brother. The magistrates and chief citizens received and welcomed him at the gate; but he proceeded, with a stern countenance, as if he neither saw nor heard them, straight to Castel Nuovo, and would admit of no demonstrations of respect, nor give audience to the magistrates, who came to congratulate him upon his safe arrival. The next day the houses of all the princes of the blood were plundered by the Hungarians, and diligent search was made after the duchess of Durazzo; but she, hearing of the fate of her husband, had fled by sea to her sister, who had attended the queen to Avignon. The king remained two months in Naples, which he employed in new-modelling the government, in fortifying and garrisoning the strong holds, in changing the magistrates throughout the kingdom, and displacing all whom he suspected to be in the least attached to the queen. While he was thus employed, the plague, that raged in most other places, breaking out in Naples, he left that city, and embarking at Barletta on board a light galley, landed in Dalmatia, and from thence returned to Hungary, despised, says the historian, by the Neapolitans, whom he had frightened more than hurt.

While these things passed in Italy, queen Joan arrived safe at Avignon on the 15th of March 1348, and being received by all the cardinals, who came in a body to meet her, and congratulate her upon her arrival, she made her public entry under a canopy, as sovereign of the place, and was attended by the whole college of cardinals to the pope's palace, who received her with the greatest marks of affection, respect, and esteem. She told the pope, that as she had been most unjustly driven from the kingdom which his holiness's predecessor Clement V. of holy memory, had adjudged to her grandfather, and, besides, her character had been most wickedly aspersed, she was come chiefly to convince his holiness and the sacred college of her innocence, and therefore desired to be heard in a full consistory. Clement granted her very readily her request, pretending that it belonged chiefly to him, as lord paramount of the kingdom, to take cognizance of the death of the king. A consistory being accordingly called, at which were present the pope in person, all the cardinals, and all the ambassadors of the Christian princes then in Avignon, the queen pleaded her cause before that assembly with so much eloquence, alledged so many proofs of her innocence, as entirely satisfied the pope and the whole college of cardinals. The proof she urged above all others was, that of the

many persons who had been imprisoned, had been strictly examined, and being found guilty had been most cruelly racked to discover their accomplices, not one had ever had the assurance to impeach her. She owned that she had one evidence against her, public report; but what credit such an evidence deserved she left his holiness and the sacred college to judge. Clement, now convinced of her innocence, confirmed her marriage with Lewis of Taranto, though contracted within the forbidden degrees, took them both into his protection, and dispatched an apostolic legate into Hungary to negotiate a reconciliation between them and that king.

In the mean time the Neapolitan nobility, growing weary of the government of the Hungarians, by whom they were treated as a conquered nation, came privately to an agreement among themselves to redeem their country from the oppressions it groaned under, by restoring queen Joan, their lawful sovereign, to the throne of her ancestors; the rather, as at the tribunal of the apostolic see she had been found innocent of the death of her husband. This their resolution they communicated, by persons in whom they could confide, to the queen, assuring her that, considering the hatred which the natives universally bore to their new masters, they would engage to drive them out of the kingdom, provided she could assist them with a body of troops from Provence, and money to support them but for a short time. Upon these assurances, and repeated invitations from all the chief lords of the kingdom to return to her hereditary dominions, her subjects being all ready to receive her, she resolved to raise a body of troops in her French dominions, and equip a few galleys to convoy them, as well as herself and her husband, to Naples. It was on this occasion that, wanting more money than her French subjects were able to supply her with, she determined to sell the city of Avignon to the pope, not doubting but by parting with one city she should acquire a whole kingdom. Her husband agreed to it, and the proposal was no sooner made to Clement, than he closed with it, paying at once the sum that was asked, eighty thousand florins of gold.¹ Thus in the year 1348 did the city of Avignon, with its territory, become subject to the Roman church, and it continues so to this day. Francis Noguier, in his history of the bishops of Avignon, gives us the public instrument of this bargain or agreement, dated at Avignon the 9th of June 1348, and it is likewise to be met with in the annals of Bzovius.² Those authors, therefore, were certainly misinformed, who will have the

¹ Vit. Clement. Joann. Villani Annal. Bzovius in Annal. Noguier, in Hist. Episcoporum, Aven.

² Noguier et Bzovius ad ann. 1348.

The queen returns to Naples. A bloody war kindled in the bowels of the kingdom. A peace concluded, and the queen restored. A general plague. Relief afforded by Clement in that calamity. The Flagellantes condemned.

queen not to have sold, but to have given the city of Avignon to the pope, to recommend herself by so valuable a present to his favor, and engage his protection. As the city of Avignon was held by the counts of Provence as a fief of the empire, the pope did not pay the purchase money till Charles, lately elected king of the Romans, had confirmed the bargain, and solemnly renounced all the right claimed by the empire over that city and its territory. The bull containing that renunciation is dated the 1st of November 1348.¹

The queen, being now supplied with the necessary money to second the wishes of her Italian subjects, raised a small army in Provence, and having fitted out ten galleys, she embarked in them at Marseilles with her husband and all her troops, and landed safe at Naples, to the incredible joy of all the inhabitants of that metropolis. Her arrival was no sooner known, than the natives, rising throughout the kingdom, put such of the Hungarians to death as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. But as the Hungarians were masters of all the forts and strong holds, and received from time to time new reinforcements from Hungary, a most destructive war was carried on till the year 1351, when the king of Hungary was at last prevailed upon by the pope to conclude a peace with the queen and her husband Lewis of Taranto; to withdraw all his forces out of their dominions, and set at liberty all the princes of the blood, whom he had sent prisoners into Hungary four years before. Thus was queen Joan, by the unshaken zeal of her subjects, and the good offices of the pope, restored to the quiet possession of her kingdom. But of that famous princess, as famous, perhaps, as any we read of in history, I shall have occasion to speak more than once in the sequel.

In the present year, 1348, a most dreadful plague raged all over Europe. It broke out in Asia in 1347, extended to Africa, and from Africa spread to the most remote and the most northern parts of Europe. No city, no village, no house in our hemisphere escaped the general infection. It raged every where with incredible fury, but with more in some places than in others, leaving in some the third part of the inhabitants, but in others scarce the twentieth. All the historians, who have writ of those times, have filled their histories with most melancholy accounts of the effects of that plague in their different countries. In that general calamity Clement, by a bull, dated at Avignon the 13th of May 1348, granted a plenary indulgence to all, who sincerely repented of their sins and confessed them, and likewise to the priests who attended them and administered

the sacraments to them. At Avignon he employed physicians at his own expense to visit the poor, hired others to assist and supply them with all necessaries, furnished such of them as died of the infection with winding-sheets, and lest their bodies should lie unburied, and increase the infection, he engaged persons to bury them by promising them two grossos, about six pence of our money, for every body they buried. As the cemeteries, or church-yards, were all soon filled, Clement purchased and consecrated a large field which was made a common burying place, and called *Campus Floridus*, in French, *Champ-fleuri*, which name, says one of the author's of Clement's life, it retains to this day. The pope built there and endowed a chapel in honor of the Virgin Mary. But in the place, where that chapel stood, a church has since been built in honor of St. Roch, the protector against the plague, and the advocate of those who are infected with it.¹

On occasion of this general plague sprung up a new sect, who, to appease the Divine wrath, whipped themselves publicly, and were therefore called the Flagellantes. They were first heard of in Hungary, from thence they passed into Germany, and from Germany into Italy, gaining every where a great many followers. They walked with the upper part of their bodies quite naked, holding a wooden cross in the left hand, and a scourge in the right, consisting of cords with knots, and pointed pieces of iron at the end. With that scourge they scourged themselves in the public streets as well as in the churches in a most cruel manner. They soon became very numerous, and though they admitted none into their society who were not able to maintain themselves, they overspread in a very short time all Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Austria, great part of France, and some of them came even to Avignon, and there publicly practised all their austerities, in order to discover the sentiments of the pope concerning their method of living. They were there greatly admired and respected not only by the people, but by some of the cardinals. But the pope, looking upon such austerities, practised in public, as rather proceeding from vanity than any true sense of religion, not only forbade them upon pain of excommunication, notwithstanding the strong opposition he met with from some of the cardinals, but wrote to all the archbishops and bishops to suppress that sect in their respective dioceses, to imprison such priests and regulars as had embraced it, and keep them confined till further orders.² Thus was the numerous sect

¹ *Auctores Vit. Clement. apud. Baluz. et Raynald. ad ann. 1348. Num. 32.*

² *Chron. Hirsaug. ad ann. 1349. et apud Raynald. Num. 20.*

¹ *Apud Noguier ibid.*

Jubilee of the year 1350. Rome crowded with pilgrims. The cruelty and avarice of the Romans. The disturbances continue in Germany.

of the Flagellantes entirely extirpated as soon as sprung up.¹

Clement, to gratify the Romans, had reduced the jubilee, in the first year of his pontificate, from every hundredth to every fiftieth year, as has been said above: and as the time of that solemnity now drew near, he took care to acquaint the faithful therewith by a bull, dated at Avignon, the 18th of August, of the preceding year, 1348, which he sent to all the archbishops and bishops throughout Christendom, with orders to publish it in their respective dioceses, and exhort all committed to their care, to avail themselves of the approaching jubilee, as very few would, in all probability, live to another. This bull being every where published, pilgrims flocked in such crowds to Rome, from all parts of the then known world, that one would have thought, says Petrarch, who was present, that the plague, which had almost unpeopled the world, had not so much as thinned it: and Rebdorsius tells us, that on Passion-Sunday, when the famous Veronica was first shown, the crowd, of which he was one, was so great, that many were stifled, and died on the spot. Matthew Villani, who has continued the very valuable history of his brother, John Villani, and was at this time in Rome, says that it was impossible to ascertain the precise number of pilgrims, constantly in that city, from the beginning of the jubilee year to the end, but that, by the computation of the Romans, it daily amounted to between a million and twelve hundred thousand from Christmas, 1349, to Easter, which in 1350 fell on the 28th of March; and to eight hundred thousand from Easter to the Ascension-day and Whitsunday; that notwithstanding the excessive heats of that summer, and the busy harvest-time, it was no day under two hundred thousand; and that the concourse at the end was equal to that at the beginning of the year.² Meyer writes, that out of such an immense multitude of persons of both sexes, of all ages and conditions, scarce one in ten had the good luck to return home, but died either of the fatigues of so long a journey, or for want of necessities, the hungry and hard-hearted Romans exacting higher prices for their lodgings and provisions of all kinds, even for bread, than the poorer sort of pilgrims could reach, and not suffering any to be brought into the city till their stores were all consumed. Annibald Cecano, whom the pope had sent to Rome, with the character of his legate, to maintain the public peace during the holy year, and see that the pilgrims were not ill-used or imposed upon by the Romans, omitted nothing in his power to relieve them from those exorbitant exactions; he even shortened the time that was appointed for

their visiting the different churches, and consequently for their staying at Rome; which so provoked the greedy Romans, that they would have murdered him had he not retired from Rome into Campania, his native country, and left the unhappy pilgrims at their mercy.¹

The public disturbances still continued in Germany, many of the German princes and cities refusing to acknowledge Charles, who, they said, had sacrificed the undoubted rights of the empire to his own ambition and to that of the pope. Besides, the terms required by the pope to absolve those, who had sided with the late emperor, from the censures they had thereby incurred, were by most of them thought absolutely inconsistent with their duty as subjects of the empire. For by those terms, in order to obtain absolution, they were, 1. Publicly to own that it did not belong to the emperor to depose one pope and set up another, but was heresy to assert that it did; 2. To swear obedience to the pope with respect to the satisfaction he should demand for their having countenanced, aided, and assisted a condemned heretic; 3. To promise that they would thenceforth acknowledge no emperor till his election was confirmed by the pope, would no ways favor or assist the widow and children of the late Lewis of Bavaria, till they were reconciled to the church; and lastly, would own and obey Charles, whose election was confirmed by the pope, as lawful king of the Romans. These terms, evidently calculated to make the election of the king of the Romans depend upon the pope, and the king a creature of his, were rejected with the utmost indignation by all the friends of the late emperor, choosing rather to remain under all the excommunications that had been so often thundered out against them, than to purchase absolution at so dear a rate. The city of Basil had steadily adhered to Lewis from the beginning of this contest to the hour of his death; but when absolution was offered them, in the pope's name, by the bishop of Bamberg, upon the above-mentioned terms, the chief magistrate protested against them in the name of the whole city, and caused his protest to be registered by a public notary, declaring he did not believe that the late emperor was ever a heretic; that he would ever acknowledge and obey as lawful king of the Romans or emperor, the person whom the electors, or the major part of the electors, should raise to that dignity, whether his election was or was not confirmed by the pope; and that he was unalterably determined never to agree to any terms inconsistent with the majesty and rights of the empire.²

The friends of the late emperor, instead of

¹ Trithem. in Chron.

² Villani, l. 1. c. 56.

¹ Meyer. Annal. Flandrin. l. 13. Villani, *ibid.* c. 68.

² Albertus Argentinensis, p. 142.

The Germans elect a new king in opposition to Charles ; but upon his death submit to Charles. Clement undertakes the defence of the mendicants against the secular clergy ;—[Year of Christ, 1351.]

suing for absolution, or accepting it upon the terms it was offered them, and acknowledging Charles, whom, by way of contempt, they called "The king of the priests," resolved among themselves to elect another in his room. Several persons were proposed at their meetings, but they all agreed in the end to elect Edward III., king of England, and a solemn embassy was sent to acquaint him therewith, and offer him the empire. Edward received the ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction, thanked the German princes for the honor they did him, but begged they would excuse his not accepting, at that juncture, an offer that redounded so much to his honor, as he had then a very expensive and dangerous war on his hands with the French king, in defence of his own dominions. The German princes, determined not to receive a king at the hands of the pope, nor one who preferred, as they plainly saw Charles did, the interests of the church to those of the empire, resolved upon the return of their ambassadors with king Edward's answer, to make the same offer to Gunther Schwartzembourg, count of Thuringia, who had served with great reputation under the emperor Lewis, and was esteemed the best general of the age. Gunther at first rejected the offer, being desirous of passing the remaining part of his life in peace and tranquillity. But yielding afterwards to the pressing instances of his friends, he was elected at Francfort by the greater part of the electors, was proclaimed king of the Romans, and acknowledged by all the princes and cities that had sided with Lewis. As the pope pretended that the person elected should not take upon him the title of king, and much less of emperor, nor any ways concern himself with the government till his election was confirmed by the apostolic see, Gunther, a few days after his election, published, in opposition to that pretension, the following edict : "Whereas, Lewis, our predecessor of glorious memory, made a law, importing, that he who has been elected king of the Romans by the electors, or the greater part of them, is lawful king, and has, as such, a right to govern and administer before his election is confirmed by the pope ; we by these presents renew and confirm that law with the advice of our princes, both ecclesiastic and secular, and declare all acts inconsistent with it, more especially the decrees of the popes, to be repugnant to the apostolic and catholic doctrine, it being notorious that by all the laws, both human and divine, the pope ought to be subject to the emperor, and the emperor is subject, in temporals, to no power upon earth." This edict was received with great applause by almost the whole Germanic body, looking upon their new king as the deliverer of the empire from the papal

tyranny. But he died in the sixth month of his reign ; and the Germans, tired out with so long a war, chose rather to submit to Charles, than to involve their country in new troubles by electing another.¹

As many, during the plague, had left their estates to the mendicant friars who had attended them in their illness, the parish-priests, envying them the wealth they had acquired, complained to the pope of their degenerating from their original institution, and even demanded, being backed by some bishops and cardinals, no friends to the mendicants, an entire suppression of that order, or at least that his holiness would forbid them to preach, to hear confessions, and bury the dead. The petition of the priests was presented in a full consistory to the pope, and their case strongly recommended by several bishops and some of the cardinals. But Clement, espousing the cause of the mendicants, returned them the following answer : "The mendicants have exposed their lives by attending dying persons, and administering the sacraments to them, while you, consulting your own safety, fled from the danger, and abandoned your flock. You have therefore no reason to complain of what they have got, as they have got it by performing the duty which you have neglected, though incumbent upon you. They employ the little they have earned in new-building, repairing, or embellishing their churches ; but you would, perhaps, have applied it to very different uses. You advise me to silence them, and leave the preaching of the word entirely to you. And what would you preach ? Surely, not humility, as you are known to be the most haughty, the most proud set of men upon earth, and the most pompous in your attendants and equipages. Would you recommend poverty, and the contempt of worldly wealth ? You, whom no benefices can satisfy, however accumulated ! Would you urge fasting, abstinence, and a mortified life, while you fare sumptuously, and indulge yourselves in the most delicate meats ? As for your chastity, I leave yourselves to consider whether you could, with a good grace, recommend that virtue to others. The mendicants preach nothing but what, by their example, they show to be practicable, whereas many amongst you preach one thing, and practise the quite contrary." Such is the character given by the pope himself of the clergy of his time. Clement closed his speech with declaring, that the mendicants had deserved too well of the church to be deprived of any of the privileges which his predecessors had thought fit to confer on them, but was nevertheless ready to hearken to any reasonable and well-

¹ Albertus Argentinensis, p. 142.

Clement mitigates the rigor of the constitution concerning the conclave;—[Year of Christ, 1351.] Owns himself fallible. Sends a legate into Sicily to crown queen Joan;—[Year of Christ, 1352.] Death of Clement. His character. Prefers and enriches all his relations.

grounded complaints brought against them, and do justice to the complainants.¹

Clement being taken dangerously ill in the latter end of the present year, 1351, the cardinals prevailed upon him to mitigate the rigour of the constitution of Gregory X. with respect to the conclave. For that pope had ordained that each cardinal shut up in the conclave should have but one attendant, clerk or layman at his choice, and two only in case of urgent necessity; that if the election was not made in the term of three days, the cardinals should have but one dish at dinner, and one at supper during the fifteen following days; and that if they did not agree during that time, they should thenceforth be only allowed bread, wine and water. Besides, by Gregory's constitution they were all to be shut up in one common room without so much as a curtain between them. But Clement, by his constitution allowed them to have each two servants, clerks or laymen; to have curtains round their beds, and one dish of flesh or fish at dinner, and another at supper, besides bread, wine, fruit, and sweetmeats, so long as they continued in the conclave.²

During the same malady he issued another constitution, importing that if in disputing, in preaching, or teaching, either before or since his promotion to the apostolic see, he had advanced any thing contrary to the catholic doctrine, or to good morals, he retracted it, and submitted the whole to the judgment of his successors.³ He entertained, it seems, but a very indifferent opinion of his own infallibility.

Clement recovered from this illness, though his life was despaired of, and had the satisfaction the following year to receive a solemn embassy from his favorite, queen Joan, to acquaint him with the reception she had met with from her subjects of all denominations and ranks, and entreat his holiness to send a legate to crown both her and her husband Lewis of Taranto. The pope, in compliance with the queen's request, immediately despatched William de Guardia, archbishop of Braga, a relation of his own, to perform the ceremony, and by him Lewis was crowned king, and Joan queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, on the 27th of May of the present year.⁴

On the 1st of December Clement was seized with a fever, which, as it never intermitted, put an end to his life on the 6th of that month, when he had held the see, from the day of his election, ten years and seven months wanting one day, and from the day of his coronation ten years six months and eighteen days. His exequies were cele-

brated the day after his death in the church of St. Mary at Avignon, and his body was deposited there, but translated from thence the following year, agreeably to his last will, to the monastery of Chese-Dieu in Auvergne, where he had originally made his profession as a monk. It was attended thither by five cardinals, namely, his brother, his three nephews, and another relation of his, all created by him, and deposited in a most magnificent tomb, which he had caused to be built.¹ The tomb was to be seen in the church of that monastery, as Massonus informs us, till the year 1562, when it was destroyed, and the remains of the pope were burnt by the Calvinists.

As for the character of this pope, authors speak of him so very differently, that one would scarce think they spoke of the same man. He delighted, according to Villani, in pomp and grandeur. His table, his attendants, and his whole retinue were such as would have become a great monarch; and he lived more like a monarch than a bishop. He kept a great number of horses, and frequently rode out for his diversion. He made it his business to aggrandize his family, and enrich his relations. He purchased great estates for them in France, and made several of them cardinals, though they were either too young, or led scandalous lives. In his promotions he had no regard to learning or virtue. He had himself a competent share of learning, but his behavior had more of the gentleman than the ecclesiastic. While he was archbishop he frequented, and took great delight in frequenting, the company of women; when pope he could neither check nor disguise his amorous disposition. Women had as free access to him as bishops, especially the countess of Turenne, at whose recommendation he granted many favors; and he chose, when indisposed, to be served and attended by women.² This portrait of Clement was drawn by Villani, who lived at this time. On the other hand, one of the authors of this pope's life paints him not only as a man of extraordinary learning, but as one endowed, in a most eminent degree, with every virtue moral and Christian.³ But that those encomiums were not quite free from exaggeration and flattery is owned by father Pagi himself.⁴ That Clement surpassed all his predecessors in aggrandizing and enriching his near as well as his most distant relations, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, is owned by all who have spoken of this pope. Five of the ecclesiastics he made cardinals, and among them Peter Roger, his brother's son, when he was not yet eighteen years of age. But in him virtue and a virtuous disposition, says one of the authors

¹ Continuator Nangii apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. 2. p. 815. ² Inter Acta Concil. Constant.

³ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1352. Num. 38; et Baluz. Vit. Paparum, Aven. tom. 1. p. 260.

⁴ Villani, l. 3. c. 8.

¹ Villani, l. 1. c. 43; et auctores Vit. Clement. apud Baluz.

² Villani, l. 3. c. 43.

³ Auctor tertie vite apud Baluz.

⁴ Pagi, tom. 4. p. 149.

Clement's learning and writings. Privilege granted by Clement to the kings of France. The Fortunate Islands, or the Canaries, discovered in his time. Appoints the earl of Clermont king of those islands. Algezir taken from the Moors in his time.

of Clement's life, abundantly supplied the want of years.¹ He was afterwards raised to the pontificate under the name of Gregory XI. and by him the apostolic see was restored to Rome, as we shall see in the sequel. Clement did not forget his lay relations, but provided for them all, at the expense of the church, with lordships and baronies, married his nephews and nieces into the first families of France; insomuch that the Roger family became one of the most conspicuous for wealth and alliances in the whole kingdom. However he refused, as we are told, one of his nieces to Lewis, king of Trinacria, saying, that she was not equal to so high a station.²

As for Clement's learning, he was, as has been said, according to Villani, but competently learned. But all the authors of his life, and besides them the celebrated Petrarch, who lived at this time, speak of him as a man of very great learning, and no less eloquent than learned. He was, says Petrarch, a most learned but a most busy pontiff, and therefore fond of abridgements;³ and then mentions the books he caused to be abridged. That writer adds, that he was endowed with a very uncommon memory; that he never forgot any thing he had read or heard; and that this extraordinary memory was said to have been owing to a violent blow on the crown of his head, of which the scar still remained. A memorable case, says our author, if true; but our admiring great men gives often occasion to fables.⁴ Aymericus de Peyraco, who flourished in 1360, calls Clement a great preacher of the word of God;⁵ and one of the authors of his life says, that he preached frequently, and most excellent sermons.⁶ Peter de Luna, afterward Benedict XIII. had a great many volumes of Clement's sermons, as appears from the catalogue of that learned man's books. Besides sermons he wrote a treatise upon the poverty of Christ and the apostles, calculated to defend and maintain the doctrine defined by his predecessor John XXII. While he was professor in the university of Paris he wrote a comment upon the fourth book of sentences, which was received with great applause by that learned body. The only writings of Clement in print are a treatise on ecclesiastical power, some speeches, letters, decretals, and a book upon the canonization of St. Ivo, whom he canonized in 1347. Ivo was a native of Brittany, and one of the best lawyers of his time, but pleaded only for the poor, and gratis.

Clement, in the third year of his pontificate, granted to Philip king of France, to Joan his queen, and to John duke of Nor-

mandy, his eldest son, the privilege of receiving the sacrament in both kinds whenever they pleased. The diploma containing that grant is dated at Avignon, the 21st of June 1344.¹ Of that privilege the French kings only avail themselves at their coronation, and when they receive the Viaticum at the point of death.

The Fortunate islands, now known by the name of the Canaries, being discovered in Clement's time, he appointed Lewis, earl of Clermont, descended from the royal families of France and Castile, but at that time one of the French king's ambassadors at Avignon, king of those islands, with the title of king or prince of Fortunia. As the pope claimed the sovereignty and the disposal of all new discovered countries, especially of islands, Clement gave, or rather sold the said islands to Lewis; for he obliged him and his heirs to pay yearly, four hundred florins of gold to him and his successors, as an acknowledgment of their holding their kingdom of the apostolic see. The pope presented his new king with a scepter of gold and a golden crown, which he placed with his own hand upon his head. The king walked in his royal robes from the church to his own habitation, where he arrived, as it happened to rain violently the whole time, dripping wet, and thus he was inaugurated, says Petrarch, who was present, king of a kingdom in the water.² A conceit unworthy of so great a genius. The inhabitants of those islands were, at this time, neither Christians nor Mahometans, but lived like wild beasts in woods and caverns.³ Lewis had prepared a fleet to take possession of his new kingdom, but the memorable victory obtained at Cressy, by king Edward III. over the French in 1346, obliged him to drop that undertaking, and employ both his fleet and the forces he had raised in the defence of that kingdom. Thus the natives were left in the quiet possession of their islands till the following century, when the Spaniards discovered them anew; and, having reduced them, called the largest of them "Canaria," from the many dogs of an extraordinary size which they found there. From that island all the rest took their present name.

Alphonso, king of Castile, having reduced the city and island of Algezir, off Tariffa in Andalusia, held by the Moors, after a siege that lasted from the 11th of August 1342, to the 26th of March 1344, he caused the great mosque to be consecrated the very next day in honor of the Virgin Mary, and applying to Clement, who had assisted him with large sums of money in that undertaking got it erected into a cathedral. "We have erected

¹ Auctor primæ vitæ.

² Apud Bzovium ad ann. 1356.

³ Petrarch Rer. Familiar. l. 8.

⁴ Petrarch Rer. Memorand. l. 2. c. 1.

⁵ Aymeric. in Chron.

⁶ Auctor primæ Vit. apud Baluz.

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1344. Num. 3.

² Petrarch, Vit. Solit. l. 2. c. 3.

³ Idem ibid; et Walsingham, in Edward III.

Clement's quarrel with Edward III., king of England. Regulations made and sworn to by the cardinals in the conclave.

Argezil," says the pope in his diploma, "into a city, into a royal and sacerdotal city, that the place which has been hitherto the habitation of all the devils, and where the perfidious Mahomet was worshipped, may be cleansed from all filth, and become the habitation of angels."¹

In the year 1343, a quarrel arose between Clement and Edward III. king of England. Clement had taken upon him, as many of his predecessors had done, to dispose of some rich benefices in the kingdom, and bestow them upon foreigners. But the king would not allow those whom the pope had nominated to those benefices, to take possession of them. Of this the pope loudly complained in a letter to the king, dated the 28th of August 1343. Edward answered, by the advice of the clergy and people of England, that the English churches, enriched by his ancestors, were almost all provided with foreigners, contrary to the will of the testators; that his kingdom was daily more and more impoverished and weakened by the large sums that were carried abroad; that the impositions and exactions of the court of Rome were grown insufferable, and cried loudly for redress; that it was the business of the pope to feed and not to fleece his flock; that the kings of England, who had formerly the disposal of all benefices, had, at the desire of the pope, left the disposing of them to the chapters; but now the popes were for abolishing the custom which they

had introduced, and assuming to themselves the privilege which they had persuaded the kings to confer on the clergy; and that it was, therefore, but just that things should be restored to their original condition, and all benefices should be disposed of, as they were from the beginning, by the king alone. Edward ended his letter with exhorting the pope to redress the many abuses of that kind that were a dishonor to the church, and gave great offence to the people.¹ This dispute lasted so long as Clement lived, which induced his successor to revoke all his grants, commendams, expectatives, reservations, &c. For Clement had reserved a great many benefices not yet vacant to be disposed of by him upon the death of the incumbents. He spared no expense in embellishing the pontifical palace at Avignon, and adding to it many new buildings; inasmuch that it became, says one of the authors of his life, one of the most magnificent structures in the whole world. But in 1378 it was greatly damaged by fire. Notwithstanding these expenses and the extraordinary grandeur of his court, Clement is said to have bestowed an hundred thousand florins in private charities by the hands of William, bishop of Saragossa; obliging him to promise upon oath not to discover it.² He founded at Rouen and richly endowed a college called the "Pope's College, or the College of Clementine Priests." For it was for ever to consist of twelve priests, two deacons, and as many subdeacons.

INNOCENT VI., THE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SIXTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[JOHANNES PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—CHARLES IV., *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1352.] Clement died, as has been said, on the 6th of December 1352, and the cardinals, having performed his exequies the next day, entered into the conclave nine days after, that is, on the 16th, with a design to proceed immediately to the election, and thus be beforehand with John, king of France, who had lately succeeded his father Philip VI., and was hastening to Avignon to employ his interest in behalf of some one of his friends in the college. The first person they proposed was John de Birelle, general of the Carthusians, a man in high reputation for his learning as well as the sanctity of his life; and so great was the opinion they all entertained of him, that he would have been elected at once had not one of the cardinals diverted the rest from it, by representing him as an enemy to all

pomp and grandeur, and telling them, that should they choose him they would soon have occasion to repent of their choice; that he would certainly reduce them to their original condition, and that in a few days their fine horses would all be sent to the cart and the plough.³

Birelle being thus set aside, as much to his honor as the dishonor of the cardinals, they drew up themselves some articles calculated to maintain their dignity, and to make them, in a manner, independent of the pope. These were, I. That the new pope should create no cardinals till their number was reduced to sixteen; that their number should never exceed twenty; and that none should be created without the approbation and consent of all, or, at least, of

¹ Albertus Argentin. in Chron. ad ann. 1313.

² Auctor primæ et tertie Vit. apud Baluz.

³ Dorlandus in Chron. Carthus. l. 2. c. 22.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1342. Num. 51; et apud Baluz. col. 377.

Innocent VI. elected. His birth, education, &c. He declares the regulations made by the cardinals to be null;—[Year of Christ, 1353.] Revokes all commendams, expectatives, and reservations.

two parts in three of the college. II. That the pope should not proceed to the arresting, deposing, excommunicating, or suspending any cardinal, but by the advice and with the consent of all his brethren, *nemine contradicente*. III. That the pope should not alienate nor enfeoff any lands of the Roman church without the consent of two parts in three of the cardinals. IV. That the revenues of the Roman church should be divided into two equal shares, the one for the pope and the other for the cardinals, agreeably to the constitution of pope Nicholas VI. V. That no relation of the pope should be made governor of the provinces subject to the apostolic see. Sixthly and lastly, That the pope should grant no tenths of ecclesiastical benefices, nor any other subsidies whatever, without the consent of two parts in three of the cardinals. Every cardinal in the conclave was required to swear to the observance of these articles, in case he should be raised by his brethren to the chair; and that oath they all took accordingly, some without any limitation or restriction whatever, but others with the clause *si jure niterentur*, if agreeable to law, the canon law.¹

These articles being agreed and sworn to by all the cardinals, they hastened the election for the reason mentioned above, and on the 18th of December, the second day after their entering the conclave, they elected with one consent Stephen Aubert, then bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Innocent VI., was crowned on the 30th of the same month, and on the day of his coronation wrote a circulatory letter to all the prelates of the church and the Christian princes, to acquaint them with his promotion.²

Innocent was a native of Mont, near Pampadour, in the diocese of Limoges. He was, about the year 1335, professor of civil law in Toulouse, and chief judge of that city. In the latter end of the year 1337 he was made bishop of Noyon, and in 1340 translated to the see of Clermont. Clement VI., his immediate predecessor, raised him to the dignity of cardinal in 1342, the first year of his pontificate, and in 1352 preferred him to the see of Ostia and the office of high penitentiary.³

As the above-mentioned compact, entered into by the cardinals in the conclave, greatly increased their power and curtailed that of the pope, Innocent began his pontificate with declaring the articles of that compact to be illegal and no ways binding; and that for the two following reasons: 1. Because it was ordained by the constitutions of Gregory X. and Clement V. that, during the vacancy of the see, the cardinals should treat of no business, should concern themselves

with none, till they had provided the church with a pastor; and it was by a manifest breach of those constitutions that the articles of the agreement were drawn up, and imposed by one part of the sacred college upon the other. II. Because those articles evidently tended to control and abridge the power granted by Christ himself to his vicar upon earth: for how could he be said to be vested with the plenitude of power, if the exercise of his power depended upon the approbation, consent, and concurrence of others? For these reasons the pope declared in full consistory, that the cardinals had no power to impose any such articles; that they were null in themselves, and consequently that neither he nor they were any ways bound by the oath they had taken to observe them.¹ As Innocent is said to have been one of the best canonists of his age, is called by Trithemius, "*canonista maximus*," by Dorlandus "*canonista precipuus*," and by Petrarch "*excellens in re canonica*," he could not but know the above regulations to be repugnant to the canons, and consequently cannot be excused from swearing idly, and "taking the name of God in vain," in swearing to observe them, "if they were not repugnant to the canons;" for he was one of those who added that clause. But had he refused that oath, he would never have ascended the pontifical throne.

The conduct of Innocent was in every other respect quite irreproachable. He made it his business to correct all the abuses that had been introduced or connived at by his predecessors. That necessary reformation he began as soon as he had taken possession of the see, revoking all the reservations and commendams granted by his predecessor, and the heavy impositions laid upon the clergy when preferred to any new benefice or dignity; saying, the sheep ought to be kept by a shepherd, and not by a mercenary.² Of the commendams he speaks thus in the constitution he published to suppress them: "Experience teaches us, that on occasion of the commendams and such like concessions, divine worship is lessened, the cure of souls is neglected by those who are charged with it, the usual and due hospitality is not observed, the edifices fall to ruin, &c. We therefore absolutely revoke and declare null all commendams and grants of that nature of any cathedrals, churches, monasteries, prelatures, priories, personages, &c., and will suffer none to be thus disposed of for the future. This constitution is dated the 18th of April, 1353."³—When a church was deprived of its pastor, and another could not be conveniently appointed upon

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1350. Num. 26.

² Raynald. ibid. Num. 28.

³ Auctores Vit. Innocent.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1353. Num. 29.

² Ægidius Cardinalis apud Pagi. tom. 4. p. 154.

³ Apud Raynald. Num. 31.

The origin of commendams. Orders residence. Retrenches all unnecessary expenses. Allows salaries to the auditors of the Rota. Recovers the dominions of the church in Italy;—[Year of Christ, 1354.]

his death, the care of the vacant church was, by an ancient practice, recommended, during the vacancy, to some man of known virtue and merit, but the revenues were all reserved for the person who should be nominated to that church; so that the commendatory, or the person to whom it was recommended, had nothing for his trouble but the merit of serving it. Afterwards the commendatories were allowed part of the revenues, and in process of time the whole. They then often prevailed upon the patron of the church or benefice to put off from time to time the nomination of another, that they might the longer enjoy the income of the orphan church. This occasioned the fixing the term of the commendam to six months, and forbidding the commendatory to apply any of the revenues to his own use. But the popes took upon them, in the plenitude of their power, to grant commendams for life; and in the pontificate of Clement, the immediate predecessor of Innocent, a great many benefices, abbeys, personages, and priories were held by grants from him, which Innocent immediately declared null. He likewise revoked and annulled all expectatives, or, as they were called, "*gratiæ expectativæ*," that is, grants of benefices not yet vacant, and with them all reservations or benefices which Clement had reserved, to be bestowed by him or the apostolic see, when they became vacant.¹

As the city of Avignon was constantly crowded with bishops and other dignitaries, flocking thither from all parts, to hunt after new preferments, Innocent, a few days after his coronation, ordered them all, upon pain of excommunication, to return to their respective sees and churches, and reside there.² But as upon the breaking out of the plague anew in that city in 1361, five cardinals and a hundred bishops are said to have died there of the infection from the feast of Easter to that of the apostle St. James, the 25th of July, father Pagi concludes, and very justly, that order not to have been complied with even in Innocent's time. The late pope had lived in great grandeur, and kept an expensive table, and a numerous train of knights and other persons of rank to attend him. But these expenses Innocent retrenched, contenting himself with a small number of attendants, and living with the utmost parsimony. He obliged the cardinals to follow his example; to dismiss their numerous retinues, and abstain from all expensive banqueting and public entertainments; telling them, that to spend thus their revenues was to rob the poor whom they were bound to maintain, the wealth they enjoyed having been given to the church and by the church to them chiefly for that purpose.³

As the popes were not at leisure to hear all causes themselves, they instituted a tribunal, consisting of twelve of the ablest civilians and canonists, to hear and determine them in their room, and from them, when unanimous, there was no appeal, no more than from the pope himself. Some ascribe the erecting of that tribunal to John XXII., while others will have it to have been instituted long before his time, though they cannot tell us by what pope. Be that as it may, that tribunal still subsists, and is known by the name of the Rota, because the judges sit by rotation, and they are called "*Auditors of the Rota*," from the words of their commission, "*audiat, justitiam faciat*." They were originally twenty-one, but in the time of Sixtus IV. only fourteen, and that pope reduced them to twelve. They had no salary till this pope's time; but Innocent allowed them very handsome appointments, saying, "*hungry men will be apt to make free with the food of others, if they have none of their own*."¹

As the cities that belonged to the Roman church in Italy had almost all shaken off the yoke, in the absence of the pope, and either erected themselves into republics, or had been seized by tyrants, Innocent, finding his revenues thereby greatly lessened, resolved to reduce the rebel cities, to drive out the tyrants, and restore the ecclesiastical state to its former condition. With that view he dispatched into Italy, in the first year of his pontificate, cardinal Ægidius Alvarez, a native of Spain and archbishop of Toledo, with the character of his legate *a Latere*, and full power to receive the revolted cities upon what terms he should think proper. The legate on his arrival in Italy found two places only in the whole ecclesiastical state where he could remain with any safety, namely, Montefiascone in St. Peter's patrimony, and Montefalco in the dukedom of Spoleti. However, partly by force of arms, partly by his indefatigable industry and address, he brought all the rebel cities back to their duty in the space of four years. This proved a very expensive expedition, and quite impoverished the Roman church. For though the pope had allotted the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices throughout the Christian world for carrying it on, Germany alone contributed a small subsidy in lieu of the tenths, while the other kingdoms pleaded the many heavy impositions with which they were already overloaded.²

The doctrine concerning the poverty of Christ and the apostles, though condemned by John XXII. and all his successors, was still maintained and publicly taught by some Minorites. Of these two were taken this

¹ Apud Raynald. Num. 31.

² Auctor tertie Vit. Innocent. apud Baluz.

³ Auctor secundæ Vit. Innocent. apud Baluz.

¹ Auctor secundæ Vit. Innocent. apud Baluz. Platina, et Cardinalis Ægidius.

² Auctor secundæ Vit. Innocent. apud Baluz.

Two Minorites burnt at Avignon. Charles of Bohemia crowned king of Lombardy at Milan;—[Year of Christ, 1355.] and emperor at Rome, who leaves the city the same day.

year at Montpellier, John de Chastillon and Frances de Arguate, and sent to the pope at Avignon, who examined them, and even condescended to argue with them; but not being able to convince them of their errors he delivered them up to the inquisitors, who condemned them to be burnt alive. At the place of execution John de Chastillon made the following declaration: "I believe, and die with joy for that belief, that Christ and his apostles had no property, either in private or in common; that pope John, who condemned that, and defined the opposite doctrine, was a heretic; and all are heretics who since his time have maintained the doctrine which he defined, or impugned that which he condemned."¹

Charles, the son of John, king of Bohemia, had been elected king of Germany, as has been said above, and as such had been crowned at Bon; Aix-la-Chapelle, where the ceremony was usually performed, adhering to the emperor Lewis. But as he had not yet been crowned king of Lombardy, according to custom, at Milan, nor emperor at Rome, he resolved to pass into Italy, and having been first crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, to proceed to Rome and receive there the imperial crown. For the emperors were crowned with three crowns, with a silver crown at Aix-la-Chapelle as kings of Germany, with an iron crown at Milan or Monza as kings of Lombardy, and with a golden crown at Rome as emperors. Charles upon his entering Lombardy despatched Theodoric, bishop of Minden, to Avignon, to acquaint the pope with his design of repairing to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and beg his holiness to send legates to perform the ceremony. Innocent received the king's ambassadors with all possible marks of esteem, and wrote the very next day to the king himself, congratulating him upon his arrival in Italy, and promising to comply, as soon as it suited the convenience of the king, with his request. As Innocent apprehended that Charles might meet with opposition from the powerful family of the Visconti, lords of Milan, he wrote to his legate Alvarez, to support him with all his forces. But the Visconti, though most zealously attached to the family of the late emperor, received Charles with the greatest marks of friendship, nay, Robert Visconti, archbishop of Milan, would have the honor of placing the iron crown upon his head with his own hand, not at Monza, but in his own cathedral, the church of St. Ambrose.² The ceremony was performed with great solemnity on the festival of the Epiphany, the 6th of January 1355.

In the mean time Innocent despatched

cardinal Peter Bertrand, bishop of Ostia, to Rome, with the character of his legate *à Latere*, to receive the king there, and crown both him and his wife Ann with the golden or imperial crown. Charles did not enter Rome agreeably to the oath he had taken till the day appointed for his coronation, Easter-day, the 5th of April; and on that day he was crowned, with his queen, by the cardinal in the church of St. Peter. "Charles, king of Germany and Bohemia," says one of the authors of Innocent's life, who lived at this time, "came into Italy, received with his wife the imperial crown in the church of St. Peter, on Easter-day at the hands of Peter, bishop of Ostia, and departed from Rome the same day."¹ Clement VI. to whom he chiefly owed his election, to prevent his quarreling with the subjects of the church, or his being tempted to seize on some of her lands and territories, had obliged him, as has been said above, to promise upon oath not to enter Rome on occasion of his coronation till the day appointed for that ceremony, to leave it the same day, and return, without halting any where, unless in case of absolute necessity, to his own dominions. That oath the new emperor most faithfully observed. For mounting his horse as soon as the ceremony of the coronation was over, he went from St. Peter's to the Lateran in his imperial robes, that is, from one end of the city to the other, dined there, lay that night at St. Lawrence without the walls, and early next morning set out on his return to Germany, stopping no where more than one night till he was out of the dominions of the church.² Of this his sudden departure out of Rome and Italy the Romans and the Italians in general loudly complained. "This our Cæsar," says Petrarch, "snatching, in a manner, the diadem, presently departed out of Italy to return to the lurking holes of his own country; contented with the bare title of emperor, he cherishes the remotest members of the empire, but takes no care of the head; he gives up what we hoped he would have recovered; but not daring to recover or preserve his own, he flies though no body pursues him: he rejects the sweet embraces of his spouse, and turns away from the beauteous face of fair Italy, than which there is nothing fairer upon earth. He indeed excuses himself, saying, he had taken an oath to the church to stay but one day at Rome. What reproach! what infamy! The Roman emperor dares not stay more than one day at Rome! The Roman pontiff, not satisfied with forsaking Rome himself, will not suffer it to be frequented by others: and this agreement he makes with the emperor!"³—Great interest

¹ Auctor secundæ Vit.

² Raynald. ad ann. 1354, 1355.

³ Petrarch de Vit. solit. l. 2. c. 3.

¹ Apud Raymund. ad ann. 1354. Wading in Annal. Minorum. ² Apud Raynald. Num. 6, et seq.

Charles crowned by the bishop of Ostia alone, and why. Innocent Makes a promotion of six cardinals;—[Year of Christ, 1356.] Fortifies Avignon;—[Year of Christ, 1357.] Creates eight cardinals;—[Year of Christ, 1361.] Death of Lewis, king of Naples;—[Year of Christ, 1362.] Innocent dies. His character.

was made by all the cardinals for the honor of crowning the emperor; but the pope in a consistory, held on the 10th of November, declared, that it belonged of right to the bishops of Ostia, Albano, and Porto; and they were accordingly appointed to perform the ceremony. That honor, however, Talayrandus, bishop of Albano, and Guido, bishop of Porto, declined, though they had so eagerly sued for it, upon their being told by the pope, that the apostolic chamber being quite drained by the Italian expedition, they must defray the expenses of their journey themselves. Innocent would name no others in their room, lest their sees should thereby forfeit their privilege, or their privilege should be thenceforth disputed: and thus was Charles crowned by the bishop of Ostia alone.¹

Of this pope nothing occurs worthy of notice during the two following years 1356, 1357, besides his making a promotion of six cardinals; his converting the palace he had, while cardinal, in the neighborhood of Avignon, into a monastery for the use of the Carthusians; and his fortifying the city of Avignon, which work he undertook on the following occasion: One Arnold de Cervole, nicknamed "the Archpriest," putting himself at the head of a considerable body of banditti, who had no other means of subsisting but by rapine, fell upon Provence, took and pillaged several cities, and laid the whole country under contribution. The pope, apprehending he might visit Avignon, ordered the city to be fortified. But Arnold, presenting himself in the mean time before it, obliged the pope to redeem the place with a large sum of money, and grant him a passage through it. Upon his departure Innocent ordered the works to be continued, and the city to be surrounded on all sides with high walls, deep ditches, and strong towers at proper distances. Thus did Avignon, says Petrarch, of an open city become a fortress, capable of withstanding any force that could be brought against it.² As the wall, surrounding the city, was begun by Innocent's order at a considerable distance from it, that room might be left for new buildings, it was not yet finished in 1368, as appears from a letter of pope Urban V., Innocent's immediate successor, dated at Rome the 6th of January of that year. For in that letter Urban orders Philip de Carbassola, his vicar-general at Avignon, to complete the walls begun by his predecessor, and pull down all the houses after paying for them, even the houses of cardinals, that stood in the way.³

As the plague, breaking out anew in Avignon in 1361, and raging with more

violence than ever, carried off great numbers of people of all ranks, and amongst the rest nine cardinals, Innocent on the 17th of December of that year, when the violence of the infection began to abate, created eight new ones, five presbyters, and three deacons, all men of distinguished merit.¹

The following year died, on the 26th of May, Lewis of Taranto, king of Naples, the second husband of the celebrated queen Joan, and the pope, having performed his exequies with great solemnity at Avignon on the 20th of June, dispatched to Naples William Grimoardi, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, with the character of apostolic legate, to prevent or to quell any disturbances that might ensue upon his death in that kingdom, a fief of the church.²

Innocent died soon after, that is, on the 12th of September, and was buried on the 14th in the church of St. Mary de Donis, but his body was translated from thence, on the 22d of November, to the church of the Carthusians in the neighborhood of Avignon, which he had built and chosen for the place of his sepulture. His body was attended thither not only by all the cardinals, bishops, and other dignitaries, but by the French king, John I., and his whole court.³

Innocent is chiefly commended by the contemporary writers for his probity, and the sanctity of his life. "He was a good and just man," says the continuator of Nangius, who lived at this time, "free from all dissimulation and deceit." He was a generous friend to the poor, an enemy to vice, punishing it with the utmost severity, and setting no bounds to his generosity in rewarding virtue.⁴ He took great care to provide for the poorer clergy, and often at the expense of the richer, says Peter de Herentalis in his life of this pope, and confirms it with the following anecdote: A favorite chaplain, says he, of this good pope, while he was yet high penitentiary, coming to present his nephew to him upon his promotion, and beg he would provide for him, Innocent answered, "You are better able to provide for him than I am at present; you have seven benefices, and I desire you will resign the best of them to your nephew. You have six still remaining, which I will divide with you, leaving you to choose the three best, but the other three you must resign into my hands, and I promise to dispose of them to poor but deserving clerks who have none."⁵ However, this good pope took care to provide for his own relations. Audoin Aubert, his nephew by his brother, he created cardinal a few weeks after his election, conferred

¹ Villani, l. 4. c. 71.

² Petrarch. *Rer. senil.* l. 1. Epist. 18.

³ Apud Bzovium ad ann. 1368.

⁴ Villani, l. 10. c. 46.

⁵ Auctor Vit.

⁶ Auctor secunde Vit. Urbani V.

⁷ Auctor primæ vite.

⁸ Herental. in Vit. Innocent. apud Baluz.

Innocent instituted the festival of the holy spear.

Protects the mendicant orders. Urban V. elected.

the same dignity on his grand-nephew Stephen Aubert, in his last promotion of cardinals, and left none of his more distant relations, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, unprovided for.¹

Innocent left no writings that we know of behind him, besides some letters and bulls, and amongst the bulls, one instituting the festival of the holy spear. For Lewis, marquis of Brandenburg, son to the late emperor Lewis, being reconciled with the present emperor Charles IV., delivered up to him all the imperial ensigns, and with them the spear which our Savior's side was pierced with by the centurion; one of the nails with which he was nailed to the cross, and the table cloth that was used at his last supper. These relics Charles carried into Bohemia, and Innocent, at his request, instituted the festival of the "holy spear," ordering it to be celebrated annually in Germany and Bohemia on the first Friday after the octave of Easter, and granting indulgences to all who visited on that day the church in which it was deposited.²

In Innocent's time, Richard, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, declar-

ing against the mendicant orders, and maintaining their manner of life to be contrary to that of Christ and his apostles, who, he said, were poor but did not beg, suspended them from preaching, from hearing confessions, and burying the dead. He was even for suppressing them, and published several pieces to show that they ought, at least, to be restrained from performing any ecclesiastical functions whatever. The book he published under the title of "Defensorium Curatorum," a defence of the curates or parish priests, made a great noise, and greatly lessened the esteem the mendicants were held in, and the respect that was shown to them by the people. But upon the mendicants complaining to the pope of the archbishop's disapproving an order approved and confirmed by the apostolic see, he was summoned to Avignon, and after a severe reprimand, ordered not to disturb, for the future, the religious mendicants, nor suffer them to be disturbed by others.¹ On this occasion Innocent renewed and confirmed all the privileges granted by his predecessors to men of that order.

URBAN V., THE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—CHARLES IV., *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1362.] Innocent dying on the 12th of September, the cardinals performed his exequies the following day, and nine days after, that is on the 22d of the same month, shut themselves up according to custom in the conclave, being in all twenty. In the scrutiny of the 28th of September, one of the cardinals, a black monk, that is, a Benedictine, a native of Limoges, a man advanced in years, and wholly addicted to a spiritual life, was found to have fifteen suffrages out of the twenty, and consequently to be lawfully elected. But he declined the offered dignity before his election was made public. Thus Villani, a contemporary writer.³ But he does not name the cardinal, and there were at this time two cardinals, both natives of Limoges, both black monks or Benedictines, and both bishops, namely, Hugh Roger, brother to Clement VI. and William de Agrifolio. However, as the cardinal who would not consent to his election, is said by Villani to have been stricken in years, and William de Agrifolio could not be above forty-five years of age, as has

been made to appear by Baluzius, we may well conclude with Spondanus the pontificate to have been refused by the other.²—Upon his refusal the cardinals, not agreeing among themselves in the election of one of their own body, chose with one consent William Grimoardi, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles. But as he was absent, having been sent by the late pope to Naples with the character of his legate on occasion of the death of that king, the cardinals apprehending that if his election were publicly known, the Italians would not suffer him to depart out of Italy, carefully concealed it, and only wrote to him to hasten to Avignon, in order to deliver his opinion concerning an affair of the utmost importance. Upon the receipt of that letter he set out immediately from Naples, and his election being notified to him upon his landing at Marseilles on the 28th of October, he consented to it, and repairing to Avignon, entered that city privately on the 31st of the same month.³ The cardinals had agreed to elect him before the 28th of October; but as

¹ Auctor primæ vitæ.

² Auctor primæ et secundæ Vit. Innocent.

³ Villani, l. 11. c. 26.

¹ Walsingham in Edwardo III.

² Spondan. ad ann. 1362.

³ Auctores primæ et secundæ vitæ Urban.

Urban enthroned and crowned at Avignon. His birth, education, &c. Prefers his brother to the see of Avignon. Is visited by three kings; whom he engages in a crusade against the Turks;—[Year of Christ, 1363.] Bull against Barnabo Visconti. Crimes laid by the pope to his charge.

he sent his consent on that day, he is said to have been elected on that day.

He was enthroned on the day of his arrival at Avignon, and on that occasion took the name of Urban V. But his consecration and coronation were put off till the following Sunday, the 6th of November, those ceremonies being, by an ancient custom, performed on Sundays only. To show his aversion to all pomp and grandeur, instead of riding, as other popes had done, in solemn cavalcade through the city to show himself in the gorgeous apparel of high pontiff, he privately withdrew to his palace.¹ We are told that though free from all ambition, he accepted the pontificate with great pleasure, out of the desire he had of restoring the apostolic see to Rome—which he had so much at heart, that when news was brought to him at Florence of the death of Innocent, he was heard to say, “Could I but see a pope who would return to his own church at Rome, and quash the petty tyrants of Italy, I should die with great satisfaction the next day.”²

Urban was the son of William Grimoardi, lord of Grisac in the province of Gevaudan, and diocese of Mende. He embraced very early a religious life among the Benedictines, studied civil and canon law at Montpellier, and afterwards taught both in that university, at Avignon, at Toulouse, and at Paris, being reputed one of the best civilians and canonists of his time. About the year 1346 he was made abbot of St. Germain of Auxerre, and soon after preferred to the abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles. While abbot of that monastery he was sent by Innocent VI., who entertained a high opinion of his abilities, with the character of apostolic legate into the kingdom of the hither Sicily or of Naples, as has been said above.

The see of Avignon had remained vacant ever since the year 1349, the two preceding popes, Clement VI. and Innocent VI. having applied to their own uses the revenues of that church. But Urban, soon after his promotion, that is, on the 12th of December, preferred to the vacant see Anglie Grimoardi, his own brother, canon regular of St. Rufus, and at the time of his promotion prior of Die.³

The new pope was honored, in the beginning of his pontificate, with a visit from three kings in person. John king of France, happening to pass the autumn in the neighborhood of Avignon, went on the 20th of November to congratulate his holiness upon his advancement to the pontifical throne, and dined that morning, says the historian, with our holy father. On the 26th of January of the following year, 1363, came to Avignon Waldemoris, king of Den-

mark, but what business brought him thither history does not inform us. On the 29th of the following March arrived from Cyprus Peter Lusignan, king of that island, come to solicit the assistance of the pope and the Western princes against the Turks threatening his kingdom with an invasion. In that affair Urban engaged with great warmth; and as the French king still continued in the neighborhood of Avignon, his holiness prevailed upon him, and likewise upon the king of Denmark, to take the cross, and they both took it, as well as the king of Cyprus, at the pope's hands on Good Friday the 31st of March, binding themselves to pass into the East against the infidels in the term of two years. The French king was appointed by the pope commander-in-chief, and cardinal Talayrandus, bishop of Ostia, was nominated to attend him with the character of legate *a Latere*. But while the necessary preparations were carrying on throughout the whole kingdom of France, in spite of the repeated remonstrances of the nobility, apprehending, and not without reason, that the king of England would invade the kingdom in his absence, the king died in April 1364: and thus to the great joy of the French, and grief of the pope, the intended expedition came to nothing.⁴

Barnabo Visconti, lord of Milan, and at this time one of the most powerful princes, or rather tyrants of Italy, had seized in the late pontificate on several cities belonging to the church, and on that account had been over and over again excommunicated. However, upon the news of Innocent's death, and the promotion of Urban, he sent ambassadors to Avignon to treat of a peace with the new pope. But as Urban insisted upon his restoring all the places he had taken, and giving the church satisfaction for the many enormous crimes which he was charged with, the treaty was broken off as soon as begun. Upon the departure of the ambassadors the pope published a bull on the 28th of November 1362, and caused copies of it to be dispersed all over Italy, enumerating the many crimes charged upon Barnabo, and summoning him to appear by the 1st of March of the following year at the tribunal of the apostolic see, and hear his sentence. The bull contains many charges of a very extraordinary nature against Barnabo. For he is there said to have countenanced and protected condemned heretics; to have one day sent for the archbishop on occasion of his refusing to ordain a worthless monk whom he had recommended to him, and to have addressed that prelate, when he appeared before him, in the following terms: “Dost thou know, thou old fornicator, that I am king, pope, and emperor in my own

¹ Auctores primæ et secundæ vitæ Urban.

² Villani, l. 11. c. 27.

³ Auctores primæ, et secundæ Vit. Urban apud Baluz.

⁴ Auctor. secundæ Vit. Raymund. ad ann. 1363. Num. 14 et 1364.

Crusade preached against Barnabo. A peace concluded between him and the church, and upon what terms; [Year of Christ, 1364.] Urban invited by the Romans to Rome;—[Year of Christ, 1365.] The emperor at Avignon.

dominions; that the pope has no power over me, nor any of my subjects; that it is my part to command, and yours blindly to obey?" Many other still heavier charges are brought against Barnabo in Urban's bull, namely, that he practised unheard-of cruelties upon the clergy and the religious of all orders, who did not readily obey his commands, how repugnant soever to reason, justice and religion; that he had caused some to be burnt alive in an iron cage, and others to be tortured to death; that he had ordered the ears of a holy Minorite to be pierced with a red-hot iron; that he had prohibited all his subjects, on pain of being burnt alive, to entertain any correspondence with the pope or his legates, to lend them any assistance, or receive from them any favors or preferments, and that prohibition he had caused to be notified to all by the public crier; and lastly, that he had obliged a priest of Parma to anathematize from the top of a tower the late pope and all his cardinals.¹

As Barnabo did not appear at the time appointed, the 1st of March, to clear himself from these imputations, or to plead guilty, and give what satisfaction should be required, Urban, in a full consistory, held on that day, excommunicated him with great solemnity, and all who should any ways aid or assist him, or even keep him company; deprived him of all privileges, honors, dignities, and titles whatsoever; interdicted his dominions, and forbade divine service to be any where performed in his presence. Urban, besides, ordered a crusade to be preached against him with the same indulgences as were granted to those who went against the infidels. But in the mean time the French king, whose daughter Barnabo had married, interposing, a new treaty was begun, and a peace at last concluded between Barnabo and the church, upon the following terms: I. That Barnabo should renounce all claim to the city of Bologna. II. That he should restore all the castles and strong-holds that he had seized in Romagna, and in the districts of Modena and Bologna. III. That he should not persecute or molest those of the Guelf party in his dominions. IV. That the pope, on his side, should absolve Barnabo from the censures he had incurred; should restore him to all his privileges and dignities, and pay him, in the term of eight years, five hundred thousand florins of gold for the castles and strong holds, which he had built in the territories, that he was by the present treaty to restore to the church. These articles being agreed to and signed, in the month of February 1364, by Barnabo, and cardinal Androinus de Rocha, the pope's legate, he was absolved by the cardinal from all cen-

sures on what account soever incurred, was restored to the communion of the church, to all the privileges, dignities, and honors he ever had enjoyed, and the interdict was taken off that had been laid on all his dominions.¹

Peace being thus concluded with the powerful family of the Visconti, and most of the rebel cities brought again under subjection by the legate Alvarez, the Romans sent a solemn embassy to congratulate the pope upon these events, and at the same time invite him to come and reside at his own church, as the most effectual means of maintaining the peace of Italy. Urban received the ambassadors with extraordinary marks of kindness, assured them that he had nothing so much at heart as to restore his see to the place of its foundation, and promised to comply, in due time, with their request, as well as his own inclination.² Urban, says one of the authors of his life, had resolved to leave Avignon, and restore the apostolic see to Rome before the arrival of the Roman ambassadors, and would have carried his design into execution immediately after his election, had not the roads been infested by numerous companies of banditti, who robbed and often murdered all the travellers they met with. These companies consisted chiefly of the disbanded soldiery. For a peace being concluded at Bretigni on the 8th of May, 1360, after a most bloody war between France and England, many, who had served in that war, wanting bread, and not caring to return to their former occupations, formed themselves into different companies, under different leaders, and laid not only villages, but large cities and whole provinces, under contribution. From one of Petrarch's letters it appears, that they besieged and kept the pope himself shut up in Avignon, till he purchased his liberty with a large sum of money.³

Urban, in a letter to the emperor, had expressed a great desire of conferring with him in person about some affairs of the utmost importance. That letter Charles no sooner received than, "like a true son of the church," he flew to Avignon, and arrived there on the 23d of May of the present year. The emperor of the Romans, says one of the authors of Urban's life, who lived at this time, came to pope Urban at Avignon, attended by a great number of German princes and noblemen, and was received by his holiness and the cardinals with all the marks of the highest respect and esteem.⁴ The pope and the emperor frequently conferred; but what was the subject of those conferences history has not informed us. The continuator of Nangius supposes the pope to have invited the emperor to Avignon, in order to com-

¹ Spondan. ad ann. 1364; et Villani, l. 11. c. 41.

² Auctor primæ Vit. Urban. apud Baluz.

³ Petrarch. Rer. senil. l. 7. ⁴ Auctor primæ Vit.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1362. Num. 12, 13.

The pope resolves to go to Rome. Creates three new cardinals;—[Year of Christ, 1366.] Sets out for Italy; [Year of Christ, 1367.] His journey. Arrives at Genoa.

municate to him the plan he had formed of a crusade against the Turks, and persuade him to engage in that undertaking. Others say that the pope wanted to conclude an alliance with the emperor against the tyrants of Italy, and utterly extirpate them. But the above-mentioned writer of Urban's life says no more than that the pope and the emperor had frequent conferences about the state of the church and the empire;¹ and he knew no more, nor indeed did any body else; what passed at those conferences being kept inviolably secret.² Charles arrived, as has been said, at Avignon on the 23d of May, assisted in his imperial robes at high mass, celebrated by the pope with great solemnity on Whitsunday, the 1st of June, and the next day went to Arles, to be crowned there king of that kingdom, which then belonged to the empire. The ceremony of the coronation was performed on the 4th of June by the archbishop of Arles, in the presence of the dukes of Savoy and Bourbon, of the seneschal of Provence, and a great many bishops. On the 7th of June he returned to Avignon, continued there conferring privately with the pope³ till the 29th of June, when he took leave of his holiness, and returned to Germany.³

Urban had resolved from the beginning of his pontificate to restore the apostolic see to Rome, and this resolution he publicly declared soon after the departure of the emperor, ordering his palaces at Viterbo and at Rome to be got ready for his reception against Easter of the following year, 1366. He likewise wrote the Venetians and the Genoese for their galleys to convey him and his court to Italy.⁴ In the mean time he created three new cardinals, namely, William Sudre, a Dominican friar, and bishop of Marseilles, Marcus of Viterbo general of the Minorites, and his own brother Anglicus Grimoardi bishop of Avignon, whom he is said to have preferred to that dignity at the earnest request of the whole college of cardinals, being a man of an unexceptionable character, but of no great learning.⁵

On the 7th of January of the following year the pope went to Montpellier, to visit a monastery which he had built there in honor of St. Benedict and St. Germanus, and richly endowed. He continued there till the month of March, when he returned to Avignon, and on the last day of April set out from thence for Italy, to the great grief, says Petrarch, of many of the cardinals and the whole Roman court, as if they were not going to Rome, the head quarters of Christianity, but were dragged by the Saracens to Ctesiphon or Memphis.⁶ Five cardinals

only, according to some, chose to remain at Avignon, and according to others only four; but one of the authors of Urban's life, who lived at this time, writes, that no more than five attended the pope into Italy, the rest all preferring Avignon to Rome.¹ From Avignon the pope went to Marseilles, in order to embark there for Italy. He remained at Marseilles in the monastery of St. Victor, of which he had been abbot, till the 20th of May, and on the 12th of that month conferred the dignity of cardinal upon William de Agrifolio, though then but twenty-eight years of age. Urban had lived from his tender years in the greatest friendship and intimacy with cardinal William de Agrifolio the elder, and owed chiefly to his interest, as he was a man of great weight in the sacred college, his promotion to the papacy. Thus one of the authors of Urban's life accounts for his creating his friend's nephew, though yet so young, a cardinal, especially as he was already in holy orders, had been admitted to the degree of doctor of canon law, and was notary of the apostolic see.²

The pope embarking on the 20th of May on board a Venetian galley, set sail the same day for Genoa with twenty-three galleys, and a great number of other vessels sent by the Genoese, the Venetians, the Pisans, and by Joan, queen of Naples. He landed safe at Genoa on the 23d of the same month, was received at his landing by the doge and the people with the greatest respect and esteem, and attended by them to the house of the Knights Hospitalers, where he chose to lodge during his stay in that city. As he arrived on the Sunday preceding Holy Thursday he resolved to pass the Rogation Days and celebrate there the festival of the Ascension, which he did accordingly, performing divine service on that day with great solemnity in the church of the Knights Hospitalers.³ The day after the Ascension, the 28th of May, the pope re-embarked, leaving cardinal Mark of Viterbo at Genoa, to compose some differences between Barnabo Visconti and the Genoese. On the 4th of June the pope landed on the coast of Corneto, a city subject to the apostolic see, and about fifty miles distant from Viterbo, where he designed to reside some time before he went to Rome. On his landing he caused mass to be celebrated in his presence under a magnificent pavilion prepared on the shore for his reception, and then, taking some refreshment, set out for Corneto on horseback, and reached that place about noon. He received there the deputies of the Romans, who delivered to him the keys of the castle of St. Angelo, which they had hitherto kept. At Corneto he celebrated the festival of Whitsunday in the church of the

¹ Auctor primæ Vit. apud Baluz. ² Idem ibid.

³ Auctor. secundæ Vit. et Albert. Argentin.

⁴ Auctor primæ Vit.

⁵ Aymericus de Peyr. in Vit. Urban.

⁶ Petrarch, l. 9. p. 2.

¹ Auctor secundæ Vit. ² Auctor primæ Vit.

³ Auctores primæ, et secundæ Vit.

The pope arrives at Viterbo. Tumult raised in that city. Urban's arrival at Rome. Adorns the heads of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Queen Joan at Rome. Extraordinary honors bestowed on her by the pope. Urban retires to Montefiascone, and erects it into a bishopric.

Minorites, with whom he lodged, and the next day, the 7th of June, he pursued his journey to Viterbo, and, arriving there on the 10th, was visited a few days after by most of the Italian bishops, of the nobility, and the deputies of the communities, all come to congratulate him upon his safe arrival in Italy.

The pope had been but a few days at Viterbo when a quarrel arose between the inhabitants and the domestics of the cardinals; and the inhabitants prevailing, not only the domestics of the cardinals, but the cardinals themselves, were most grossly insulted by the enraged multitude; their houses were plundered, and they obliged to fly for shelter to the pope's palace. The tumult lasted three days, but was quelled in the end by the magistrates; and the people, returning to themselves, expressed great sorrow for the outrages they had committed, and carried all their arms to the pope's palace. But as four domestics of the cardinals had been killed, ten of the ringleaders of the people were hanged at their own doors, and a general pardon was granted to the rest.¹ Of this tumult mention is made by Petrarch, who calls it "*motiunculam*," a small commotion; and adds, that some flattered themselves that the pope would take occasion from thence to return to France.²

Urban, leaving Viterbo in the month of October of the present year, set out for Rome, and on the 16th of the same month made his public entry into that city, being met at the gate by the clergy, the nobility, and the magistrates in a body, and attended by them amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude to the church of St. Peter. He prayed there some time at the tombs of the holy apostles, and then blessing the multitude dismissed them and retired to the Vatican palace, where he chose to reside.

His first care was to repair several churches in the city, and rebuild others quite gone to decay. On the 1st of March of the following year he went in solemn procession from St. Peter's to the Lateran basilic, and entering the place called the *Sancta Sanctorum*, where the supposed heads of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul were kept, he showed them from a balcony to the immense multitude assembled in the square. As the cases of those relics were but coarse, and of very little value, the pope ordered new ones to be made of gold and silver, and adorned them with a great number of jewels and precious stones, to the value of thirty thousand florins.³

While the pope was thus engaged, Joan, the celebrated queen of Naples, came to Rome, to congratulate his holiness upon his arrival in that city. She was met at some

distance by Peter, king of Cyprus, who happened to be then at the pope's court, was received at the gate by all the cardinals and the Roman nobility in a body, and attended by them to the church of St. Peter, where the pope waited for her on the steps of that basilic, and conducted her to the tombs of the apostles. As the queen was still in Rome on the fourth Sunday of Lent, when the pope used to send the golden rose, which he blessed and wore that day, to some person of high rank and great merit, he gave it to her as she stood near him, preferring her to the king of Cyprus, who was likewise present; which, we are told, did not at all please some of the cardinals. The popes used to bless at high mass on Easter-day a sword, and send it to some prince or person of distinguished merit, and that sword too Urban bestowed upon the queen, who with his holiness's permission gave it to the king of Cyprus.¹ The sword and with the sword a cap, called the cap of liberty and justice, were originally blessed by the pope on Christmas-day, and sent to some prince or chief commander, who had distinguished himself in war against the infidels and gained a signal victory over them. When, or by what pope, this custom was first introduced, authors are at a loss to determine. But it still obtains. For both the sword and cap were sent by Innocent XI. to John Sobieski, king of Poland, for obliging the Turks, with great slaughter, to raise the siege of Vienna, and by Clement XI. to prince Eugene of Savoy, for the signal victory he gained over the Turks at Waradin in 1716.

The pope, soon after the departure of the queen, left Rome, apprehending that the excessive heat of that climate in the summer season, might hurt his constitution, and retired to the pure and wholesome air of Montefiascone. The popes had a palace there, which he caused to be repaired, and at the same time he ordered a well to be dug in the middle of the place, as the inhabitants had no other than rain water. He continued there from May till October, with a few cardinals and a very small number of attendants, the rest of his court residing, for want of room, at Viterbo, but eight miles distant from Montefiascone. Urban, during his stay in that place, erected their collegiate church into a cathedral, and the place itself into an episcopal see, withdrawing it from the jurisdiction of the see of Bagnarea, to which it was subject.²

On the 22d of September of the present year, Urban made at Montefiascone a third promotion of cardinals, adding seven new ones to the college, and among them Simon de Langham, an Englishman, of the order of St. Benedict, and then archbishop of

¹ *Auctores primæ et secundæ Vit. apud Baluz.*

² *Petrarch Senil. l. 9. Epist. 1.*

³ *Auctores primæ et secundæ Vit.*

¹ *Auctor primæ Vit. et Chron. MS. regni Siciliæ, apud Baluz. ad ann. 1368.*

² *Auctor primæ Vit.*

The emperor invited by the pope into Italy. Urban returns to Rome and crowns the empress. Repairs several churches in Rome;—[Year of Christ, 1369.] Canonizes count Elzearius. Subdues the Perugians. The Greek emperor, John Palæologus, at Rome. Is reconciled to the Roman church.

Canterbury.¹ On the 9th of October the pope removed from Montefiascone to Viterbo, and there received on the 17th of the same month the emperor Charles, who, at his earnest request, had entered Italy the preceding month at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, chiefly with a design to keep in awe the Visconti, who, notwithstanding the peace concluded with the late pope, had seized upon some territories belonging to the church. The emperor ravaged all the Milanese, and even laid siege to Milan, which he was obliged to raise, and turn his arms against the less powerful tyrants. Most of these he subdued, and, arriving at Viterbo on the 17th of October, gave the pope an account of his exploits, and set out the next day for Rome to attend his holiness at his entry into that city. The pope arrived at Rome on the 21st of October, and was attended from the Collina gate, near the castle of St. Angelo, to the church of St. Peter by the emperor, walking on foot and holding his bridle. On the 29th of the same month came to Rome the empress Elizabeth, the emperor's fourth wife; and on the 1st of November she was anointed at the altar of St. Peter by the cardinal bishop of Ostia, and crowned by the pope. The next day the emperor took his leave of the pope and returned to Germany. But the empress remained at Rome, and was magnificently entertained by the pope, the cardinals, and the Roman nobility, till the 23d of November.²

The following year was employed by the pope, during his stay at Rome, in repairing and embellishing several churches, those especially of St. John Lateran and St. Paul. The latter he repaired with the money of the abbot, who supplied him with a very large sum for that purpose, hoping, says the abbot Peter de Herentals, that the pope would reward his generosity with the red hat. But the pope, adds that writer, did with the abbot's money what the abbot himself ought to have done, and left him as he found him.³ On the 15th of April Urban canonized, with the utmost solemnity, Count Elzearius de Sabrano, who died at Paris in 1323, and was said to have wrought many stupendous miracles after his death. The pope had no sooner performed that ceremony than he left Rome and returned to Montefiascone, where he staid till the 8th of August, when he went to Viterbo, and remained there till the 13th of October. During his residence in that city he excommunicated the people of Perugia, and interdicted their city. They had not only withdrawn their obedience to the apostolic see, and declared themselves a free people, but

sent out parties to insult the pope himself under the very walls of Viterbo. A crusade therefore was by the pope's order preached against them, with the same indulgences as were granted to those who went to the Holy Land. Thus was the rebellion soon suppressed, and the authors of it, says the historian, came to an unhappy end.¹

On the 13th of October the pope returned to Rome, where John Palæologus, the Greek emperor, waited for him. That prince, no longer able to withstand the Turks, who had already overrun several provinces of the empire, came in person to solicit the assistance of the pope and the western princes. Urban received him with all possible marks of friendship and esteem, and ordered the same honors to be paid to him as to the Roman emperor. On the 18th of October the emperor made a solemn confession of the faith held, taught, and professed by the Roman church, declaring, in particular, that he held the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son; that he believed in purgatory; that he owned the primacy of the Roman church, and the authority of the Roman pontiff over all bishops and patriarchs. This profession the emperor made in the presence of three cardinals, of all the notaries of the Roman church, and a great many persons of distinction, and delivered it, signed with his own hand, and sealed with a golden seal or bull, to the pope, swearing on that occasion perpetual obedience to the Roman church and the apostolic see. The same profession that was delivered to the pope by the emperor is still preserved in the castle of St. Angelo, and has been translated out of the original Greek into Latin by Bzovius, and Raynaldus.² The emperor, now reconciled to the Roman church, went to St. Peter's, where the pope received him, and attending him to the high altar, performed divine service in his presence. He was still at Rome on the 20th of January 1370, as appears from a diploma of his dated that day at Rome, whereby he declared, in order to avoid all ambiguity, that by the Roman church he meant that church over which presided at present pope Urban, and his predecessors had presided.³ Palæologus frequently visited Urban during his stay at Rome, and, being taken with his affable manner and instructive conversation, he often dined with him though not invited. The pope used his utmost endeavors to form an alliance in his favor, but without success, the Christian princes being then all at war, or at the eve of a war, with one another.

Urban remained at Rome to celebrate

¹ Auctor secundæ Vit.; et Continuator Nangii, ad ann. 1368.

² Auctor primæ et secundæ Vit.

³ Herentals in Vit. Urban, apud Baluz.

¹ Auctor primæ Vit.

² Bzovius et Raynald. ad ann. 1370.

³ Apud Raymund. ibid.

Urban resolves to return to Avignon;—Year of Christ, 1370.] Whether with a design to settle there. Leaves Italy. Arrives at Avignon. Is taken dangerously ill. His death. His character.

there the festival of Easter; but the following Wednesday, the 17th of April, he set out for Montefiascone, the place of his summer residence, and going, after a short stay there, to Viterbo, he notified to the court, what greatly surprised them all, his intention of returning very soon to Avignon, and ordered them to prepare, without loss of time, for the journey. Whether it was to transfer his see again to Avignon, or to mediate a peace in person between the kings of France and England, and then return to Italy, is uncertain. He indeed gave out, that it was to procure an interview between those two princes, at which he himself intended to be present, and to lay hold of every opportunity that offered of interposing his good offices, that he removed to Avignon. But most authors suppose that to have been a mere pretence for leaving Italy, and enjoying that tranquillity at Avignon which he despaired of being ever able to enjoy at Rome. Ægidius of Viterbo tells us, that Urban had no reason to complain of the Italians; that he never thought of settling at Avignon; but was, on the contrary, resolved to return to Rome as soon as he had composed the differences lately arisen between France and England, which he had, above all things, at heart.¹ Had he really intended to return, he would have naturally declared it; the rather as the Romans, and indeed the subjects of the church in general, expressed great concern when they first heard of his intended departure, and took it for granted that he designed to restore the see to Avignon. But from none of the contemporary historians does it appear that he ever so much as mentioned his return. St. Bridget, so famous for her revelations, hearing, as she happened to be at this time in Italy, that the pope was preparing to repass the mountains and return to France, sent Alphonsus, her confessor, or, as others write, Nicholas, count of Nola, to let him know, that if he undertook his intended journey he never would complete it. But Urban paying no regard to that revelation or prophecy, continued unalterable in the resolution he had taken. A plain proof that he entertained no great opinion of the saint's revelations, though received as gospel by the rest of the world.

From Viterbo the pope returned to Montefiascone, and continued there till the 26th of August, when he set out for Corneto, on his return to Avignon, leaving his brother, cardinal Anglicus, bishop of Albano, and cardinal Peter de Stagno, whom he had lately raised to that dignity, with the character of his legates in Italy. At Corneto he found a numerous fleet of galleys and other vessels sent by the kings of France and Arragon and queen Joan of Sicily to attend him. He

embarked on the 5th of September, and landing at Marseilles on the 16th he remained there till the 24th of the same month, when he made his public entry into Avignon amidst the loud acclamations of the people.¹

Urban, a few days after his arrival, sent to acquaint the kings of France and England with the motives of his journey, and at the same time to propose an interview between them, at which he intended to assist in person, having nothing in view but the public good, and the welfare of both. But while he was wholly intent upon the means of composing their differences to the satisfaction of both parties, he was taken dangerously ill, and his illness daily increasing, he laid aside all thoughts of the things of this world, and employed his time wholly in preparing for another. He frequently confessed, and finding his end approached, he caused his bed to be placed before the altar of St. Peter, and there declared, in the presence of his chamberlain, of his confessor, and of many persons of distinction, that he held and firmly believed whatever the holy catholic church held and believed, and that he had never *knowingly* departed from her definitions; which, by the way, was tacitly owning that he might have departed from them unknowingly, and consequently was not infallible. He then caused himself to be clad in his monastic habit, and the doors being thrown open by his order, he expired in the sight of all, holding a cross in his hand, and recommending, with his last breath, his departing soul to the mercy of the just judge, at whose tribunal he was going to appear.² His death happened on the 19th of December, after a pontificate, reckoning from his coronation, of eight years, one month, and fourteen days. His remains were deposited in the great church of Avignon, but two years after translated to the church of the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, of which he had been abbot.

The contemporary writers, all to a man, speak of this pope with the highest commendations, extolling him for his humane disposition, his universal benevolence, his generosity, and his indefatigable endeavors utterly to extirpate the many abuses that had been introduced by some of his predecessors and connived at by others. He made it his business to encourage learning, to reward virtue, and rescue merit from obscurity.³ He looked upon pluralities as an intolerable abuse; would suffer no clergyman to hold more benefices than were necessary to support him, according to his condition and rank in the church, and obliged those who were possessed of more, to resign them; nay, and published two constitutions, the one beginning with the words "*consuetudo sollicitudo*,"

¹ Auctor primæ et secundæ. Vit.

² Auctores Vit. apud Baluz. p. 302, 412.

³ Auct. primæ Vitæ.

¹ Viterb. in notis ad Ciaccon.

Gregory XI. elected. Consecrated and crowned ;—[Year of Christ, 1371.] His birth, education, &c. Endeavors to mediate a peace between France and England.

and the other with the word "horribilis," both calculated to banish that "horrid custom," as he called it, from the church.¹ As upon his accession to the pontificate, a great many bishops and other dignitaries had flocked from all parts, some even from the kingdom of Naples, where he had been legate, to court his favor, he ordered them all to return to their respective sees and churches, and to reside there ; nor would he suffer any to remain at Avignon, unless upon urgent business, which he took care to dispatch with the greatest expedition.² Anglicus Grimoardi, his own brother, a man of eminent probity, was the only relation he preferred to the dignity of cardinal during the eight years of his pontificate, and it was at the pressing instances of the whole college of cardinals that he conferred upon him that dignity. Far from enriching his relations, as most other popes had done, with the wealth of the church, he would not allow his father, who lived to the fourth year of his pontificate, and died in the hundredth of his age, to accept of a very considerable pension which the French king had settled upon him. He lived in the pontifical palace

with the pope, but never received any thing from him except indulgences at the point of death. Instead of procuring great alliances for his family, he persuaded his only nephew to marry one much inferior to him in rank, the daughter of a merchant of Montpellier, whom he would not have married even before his uncle had attained to any preferment in the church.¹ He was a generous encourager of learning—maintained and furnished with books a thousand students in different universities during the whole time of his pontificate. At Montpellier he founded and endowed a college for twelve students in physic, that place being then famous for that study.² To conclude, Urban V. is ranked by all the writers, who speak of him, amongst the best popes ; and after his death endeavors were used by Waldemar, king of Denmark, by Charles V., king of France, by Lewis, king of Sicily, and above all, by the city of Marseilles, to procure him a place in the calendar. But the dreadful schism that arose in the church upon the death of his immediate successor, diverted the succeeding popes from attending to matters of that nature.

GREGORY XI., THE HUNDRED AND NINETY-EIGHTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—CHARLES IV., *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ 1371.] Urban died, as has been said, on the 19th of December, and the cardinals, nineteen in number, shutting themselves up in the conclave on the 29th of the same month, chose with one consent, the very next day, Peter Roger, cardinal deacon of St. Mary the New, who was ordained priest on the 4th of January 1371, and on the 5th consecrated pontiff, and crowned with the usual solemnity, Lewis, the French king's brother, who happened to be then at Avignon, performing the office of equerry as he rode in his pontificals through the city.³ He acquainted the French king with his election by a letter dated the 3d of the calends of January, that is, the 30th of December, the very day on which he was elected. At his coronation he took the name of Gregory.

Gregory was the son of William Roger, lord of Beaufort, and brother to Clement VI. was born at Maumont in the diocese of Limoges, and preferred by his uncle to the dignity of cardinal in May 1348, when he had not yet completed the seventeenth year of his age. He afterwards applied himself

wholly to the study of the civil and canon law, as well as of divinity, and by constant application became one of the ablest civilians, canonists, and divines of his time.

The new pope, treading in the footsteps of his predecessor, despatched immediately after his consecration two legates to mediate a peace between the kings of France and England, and wrote a long letter to both princes, setting forth with great eloquence the calamities of war, and exhorting them to spare the blood of their subjects, and compose their differences in a Christian and amicable manner. But the inveterate hatred those kings bore to each other did not allow them to hearken to any terms of accommodation whatever. Besides, the legates themselves could not agree ; but as the one, cardinal Simon de Langham, had been chancellor to the king of England, and the other, cardinal John de Dormannis, to the king of France, instead of acting as mediators, they made themselves parties, and thus rather exasperated the two kings still more than reconciled them.³

In the present year, on the 6th of June

¹ Auct. primæ Vit. et tom. 2. Concil. p. 1938.

² Auctor. tertie Vit.

³ Auctor primæ Vit. apud Baluz. p. 255, et seq.

¹ Auctor. primæ Vit.

² Auctores secundæ et tertie Vit.

³ Auctor. primæ Vit.

Gregory creates twelve cardinals. The red hat sometimes sent to absent cardinals. The island of Sicily yielded by queen Joan to Frederic of Arragon;—[Year of Christ, 1372.]

according to some, on the 8th according to others, and according to some on the 30th of May, the pope created twelve cardinals, eight presbyters, and four deacons. He created so many at once, says one of the authors of his life, in order to oppose them to the old cardinals who had elected him, and upon that merit pretended he should pay greater regard to their counsels, and grant them more favors than was fit he should.¹ It was customary for the new cardinals to receive the red hat immediately from the pope. However, as Bertrandus de Cosnaco, bishop of Cominges, promoted on this occasion by Gregory, was absent, being employed in mediating a peace between Ferdinand, king of Portugal, and Henry, king of Castile, the pope despatched a nuncio to him with the red hat on the very day of his promotion. In the promotion of cardinals made by Innocent VI. in 1356, was preferred to that dignity amongst the rest Nicholas Roselli, inquisitor-general for the kingdom of Arragon. As the new cardinal was in Arragon at the time of his promotion, the king wrote to Innocent, begging he would be pleased to send the red hat to him, and not oblige him to leave the kingdom, where his presence was so necessary, even for a short time. The pope answered, that by an ancient custom the red hat was delivered to the new cardinal with the pope's own hand, but nevertheless, being desirous to gratify the king, he had consulted the cardinals, who had all opposed his dispensing with the ancient custom. Yet Innocent himself was afterwards prevailed upon to dispense with that custom in favour of Peter de Foresta, archbishop of Rouen, and chancellor to the French king; and his example was followed by Gregory in sending the hat to the bishop of Cominges. In the *Ordo Romanus* it is said, "The red hat is not regularly sent by the pope to a new cardinal, but sometimes only by a special favor, when the newly created cardinal has been sent with the character of nuncio or legate to treat of a peace between kings or princes; and it is sent then, that his dignity may add weight to his counsels, and his negotiations may, by that means, be attended with the wished for success."² The red cap, or *Biretum*, which in Gregory's time was not yet used by cardinals, is now sent to every new cardinal who is absent, but the red hat to persons only of a very high rank. Thus it was sent by Paul V. to Ferdinand of Austria, the son of Philip III. king of Spain. But others must all go to Rome, and receive it immediately from the pope himself. With the red hat the new cardinal receives his title, taken from some church in Rome. But his being nominated to that dignity

gives him a right to vote in the election of a new pontiff, though he may not have yet received either his hat or his title.

A peace had been concluded in 1302 between Frederic of Arragon, who had seized on the island of Sicily, and Charles II. of Anjou, upon the following conditions among the rest: that upon the death of Frederic the island of Sicily should revert to Charles and his heirs upon their paying to Frederic or his heirs an hundred thousand ounces of gold; and that in the mean time Frederic should not be styled king of Sicily, but of Trinacria, the ancient name of that island. But notwithstanding these conditions, Frederic was succeeded by his son Peter in 1337, Peter by his son Lewis in 1342, and Lewis by his brother Frederic II. in 1355. In Frederic's reign Lewis of Taranto, queen Joan's second husband, undertook the reduction of Sicily, and had already made himself master of great part of that island. But he dying in the mean time, the queen, who foresaw that his death would be attended, as it was, with great disturbances, thought it advisable to conclude a peace with Frederic. A treaty was accordingly set on foot, and after several conferences between John, bishop of Gravina, the queen's confessor, and Ubertin of Corillon, king Frederic's first chaplain, a peace was concluded upon the following terms: I. That Frederic and his successors should hold the island of Sicily immediately of the queen and her successors. II. That they should pay yearly to the queen and her successors the sum of fifteen thousand ducats, as an acknowledgment of their holding the crown of her and her heirs. III. That they should yearly furnish the queen and her heirs with ten galleys, and an hundred able and well-armed men. To these the pope added the following conditions: that the kings of Sicily and Trinacria should do homage to him and his successors, as holding their respective kingdoms of the apostolic see; that Mary, the daughter of Frederic, should succeed to the crown if he died without male issue, and likewise the daughters of all the succeeding kings of Trinacria; and that all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the clergy should be for ever inviolably maintained, especially the right of appealing to the apostolic see. These conditions were all received and sworn to by Frederic on the 2d of March 1373, in the presence of John de Revellone, bishop of Sarlat, sent by the pope for that purpose into Sicily, and by the queen on the last day of the same month, in the presence of Bernard de Rovergue, archbishop of Milan, whom the pope had appointed to receive her oath. The bishop of Sarlat continued some time in Sicily, absolved the Sicilians from the interdict that had been laid upon the island on account of their having banished some bishops, and Frederic marrying in the

¹ Auctor. primæ Vit.

² *Ordo Roman.* apud Mabillon, *Musæi Italici*, tom. 2. p. 433.

The island of Sicily erected by Gregory into a separate kingdom;—[Year of Christ, 1373.] Gregory invited by the Romans to Rome. Acquaints the Christian princes with his resolution of removing to that city. Fixes the time of his departure;—[Year of Christ, 1375;]—but puts it off. Enjoins residence. Creates nine new cardinals. The Florentines invade the dominions of the church.

mean time Antonia del Balzo, the duke of Andria's daughter by the late king Lewis's sister, the bishop performed the ceremony by the pope's order, and soon after crowned both with great solemnity at Palermo.¹ Thus was the island of Sicily erected by Gregory into a distinct kingdom under the name of Trinacria, queen Joan renouncing for herself and her successors all claim to that island. The learned Giannoni observes in his Civil History of Naples, that though by one of the articles of the above-mentioned treaty the kingdom of Naples was to be called the kingdom of Sicily, and that of Sicily the kingdom of Trinacria, yet none of the kings of Sicily ever took that title in their diplomas, but styled themselves constantly kings of "Sicily ultra pharum," and the kings of Naples kings of "Sicily citra pharum." Thus were the two kingdoms distinguished in all public writings till the time of Alphonsus I. of Arragon, who, upon both kingdoms being united in his person, took the title of "king of both Sicilies;"² the title used to this day by all the kings of Sicily and Naples.

The following year, 1374, the Romans sent a solemn embassy to Gregory, inviting him, with great promises and protestations of obedience and subjection, to come and reside with his court at Rome, where the apostle St. Peter, the founder of his see, and so many of his holy predecessors had chosen to reside and to die. At the head of this embassy were Philip, bishop of Tivoli, and James, of the illustrious family of the Ursini, and canon of St. Peter's. Gregory received them in a most friendly manner, and having communicated their message to the cardinals, he expressed, in a letter to the Roman people, a great desire of complying with their request, which he said he had entertained ever since his accession to the chair, and hoped he should soon be able to carry into execution. This letter is dated the 20th of March in the fourth year of his pontificate, that is, in 1374.³ On the 18th of October of the same year he wrote to the emperor, to the kings of Hungary and Trinacria, to queen Joan of Sicily, to the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, to the Venetians, to the Genoese, and to all the prelates and princes of Germany and Italy, to let them know that he had, upon the most mature deliberation, resolved to remove from Avignon to Rome, and there to reside with his court. In his letter to the emperor he fixed the time of his departure to the month of September of the following year, 1375. On the 6th of January of that year he wrote to

the French king, Charles the Vth, to acquaint him with the resolution he had taken of removing with his whole court to Rome the following autumn, expressed great concern at his parting with his highness, and leaving the country where he was born, where he was educated, and where he enjoyed, quite undisturbed, all the comforts this life could afford; but at the same time alledged the absolute necessity of his residing at Rome, or in the neighborhood of that city, in order to awe with his presence the tyrants of Italy, taking occasion from his absence to seize on the patrimony of the church, which it was incumbent upon him to defend and maintain. Pursuant to his resolution of setting out on his intended journey in the autumn of the present year, 1375, he wrote to Joan, queen of Sicily, to Frederic, king of Trinacria, and to Andrew Contareni, doge of Venice, desiring them to send their galleys by that time to Marseilles, where he intended to embark. This letter is dated at Avignon the 8th of July. But on the 28th of the same month he wrote again to inform them that, being engaged in mediating a peace between the kings of France and England, he had put off his departure to the spring of the following year 1376.¹

In the mean time Gregory, to remove the evil of non-residence so often complained of by his predecessors, and looked upon by him as an insufferable abuse, issued a constitution on the 29th of March, ordering all archbishops, bishops, abbots, and heads of orders to return, in the term of three months, to their respective sees, churches, and abbeys, and reside there. From this general injunction the cardinals, the legates, the nuncios were excepted, and with them such as bore any employment in the court, and the patriarchs whose sees were in "partibus infidelium."² The rest were all ordered to reside at their churches, on pain of being excluded from all further preferment.

On the 20th of December of the present year, Gregory made a new promotion of nine cardinals, so that there were now no fewer than twenty-one cardinals, of his creating. Amongst those of the present promotion, was Peter de Luna, of whom we shall have occasion to speak at length in the sequel, under the name of Benedict XIII.

The Florentines entering into an alliance with the Visconti of Milan, broke this year unexpectedly into the territories of the church, made themselves masters of several cities, demolished the strong holds; drove, every where, out the officers of the pope, and setting up a standard with the word "libertas" in capital letters, encouraged the people to shake off the yoke, and resume their liberty.

¹ Auctor. primæ Vit. Greg. apud Baluz. Bzovius ad ann. 1373; et Raynald. ad ann. 1372.

² Giannoni, l. 23. c. 2.

³ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1374. Num. 23.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1375. Num. 21, et seq.

² Apud eund. Num. 23.

Sentence pronounced by Gregory against the Florentines:—[Year of Christ, 1376.] No regard had by the Florentines to the pope's censures. An army sent against them. St. Catharine of Siena chosen by the Florentines to mediate a peace. Her negotiations unsuccessful.

At their instigation Bologna, Perugia, and most of the chief cities in the pope's dominions openly revolted, and joining the Florentines, either imprisoned, or barbarously murdered those whom the pope had set over them. Gregory was no sooner informed of that general revolt, and the unheard-of barbarities committed by the Florentines, and those who had joined them, than he wrote to the people and magistrates of Florence, exhorting them to withdraw their troops forthwith out of the dominions of the church, to forbear all further hostilities, to satisfy those whom they had injured, and revoke the many decrees they had issued, absolutely inconsistent with the ecclesiastical immunity as established by the canons. As they paid no regard to the pope's exhortations, he summoned the magistrates to appear in person, and the people by their representatives, at the tribunal of the apostolic see by the last day of March 1376, to answer for their conduct. The Florentines, far from complying with that summons, insulted the pope's messengers in the grossest manner, and continuing their hostilities, laid waste the greater part of the patrimony, destroying all before them with fire and sword. Gregory, therefore, provoked beyond all measure, issued the most terrible bull against them that had ever yet been issued by any pope. For by that bull the magistrates were all excommunicated; the whole people and every place and person under their jurisdiction were laid under an interdict; all traffic, commerce, and intercourse with any of that state, in any place whatever, were forbidden on pain of excommunication; their subjects were absolved from their allegiance; all their rights, privileges, and immunities were declared forfeited; their estates, real and personal, in what part soever of the world were given away and declared to be the property of the first who should seize them—"primi occupantis;" all were allowed, and even exhorted and encouraged to seize on their persons, wherever found, as well as their estates, and reduce them to slavery; their magistrates were declared intestable, and their sons and grandsons incapable of succeeding to their paternal estates, or to any inheritance whatever; their descendants to the third generation were excluded from all honors, dignities, and preferments both civil and ecclesiastical; all princes, prelates, governors of cities, and magistrates were forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to harbor any Florentine, or to suffer any in the places under their jurisdiction in any other state or condition than that of a slave. This bull is dated in the palace of Avignon, in some copies the 30th of March, and in some the 20th of April, in the sixth year of Gregory's pontificate—that is, in 1376.¹ Walsingham

writes, that upon the publication of this bull, the Florentine traders who had settled in England, delivered up all their effects to the king, and themselves with them for his slaves; and one of the authors of Gregory's life tells us, that in all other countries, especially at Avignon, they abandoned their effects, and returned, being no where else safe, to their own country.¹

The pope's bull served only to exasperate still more the people and magistrates of Florence. Being now determined to keep no measures with Gregory, as he kept none with them, they committed more dreadful ravages than ever, banished all whom they suspected to favor the pope's cause, and confiscated their estates, obliged the clergy to perform divine service, notwithstanding the interdict, imprisoning and treating with the utmost severity such as declined it. They even attacked the character of the pope, publishing and causing to be dispersed all over Italy a great number of defamatory libels against him.² Gregory, therefore, finding that they were not to be restrained by the spiritual arms alone, resolved to add the temporal to the spiritual. Having accordingly raised in the different provinces of France a body of six thousand foot and four thousand horse, he sent them under the command of Robert, cardinal of the twelve apostles, with orders to protect such places as had not yet submitted to the Florentines, and recover, with the assistance of their allies, those that had. The cardinal put a stop to the ravages and incursions of the enemy, but had not a sufficient force to attempt the reduction of any of the places they had seized.³

In the mean time the Florentines, who were great traders, finding their trade was entirely ruined by the pope's bull, forbidding all intercourse with them, resolved in the end to conclude a peace with the apostolic see, and the person they employed for that purpose was the celebrated St. Catherine of Siena, whom they knew to be held in great esteem by the pope for her eminent sanctity. At their request the saint flew to Avignon, and being received by Gregory with the greatest marks of esteem, she acquainted him with the motives of her journey, begging his holiness, how justly soever provoked, to hearken to an accommodation with the Florentines upon such terms as he should think reasonable. The pope replied, "To show to the whole world how desirous I am of peace, I leave the concluding of it, my dear daughter, entirely to you, only recommending to you the honor of the church." Catherine, being thus declared the pope's plenipotentiary, returned to Florence. But the Florentines refusing to give any satisfaction to those whom they had injured, or to

¹ Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. Num. 1, et seq.; et Bzovium, Num. 15.

² Auctor primæ Vit. Gregor.

³ Apud Baluz. p. 435. ⁴ Apud Baluz. p. 436. et seq.

Gregory resolves to restore the apostolic see to Rome. To what that resolution was chiefly owing, he persists in it in spite of all opposition. Recommends to the French king the abolishing of an unchristian custom. Gregory sets out for Rome.

yield up the places they had seized, the treaty was soon broken off, and hostilities recommenced on both sides.¹

From the deplorable state of the ecclesiastical territories at this time in Italy, the Romans took occasion to invite the pope, by a second embassy to Rome, promising to assist him to the utmost of their power against all the enemies of the apostolic see, and assuring him that his presence alone was wanting to restore the so long wished-for peace and tranquillity. Being at the same time pressed by St. Catherine of Siena, whom he looked upon not only as a saint, but a prophetess, to hasten his departure, he resolved to delay it no longer. One of the authors of Gregory's life tells us, that having one day asked a bishop why he did not repair to his see, the bishop returned answer, "And you, holy father, why do you not repair to your see?" The author adds, that his holiness, sensible of the justice of that reproach, resolved to practise himself what he recommended to the practice of others.²

As Gregory put off his departure from time to time, the Romans, suspecting that he only amused them with fair words, dispatched Luke de Sabellis, a Roman prince, and another, to Avignon, to represent to him that, being Roman pontiff, and as such styled and acknowledged by the whole Christian world, he ought to reside with his court at Rome; that the Romans were determined to have a pope who would reside among them; and that if his holiness did not choose it, they had determined to provide themselves with one who would. They therefore earnestly entreated him, as he tendered the peace and unity of the church, to hasten his departure, and obviate, by that means, the scandal that would certainly attend a further delay. Some authors write, that the Romans had several conferences among themselves relating to the election of another pope; that they even sent ambassadors to the abbot of Monte Cassino to offer him the papal dignity, in case Gregory did not speedily comply with their request; and that the abbot returned answer, that he was a Roman citizen, and thought himself bound in duty to obey their commands.³ One of the authors of Gregory's life tells us that while the see was yet vacant he bound himself by a vow to go to Rome, and reside there, should he be elected; and that mindful of his vow he overcame all the obstacles that were thrown in his way. That writer adds, that the pope's mother, prostrating herself across the threshold as he went out on his journey, endeavored to stop him, showing him her naked breast, and crying out, bathed in tears, "My dear son, I shall

never see you again;" but that the pope, unaffected with her tears, stepped over her, repeating the words of the Psalm, "Thou shalt walk over the asp and the basilisk, thou shalt trample upon the lion and the dragon."¹ But this is all a mere invention, it being said in Gregory's last will, that his mother died and was buried in the cathedral of Avignon in 1346, that is thirty years before the present time.² However, in this all authors agree, that the pope's father, who was still living, that all his relations, and with all the cardinals, nay, and the French king, Charles V., left nothing unattempted to deter him from the resolution he had taken. Charles even wrote to his brother Lewis, duke of Anjou, who was then at Toulouse, to repair to Avignon, and prevail upon his holiness, if by any means he could, to lay aside all thoughts of his intended removal to Rome, or at least to suspend it. The pope received the duke with the greatest marks of friendship, thanked him for the trouble he had taken, and the concern he expressed for his safety; but unalterable in his resolution, he even fixed the day of his departure before the duke left Avignon, the 13th of September of the present year, and gave notice thereof to the cardinals and the rest of the court, that they might be ready by that time to attend him.³

A custom had long obtained all over France of denying confession and absolution to criminals condemned to death for their crimes. Against that unchristian practice the pope wrote to the king before he left France, entreating him, as he tendered the salvation of the souls of those unhappy men and that of his own, not to suffer even the greatest criminals to be excluded from the benefit of repentance when they repented of their sins.⁴ What answer the king returned we know not; but the custom complained of was not, it seems, abolished by him, but by Charles VI., his son and successor; for we have a constitution of that prince, ordering even the most notorious criminals, though sentenced to death for their crimes, to be admitted to confession, if they desired it, and abolishing the contrary custom.⁵

Gregory, persisting in his resolution of re-establishing the apostolic see at Rome, set out on his journey to that city on the day appointed, Saturday the 13th of September, 1376, with his court, and all the cardinals but six, who chose to remain at Avignon. The French writers pretend the departure of the pope out of France to have been displeasing to and discountenanced by heaven, and alledge several instances to prove it. They tell us, that his horse, on all other occasions

¹ Acta Vitæ Sanctæ Catherin. apud Bolland. ad 30 April; et Instit. c. 14. tit. 23.

² Auctor tertius Vit.

³ Apud Baluz. p. 1194.

⁴ Auctor quartæ Vit. apud Baluz. col. 1231.

⁵ Idem ibid. ² Apud Baluz. ibid.

³ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1375. Num. 28.

⁴ Apud Spond. ad ann. 1375.

Gregory's itinerary. His arrival at Rome, and the reception he met with;—[Year of Christ, 1377.] The Romans perform none of the promises they had made. A treaty of peace between him and the Florentines begun, and soon broken off.

remarkably tame and gentle, seemed on this occasion to have changed his nature, would scarce suffer his holiness to mount him, and became so ungovernable that he was obliged to quit him. The stormy weather, and the danger to which the pope was exposed by sea, are likewise construed by those writers into manifest tokens of the displeasure of heaven.¹ Gregory on his way to Marseilles, where he was to embark, passed through St. Maximinus to visit the reliques of St. Mary Magdalen preserved in that place, and on the 22d of September entered the city of Marseilles on horse-back. He lodged with the Benedictines in the monastery of St. Victor, and remained there till the 2d of October, when he embarked with his whole court on board the fleet sent by the queen of Sicily and other princes, to attend him. He did not reach Genoa, on account of the tempestuous weather and contrary winds, till the 18th of that month, and having staid there eleven days, he put to sea again, and after touching at several places arrived at Leghorn, then subject to the republic of Pisa. And there died of the fatigues of the voyage, "*maris fractus laboribus*," cardinal Peter de Judicis, the pope's cousin-german, preferred by him the preceding year to that dignity. From Leghorn the fleet sailed to Piombino, to Port Ercole, and from thence to Corneto, in the dominions of the church. He kept there his Christmas, and having been, to his great mortification, detained in that uncomfortable place five whole weeks by the boisterous weather and contrary winds, he put to sea again on the 13th of January, and arrived the next day at Ostia. From thence he proceeded to St. Paul's on the Ostian way, and remained there till the 17th, when he made his public entry into Rome with thirteen cardinals, who had set out with him from Avignon. He was received at the gate by the clergy in a body, by the magistrates, and all the nobility, and attended by them to St. Peter's, amidst such demonstrations of joy from people of all ranks, ages, and conditions, as till that time had never been known in Rome. Peter Amelius, bishop of Sinigaglia, who attended the pope from Avignon to Rome, and has given us his itinerary, tells us, as an eyewitness, that Gregory's entry into Rome was the most glorious triumph mortal eye could behold, and that the Romans seemed to be all mad with joy—"amentes præ gaudio."²

Thus was the apostolic see, or, to speak more properly, the pope's court, restored to Rome by Gregory XI., after it had been kept for the space of about seventy-two years at Avignon. But the Romans, for all

the joy they expressed on that occasion, and the extraordinary honors they paid to his holiness on his arrival, fulfilled none of the mighty promises they had made to entice him to Rome. The Bannerets, that is, the heads of the different wards of the city, so called from their different banners, had usurped the government, and governed without control, but had promised to resign all their power into the pope's hands as soon as he arrived at Rome. They did so, but in a few days resumed, in spite of the pope, their former authority, governing the city with the same absolute authority as they had done before; which greatly alarmed Gregory, as he was not in a condition to oppose their arbitrary proceedings, and thought it dangerous to attempt it. The Romans had promised to assist him to the utmost of their power against the Florentines, but yet declined, under various pretences, to lend him the least assistance.¹

However, the Florentines, tired of a war that proved so prejudicial to their trade, sent ambassadors to Rome to treat of an accommodation with the church. Some write, that the pope, finding himself disappointed with respect to the assistance he expected from the Romans, applied the first for peace, and that the ambassadors were sent, at his request, to Rome. Be that as it may, Gregory received them with all possible marks of friendship, admitted them to the kiss of peace, and absolving them from the excommunication and interdict, allowed divine service to be performed in their presence so long as they remained at Rome. But as they insisted upon such terms as Gregory could not in honor and in conscience grant, the treaty was soon broken off, the ambassadors were recalled, and hostilities begun anew. Upon the departure of the ambassadors the pope despatched Catharine of Siena, with an unlimited power to treat with the leading men of the republic. But the populace rising against her, notwithstanding the high opinion the rest of the world entertained of her sanctity, she narrowly escaped (we are told by a miracle) with her life. Thus was the war carried on with various success between the church and the Florentines, and the ecclesiastical state miserably harassed so long as Gregory lived.²

In the mean time, the hot season approaching, Gregory left St. Peter's in the Transtiberin city, the lowest part of Rome, where he had hitherto resided, and went to St. Mary the Greater's, on Mount Exquilin, on the 16th of May, with a design to repair from thence, as the heat increased, to Anagni, and pass the summer there. He remained at St. Mary the Greater's till the

¹ Auctor secundæ Vit. Greg. apud Spon. ad ann. 1375.

² Petrus Amel. Itinerarium Gregor. apud Ciacon.; et apud Bzovium. Num. 31.

¹ Auctor. primæ Vit. Greg. apud Baluz. p. 436, et seq.

² Aretin. lib. 8. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 1. Num. 5; et Vit. St. Catherin. part. 3. c. 8.

Gregory writes several letters into England against John Wickliff. His doctrine. Silenced by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London. Will suffer no new taxes upon the churches of France.

30th of May, when he set out for Anagni, which city he entered on the 2d of June, having passed two days at a Greek monastery pleasantly situated on the road.¹ It was during his stay at St. Mary the Greater's, and on the 22d of May, that Gregory wrote the several letters that have reached our times, against the famous John Wickliff, whose doctrine was at this time received by many with great applause in England. By one of these letters, addressed to the chancellor and the university of Oxford, the pope severely reprimands them for suffering the doctrine of Wickliff, which he calls pestilential errors, to take root in England, to the disgrace of the catholic faith; and orders them to seize him and deliver him up to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, or to either of them. He wrote the same day letters to these two prelates, enjoining them by one of them to inform themselves privately concerning the doctrine of Wickliff, and, if they found it to be such as it had been represented to the apostolic see, to keep him carefully and closely confined till further orders. By the other they were required, in case they could not apprehend him, to summon him by an edict, published at Oxford, and other frequented places, to appear in the term of three months at the tribunal of the apostolic see. By a third letter Gregory charged the two prelates to inform the king, Edward III., his children, and the grandees of the kingdom, of the errors taught by Wickliff, and exhort them to concur with them in extirpating the said errors.²

In the last of these letters the pope sent enclosed sixteen propositions, which Wickliff had been accused to him of holding and publicly maintaining; and these were, I. That the eucharist is not the real body of Christ, but only the figure or representation of it. II. That the substance of the bread and wine remain after consecration. III. That the accidents of the bread and wine cannot possibly subsist without a subject, or the substance. IV. That Christ is not present really, identically, and corporally in the eucharist. V. That the Roman church is no more the head of all churches than any other. VI. That the pope has no more authority than any other priest. VII. That the temporal princes may, nay, and are bound, on pain of damnation, to deprive a delinquent church of its temporalities. VIII. That the Gospel alone is sufficient to direct every Christian. IX. That no ecclesiastic ought to have prisons for punishing delinquents. X. That excommunications, interdicts, and other ecclesiastical censures, when employed for the temporalities of the church, are in themselves null. XI. That every

priest, lawfully ordained, is sufficiently empowered to absolve from any sin whatever. XII. That the sacraments administered by bad priests are null. XIII. That tithes are mere alms, and the parishioners may retrench them, if their priest misbehaves or neglects his duty. XIV. That those who forbear to preach the word of God, to perform divine service, or assist at it, on account of any excommunication or interdict, incur thereby the excommunication. XV. That the institution of the mendicant order is repugnant to the Gospel; and, lastly, that it is encouraging idleness, and therefore sinful to relieve them.

As many had embraced the doctrine of Wickliff at Oxford, neither the chancellor nor the university seemed inclined to comply with the pope's injunction. But the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London sent them a peremptory order to summon Wickliff, a member of their university, to appear in the term of thirty days before them, or their delegates, in the church of St. Paul at London, and there answer for the doctrine which he had been accused at the tribunal of the apostolic see of holding and publicly maintaining. They summoned him accordingly, and he appeared, pursuant to the summons, at the time and place appointed. But being protected by the ministers of king Richard II. who had succeeded Edward III. on the 22d of June of the present year, 1377, being then in the eleventh year of his age, by the duke of Lancaster, and by the greater part of the nobility as well as by the citizens and people of London, no longer able to bear the daily encroachments and impositions of the court of Rome, the bishops dared not arrest nor imprison him, but were obliged to content themselves with only silencing him. Walsingham, who flourished in 1440, writes, that Wickliff on this occasion softened, and, in some degree, retracted such of his assertions as had given most offence, and thus escaped all punishment for the present.¹ Of Wickliff we hear no more during the pontificate of Gregory. But we shall have occasion to speak of him more than once under the succeeding pontiffs.

And now to return to Gregory, whom we left at Anagni. Being informed, during his stay, that the bishop of Maguelon, his treasurer at Avignon, knowing he had contracted great debts, and was daily importuned by his creditors, had laid a new tax on the French clergy to deliver him from that trouble, he immediately wrote to the bishop, and likewise to the archbishop of Rouen, his nuncio in France, declaring, that upon no consideration whatever he would suffer the French clergy to be loaded with any new taxes, it not being reasonable,

¹ Petrus Amel. in Itiner. Greg.

² Concil. Labbei. tom. 11. p. 20, et seq.

¹ Walsingham in Edward III.

Gregory refuses to exempt the see of Paris from the jurisdiction of the see of Sens. He resolves to return to Avignon. Is taken ill;—[Year of Christ, 1378.] Suspends the constitution of Gregory X. concerning the conclave. His death.

happen to him what would, that they should be put to any extraordinary expenses on his account. He therefore ordered an immediate stop to be put to the new imposition, and the money to be restored that had already been collected, though he wanted at that juncture very large sums to carry on the war against the Florentines, who would hearken to no terms of peace, and to ransom his brother and his nephew, taken prisoners in the war by the English.¹

Gregory before he left Anagni received a letter from the French king, Charles V., entreating him to exempt the bishop of Paris from all subjection to the archbishop of Sens, and to grant him the use of the pall. For though the city of Paris was now become the metropolis of the kingdom, yet the bishop of that city was still subject to the archbishop of Sens as his metropolitan, and the king wanted the church of his metropolis to be independent of any other. But Gregory, notwithstanding the great obligations he owed to the king, could not be prevailed upon to consent to the withdrawing of the see of Paris from all subjection to that of Sens, alledging in his answer to the king, that Sens was a very ancient and noble city, that it had been what Paris was then, the metropolis of the kingdom; that his uncle Clement VI. had been archbishop of that city; that he himself had held one of the chief dignities of that church; and, lastly, that the archbishop scarce had already what was sufficient to support his dignity. However, to gratify the king, and confer some mark of distinction upon the metropolis of his kingdom, and so renowned an university, he granted to the bishop the use of the pall for ever. But for all his pall he continued subject to the archbishop of Sens till the year 1622, when, at the request of Lewis XIII. the see of Paris was exempted from all subjection to that of Sens, and erected by Gregory XV. into an archiepiscopal see.² Henry Gondi, called cardinal de Retz, was the last bishop of Paris, and his brother, Francis Gondi, the first archbishop.

Gregory continued at Anagni till the 5th of November, when he left that place and returned to Rome. But finding he could not prevail upon the Romans to lend him any assistance against the Florentines, nor persuade the Bannerets to resign their usurped power, which they exercised quite independent of him, not suffering him any ways to interfere in the government of the city, he began seriously to think of leaving Rome, and returning to Avignon. We are told, that he had even writ into Spain for a sufficient number of galleys to convey him and his court to Marseilles.³ But in the mean

time the illness with which he was seized soon after his return from Anagni to Rome increasing daily, he laid aside all thoughts of his removal to Avignon, and spent his whole time in consulting with the cardinals concerning the most effectual mean of hastening the election of his successor, in case he should not recover, and prevent the divisions which he foresaw would probably arise at so critical a juncture in the conclave. In order to that he suspended some of the regulations established by his predecessor Gregory X. with respect to the conclave. For by the constitution of that pope the conclave was to be held in the place where the pope happened to die; the cardinals were not to enter into the conclave till ten days after his decease, that the absent cardinals might have time to repair to the place of the election; and he alone was to be deemed lawful pope who was elected by two parts in three of the cardinals. But by the present constitution the cardinals were not confined to any particular place, but allowed to meet for the election of a new pope in the place that should be thought by the greater part of them the most proper and convenient, whether in Rome or out of it; they were to wait for the absent cardinals as long or as short a time as should be judged most expedient by the greater part; or, if judged expedient, not wait at all; and he should be received as lawful pope who should have a majority however small. These regulations were established by Gregory with respect to the next election only, or to the election of his immediate successor. This bull is dated at St. Peter's the 19th of March, that is, nine days before Gregory's death.¹

He proposed making some other regulations, calculated to prevent the disturbances which he apprehended would arise upon his death, and retard the election of his successor; but in the mean time a violent fit of the stone, a complaint which he had been long liable to, put an end to his life. He died on the 27th of March of the present year, 1378, after a pontificate (reckoning from the day of his consecration) of seven years two months and twenty-three days, when he had not yet completed the forty-seventh year of his age.² The celebrated John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, who flourished in the beginning of the following century, tells us, that Gregory, when at the point of death, holding the body of our Lord in his hand, warned all about him to beware of those, whether men or women, who, under color of religion, passed upon others the visions of their own brains for divine revelations, since he, seduced by persons of that character, contrary to the advice of all friends, had brought the church into immi-

¹ Vide Spondan. ad ann. 1377. Num. 18.

² Spondan. *ibid*.

³ Thesaur. Anecd. tom. 2. col. 1081

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1378. Num. 2.

² Auctor. primæ Vit.

Gregory's learning and character. The Lateran church declared the first of all churches. The death of Gregory followed by the great western schism.

ment danger of a schism.¹ Some suppose the pope to have meant by these visionaries Peter of Arragon, Bridget of Sweden, and Catharine of Siena, who had all persuaded him that it was the will of God, revealed to them, that he should go and reside at Rome.² But Natalis Alexander pretends Gerson to have been misinformed, and alledges the following reasons to prove it. I. No notice is taken of what Gerson writes, though worthy of particular notice, by the author of Gregory's life, who lived at that very time. II. Gregory was not originally induced by any revelations to translate his see to Rome, but by other motives, namely, to restore and maintain the tranquillity of Italy, to recover the dominions of the church, seized and held by several petty tyrants, and to engage the Romans to assist him, pursuant to their promise, against the Florentines. III. Gregory could not think that he exposed the church to any danger of a schism by restoring his see to Rome; but on the contrary knew, that if he continued at Avignon a schism would certainly ensue, the Romans being determined in that case to have a pope of their own, one who would reside among them. Thus Natalis Alexander in his life of Gregory; but whether these reasons sufficiently evince the falsity of what Gerson wrote, I shall, with father Pagi, leave the reader to determine.

Though he had not completed the eighteenth year of his age when he was preferred to the dignity of cardinal by his uncle Clement VI., and consequently could not yet be well acquainted with any branch of literature, he nevertheless became, by constant application, being endowed with very uncommon parts, one of the best civilians, canonists, divines, and philosophers of the age.³ We are told that his decisions in points of justice and equity were universally looked upon as so many oracles; nay, that the famous Baldus, professor of civil law at Perugia, in his explanation of the laws, frequently quoted him while he was yet living.⁴ In this all agree who mention Gregory XI.,

that in most branches of literature he was equalled by few and surpassed by none; that he took great delight in conversing with learned men, and by choice preferred no other. He is no less commended by the contemporary writers for his piety, his prudence, his generosity, chiefly to the poor, and his humanity and good nature, than he is for his learning. He left no writings behind him that we know of besides some letters and constitutions, which I have had occasion to speak of in the course of his history. He is charged even by his panegyrists with too great an attachment and partiality to his relations, especially to his father, his brothers, and his nephews. He did not indeed confer any new honors upon them, as they had been all raised by his uncle Clement to the first dignities, and the most lucrative employments. But he removed none of them to make room for others, perhaps more deserving; kept them constantly about him; advised with them, and followed their advice in most matters of moment; and in the disposal of ecclesiastical benefices and preferments, had sometimes more regard to their recommendations than to the merits of the persons whom they recommended. Thus the contemporary author of Gregory's life.

Gregory, by a constitution dated at Avignon the 23d of January, 1372, the second year of his pontificate, declared the church of St. John Lateran to be the see of the Roman pontiff, and the first church, St. Peter's not excepted, in the whole world.—In the same year he ordered the festival of the "Presentation of the Virgin Mary," (when she was presented to the temple in the third year of her age) which had been observed in the East time out of mind, to be yearly kept as a holiday in the West on the 21st of November, and it has been so kept from Gregory's time to the present.—It is observed of this pope, that he carefully avoided all contests with any of the Christian princes, choosing to dissemble in their conduct what most other popes would have highly resented.

URBAN VI., THE HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperors of the East*.—CHARLES IV., WENCESLAUS, *Emperors of the West*.]

[Year of Christ 1378.] The death of Gregory was followed by a most dreadful schism, commonly called in the history of

the church "The Great Western Schism." It began in the present year, 1378, by the election of Clement VII. in opposition to Urban VI., and lasted till the council of Constance, held in 1414. There were, during that time, two popes, the one residing

¹ Gerson de Examinatione Doctrinar. parte 2. Consideratione 3. ² Spond. ad ann. 1378. Num. 2.

³ Auctor. primæ Vit.

⁴ Auctor. tertiæ Vit.

Account of the election of Urban by an anonymous and contemporary writer.

at Rome or in Italy, and the other at Avignon. But which of the popes was the true one, and which the anti-pope, has not yet been decided. St. Antonine, archbishop of Florence, who wrote not long after an end was happily put to the schism, speaks of it thus: "This matter has been the subject of many disputations; and many books have been published in defence of the one and the other party. Both not only had men thoroughly acquainted with the scriptures and the canon law, but most religious men; nay, and some who even wrought miracles. Yet the question could never be so decided as not to remain, in the opinion of many, still doubtful. For though it is necessary to believe, that as there is but one Catholic church, so there is but one pastor, Christ's vicar, upon earth; yet if more than one should be created at the same time, it seems not necessary to salvation to believe, that this man in particular, or that, was lawfully elected, but only that one of them was. Which of them was canonically elected no man is bound to know, and the people may therein follow their betters or their prelates."¹ Wernerus Rollewink, author of the "*Fasciculus Temporum*," who flourished in 1480, declares that from Urban VI. to Martin V., raised to the see in 1417, he knew not who was pope. Two general councils, those of Pisa and Constance, were assembled, as we shall see in the sequel, to put an end to this schism; yet neither would take upon them to declare whether Urban and his successors, or Clement and his, were canonically elected; but, leaving that point undetermined, they were for having both resign. That uncertainty was owing to the different and contradictory accounts of the double election, that were published at the time, or soon after. These accounts I shall here lay before the reader, and leave him to determine, if he can, which of the two competitors had the best right.

I shall begin with the account of the anonymous author of Gregory's life, who was then, as he declares, in Rome, saw with his own eyes what happened out of the conclave, and learnt of several cardinals what happened in it; and his account is as follows: While Gregory lay dangerously ill, the Bannerets or Banderesians, who presided over the different wards or quarters of the city, frequently met to deliberate about the means of retaining the apostolic see in Italy; and that they thought they could, by no other means, more effectually procure than by getting a Roman, or at least an Italian, elected in the room of Gregory. They therefore resolved to apply, upon his death, to the cardinals, and leave nothing unattempted to prevail upon them to fill the see, when it became vacant, with a native of Rome, or at least of Italy. They were

encouraged therein by several Italian prelates, who, aspiring at the pontificate, assisted at all their conferences to court their interest and favor. Amongst these was Bartholomew Pignano, archbishop of Bari, a man of an unbounded ambition, of very uncommon parts, of great address, and generally reputed one of the most learned men of the age. In the mean time Gregory died, as has been said, on the 27th of March 1378, and the Banderesians waiting upon the cardinals as soon as they heard of his death, earnestly entreated them to elect a Roman, or at least an Italian, for his successor, adding, that if they complied not with their request, there was reason to believe that the Roman people, provoked at their being so long deprived of their pastor, would resent it in a manner not pleasing to them. They therefore desired to know, before they entered into the conclave, what the people might expect from them. Thus they applied to the cardinals when assembled together, and to each of them in particular at his house. The cardinals answered, that such matters were not to be treated of out of the conclave, and that in the conclave they should act agreeably to their conscience, without exception to any person or nation, having nothing in view but the good of the church, and the Christian religion; and that if any violence were offered, or menaces used, the person thus elected would not be pope, but an intruder. The Banderesians, however, still pressed them to grant them their request, and consult their own safety, by promising to elect a Roman or an Italian. As they could extort no such promise from them, they placed guards at all the gates, bridges, and avenues to the town, both by land and water, to prevent their retiring to some other place, and holding the conclave there; drove out all the nobility, lest they should undertake the defence and protection of the cardinals, and introduced in their room multitudes of peasants, who stuck at nothing, and were entirely at their devotion. These being supplied with arms, continued running up and down the streets day and night, threatening the cardinals, and insulting such of their domestics as they happened to meet. Besides, they committed the guard of the conclave, which persons only of the first distinction used to be charged with, to the very scum of the people. As the cardinals were entering into the conclave, the peasants and the populace attending them cried out aloud, with dreadful menaces, we will have a Roman pope—"Romano lo volemo lo papa, Romano lo volemo." Many of them even entered the conclave with the cardinals, while others surrounded the palace on all sides. When the cardinals were ready to shut themselves up in the conclave, the Banderesians, breaking into the palace, told them, in plain terms, that they must choose a Roman, or at least an Italian; that such

¹ Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 1.

was the desire and request of the Roman people; and that if they did not comply with it, it was not in their power to screen them from the fury of the enraged multitude. The cardinals answered that the election ought to be free; that it was null if not free; and that where menaces intervened there could be no freedom. They desired them therefore to reflect that should they, intimidated by their menaces, elect a Roman or an Italian, he would not be true pope, how unanimously soever elected, but an usurper of the apostolic see. With this answer the Banderesians withdrew, and the cardinals shut themselves up in the conclave. But the populace continued all night making dreadful noises, and crying out aloud, "a Roman, at least an Italian pope, or immediate death," which kept the cardinals awake, and in great fear all that night, the night between the 7th and the 8th of April; for they entered into the conclave on the 7th of that month. Early next morning the 8th of April, while the cardinals were assisting at the mass of the Holy Ghost, in order to proceed afterwards to the election, the bells of St. Peter and the capitol were suddenly rung, as upon the eruption of an enemy, for the people to take arms. They flew to arms accordingly, and flocking from all parts of the city to the pontifical palace, surrounded it, crying out, as before, "A Roman, at least an Italian pope, or certain death." They even began to break down the door of the conclave; but in the mean time the window being opened, they desired to speak with the cardinals; and the deans of the three orders, namely, of bishops, priests, and deacons, being sent them by the rest to hear and appease them, they insisted upon their electing, without further delay, a Roman, or an Italian, threatening them with immediate death if they complied not with this their request. Upon the report of the three cardinals, the rest, apprehending themselves to be in imminent danger of their lives, sent one of the officers of the conclave to assure them, that the next day they should have a Roman or an Italian pope, and beg them to retire. "We will have a Roman, at least an Italian pope this moment," replied the multitude with one voice; "nor will we depart from hence till you have complied with our demand; immediate compliance or immediate death." The cardinals finding that there was no medium, that they must gratify the people, or fall a sacrifice to their fury, resolved to gratify them. Having therefore first protested against the violence that was offered them, they cast their eyes, in that hurry and consternation, upon Bartholomew Pignano, archbishop of Bari, a native of Naples. As he was better acquainted with the canons than most men of his time, he knew that his election was not free, and was consequently null, they took it for granted that he would soon resign the

dignity, which they had only conferred upon him to save their lives; and that the rather, as he was reputed a man of conscience, and had on several occasions distinguished himself by his zeal for the observance of the canons. Upon these considerations they declared him pope, and at the pressing instances of the Romans immediately enthroned him; on which occasion he took the name of Urban VI. Thus the contemporary writer of Gregory's life.¹

The cardinals by whom Urban was thus elected, not daring, so long as they continued in Rome, to question the validity of his election, outwardly acknowledged him for true pope, nay, and wrote to the cardinals, who had remained at Avignon, that they had unanimously placed Bartholomew Pignano, archbishop of Bari, in the chair of St. Peter. But retiring afterwards from Rome to Anagni, twelve of them declared upon oath before cardinal Peter de Cros, chamberlain of the holy Roman church and judge in ordinary, that it was to avoid immediate death, which they were threatened with, that they elected the archbishop of Bari, whom they never would have thought of electing had no violence been offered. They added, that being in all sixteen, namely, twelve ultramontanes and four Italians, they had all agreed to elect one of the college; but they disagreed in this, that the ultramontanes, that is, those on this side the Alps, were for having an ultramontane and not an Italian pope, and the Italians contended for an Italian. In this disposition they entered into the conclave, and the ultramontanes would certainly have carried their point, but for the violence that was offered them by the Roman people, threatening them with immediate death if they chose not an Italian. They further attested, upon oath, that some of the Italian cardinals declared that, should they be elected, they would not consent to their election, as it would be owing to violence, and consequently null; that when the archbishop of Bari was unexpectedly nominated, they agreed to that nomination only because they durst not oppose it; that some did not absolutely agree to it, but only upon condition that he should be freely re-elected in some other place; but that the people, in the mean time, impatient of any further delay, broke into the conclave, and would in their fury have cut them in pieces, had not one of the cardinals, to save his own life, and the lives of his brethren, told them that they had elected cardinal Thebaldeschi, who was by birth a Roman, and archpriest of St. Peter's, but had not been able to prevail upon him to consent to his election, and that they would have what they wanted, a Roman pope, if they could but persuade him to accept the dignity which had been conferred

¹ Apud Baluz. tom. 2. p. 442.

on him to gratify them. Hereupon the people, crowding round cardinal Thebaldeschi, placed him, notwithstanding his solemnly protesting against it, on the pontifical throne.

While the people were thus employed, the cardinals in the conclave made their escape, some of them retiring privately to their own houses, others to the castle of St. Angelo, and some in disguise out of Rome. The people, finding that they had been imposed upon, grew more outrageous than ever; but being informed that the archbishop of Bari, a native of Italy, was really elected, the tumult ceased, and the news of his election was received with the loudest acclamations. The archbishop remained in the pontifical palace, and from thence sent the next day a peremptory order to the cardinals, who had withdrawn to the castle of St. Angelo, or to their own houses, to repair to the palace, and assist at his enthronation. They refused at first to comply with that order; but finding he had the Roman magistrates and the whole body of the people on his side, they thought it advisable to yield for the present, and he was placed by them with the usual ceremonies on the pontifical throne. The cardinals, who had fled into the country, likewise returned, apprehending that in their absence their houses would be plundered by the enraged multitude, and together with the rest outwardly acknowledged the archbishop of Bari for pope under the name of Urban VI., intending that he should thereby acquire no better right than he had by his election. All this the twelve ultramontane cardinals attested, upon oath, before cardinal Peter de Cros, chamberlain of the apostolic see, at Anagni, on the 2d of August 1378.¹ This attestation was copied by Spondanus from an authentic manuscript in the library of St. Victor at Paris; and in the same library is lodged, as that writer informs us, a treatise written by Simon de Cramand, patriarch of Jerusalem, where he declares that one Pontius Veraldi, who had lived in great intimacy with the archbishop of Bari, told him upon oath, that being with the archbishop, in the church of St. Peter, during the tumult, he (the archbishop) addressed him thus: "You see what methods are used; but he, who shall be thus elected, will not be pope; for my own part I would not obey him, nor ought he to be obeyed by any good catholic."² He little imagined then that he himself should be thus elected.

Antonine, archbishop of Florence, speaking of this election, tells us, that the cardinals apprehending, before they entered into the conclave, that their lives would be in great danger if they chose not a Roman, or at least an Italian, charged one of their brethren, a Limosin, or native of Limoges, deemed more sagacious than the rest, to contrive some means of appeasing the mul-

titude; that the cardinal communicated the affair to his friend the archbishop of Bari, knowing him to be a man of great craft and address; that the archbishop advised them to elect two, one in earnest, to be afterwards nominated in some other place, where they might with safety publish his election; the other with no intention that he should be really pope, but only to deceive the people, and thus escape the present danger; and that the cardinals, applauding this device, nominated the archbishop himself, with a design to nominate another when free from all restraint; but the people placing him in the pontifical throne, acknowledged him for lawful pope, nor could he ever afterwards be prevailed upon to resign the dignity thus conferred on him.¹ This account of the archbishop's election Antonine copied from the history of Peter Boninsegni, a citizen of Florence, who lived at this time.²

Gobelinus Persona, a contemporary historian, writes in his history intitled *Cosmodromium*, that the election of Urban was free and unanimous; that the Romans indeed surrounded the pontifical palace and the conclave, crying out, "we will have a Roman, or at least an Italian pope," but used no menaces; that when the cardinals who had retired to the castle of St. Angelo, to their own houses, or into the country, met to enthrone him, he conjured them, by all that was sacred, to declare whether they had elected him freely, and that all to a man answered, that they had elected him of their own free will; that since that of St. Peter no election had ever been more canonical.³—These reports commonly prevailed, the cardinals, while in Rome, not daring to contradict them. But one of them, cardinal de Aigrefeuille, gave private notice to the king of France to pay no regard to any thing they wrote from thence.—James de Seva, a native of Provence, who lived at this time, gives us the following account of Urban's election under the title of "*Factum Jacobi de Seva*." Upon the death of Gregory the French cardinals, says that writer, disagreed among themselves before they entered into the conclave, as well as with the Italian cardinals. The French cardinals were sixteen in number, and the Italians only four. But the greater part of the French cardinals being of the province of Limoges, they were for electing one of the same province. As there had been in the course of a few years three popes of that province, namely, Clement VI., Innocent VI., and Gregory XI. who had filled the college with their countrymen; the other French cardinals joined the Italians, choosing rather to have an Italian pope than a Limosin. Hereupon the Limosin cardinals agreed among themselves

¹ Antonin tit. 22. c. 1.

² Pagi, Vol. 4. p. 244.

³ Gobelin. in *Cosmodrom.* stat. 6. c. 74.

¹ Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1378.

² Idem *ibid.*

Urban's election deemed by some valid, though not quite free.

to concur with the Italians in electing an Italian, if they could not carry the election in favor of one of their province. Pursuant to this agreement, the Limosin cardinals finding the election of one of the same province opposed in the conclave by the other French as well as Italian cardinals, unexpectedly proposed the archbishop of Bari.—As the archbishop had spent great part of his life at Avignon, and was besides a native of Naples, then in the hands of the French, the other French cardinals, looking upon him as a Frenchman, readily consented to his election. Of the four Italian cardinals, cardinal Ursini alone opposed the election of the archbishop, aspiring himself at the pontificate, as he was a native of Rome, and the people wanted a Roman. To satisfy the multitude for the present, he proposed their sending for some Franciscan friar, for their showing him to the people in the attire of high pontiff, and retiring out of Rome, while the Romans were busied in paying their adorations to the mock pope, proceed to the election of a true one in some other place. This proposal was rejected by the rest of the cardinals declaring that they would not be accessory to the idolatry of the people, and damn their own souls. As the archbishop, therefore, had a majority, he was declared duly elected; and before his election was published, sent for by the cardinals, apprehending that if his election were publicly known, the people might fall upon him as he was not a Roman, and prevent his promotion. Upon his arrival at the palace he was again freely elected by a great majority, and the ultramontane cardinals dreading the fury of the people, as they had not elected a Roman, began to retire before the election was made public. But the people and magistrates insisting upon their not going out of the conclave till the elect was publicly named, they prevailed on cardinal Thebal-deschi, by birth a Roman, to personate the pope, and while the people, transported with joy, were wholly taken up in congratulating him upon his promotion, they got in great haste out of the crowd, five to their own houses, six to the castle St. Angelo, and three out of town, leaving the pretended pope alone in the palace. Upon their departure the cardinal declared that the archbishop of Bari was pope, and not he; and the people, pleased with the election of an Italian, dismissed him unhurt, and immediately paid all due honors to the archbishop as pope. But he declined them till the cardinals meeting again freely and unanimously confirmed his election; and it was at their desire and earnest request that he submitted and accepted at last a dignity to which he thought himself altogether unequal.¹ This writer dissembles the violence that was used;

but that violence was used, sufficiently appears from his own account.

The famous Theodoric of Niem, who was at this time in Rome, and afterwards secretary to Urban, has betrayed no less partiality in his account of this election than de Seva. For according to him the election was entirely free and unanimous, the Roman people used no menaces; but, like suppliants, only begged the cardinals to elect a Roman, or at least an Italian, if they thought it consistent with the public welfare, and the good of the church. He owns, however, great disturbances to have been raised by the people, but ascribes them to a mistake of theirs. For being told by the cardinals when the election was over, that the Baresse was elected, meaning the archbishop of Bari, they imagined that John de Barre, a Lemosin, the late pope's chamberlain, who, by his insolent and haughty behavior had rendered himself odious to all ranks of men, was elected pope; and that report being spread all over the city, the enraged populace threatening the cardinals, committed great disorders, but were appeased as soon as undeceived.¹

These three historians, Gobelinus Persona, James de Seva, and Theodoric of Niem, are the only writers who have pretended the election of Urban to be quite free. The other historians, even those who acknowledged Urban for lawful pope, all allow his election to have been owing to violence. Among these Leonardus of Arezzo, commonly known by the name of "the Aretin," who was chancellor and historian of the republic of Florence, and wrote about the year 1440, owns the election of Urban to have been the effect of violence; but adds, that the cardinals, when free from all fear, obeyed him as lawful pope, which, says he, was confirming his election.² Baldus, as famous a civilian as any in his time or since, owned the cardinals to have elected Urban out of fear, but yet looked upon him as lawful pope, since he had been obeyed as such by all the cardinals for the space of three months.³ St. Catherine of Siena, espousing with great zeal the cause of Urban, wrote a great number of letters to different persons, all calculated to show that the endeavors used by the Roman people to get a Roman or an Italian pope, were not sufficient to render the election of Urban null. Innumerable treatises have been written upon this schism by different authors, some maintaining, and others impugning the validity of Urban's election. In the Vatican library alone are lodged, in manuscript, no fewer than thirty-two volumes upon this subject, containing all the arguments that have been alledged on either side. But which of the

¹ Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1378; et Hist. Universitat. Paris. tom. 4.

² Theod. de Niem de Schis. l. 1. c. 1.

³ Aretin. Hist. Florent.

⁴ Bald. de Schis. tit. si quis aliquem.

Urban's birth, preferments, and character before his election. Letter from the cardinals at Rome to those at Avignon. Urban disoblige the cardinals with his unseasonable severity.

competitors was the true pope, and which the anti-pope, has never been determined by the church. Leaving, therefore, that point undecided, I shall proceed to the history of Urban's pontificate, and that of his rival, Clement VI.

Bartholomew, archbishop of Bari, elected in the manner we have seen, was a native of Naples, descended from the illustrious family of the Prignani originally from Pisa, was reputed one of the best civilians as well as canonists of his time, and universally esteemed for his probity, whether real or pretended. As cardinal de Monteruco, vice-chancellor of the holy Roman church, chose to remain at Avignon when Gregory removed with his court to Rome, Bartholomew was appointed by that pope to act as vice-chancellor in his stead. In that office he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of Gregory, and was by him, on that account, preferred to the archbishopric of Otranto, and soon after translated to that of Bari. An anonymous writer, who lived with him, gives us the following account of his manner of life: "This man," says that author, "for many years, while I was with him, when he withdrew at night to rest, caused the Bible to be read to him till he fell asleep, and while awake very seldom or ever passed idly any part of his time, but employed it in study, in the discharge of his office, or in prayer. He constantly wore, night and day, a hair-cloth next to his skin. He never appeared in the streets but upon some urgent business, and then rode on a mule, being only attended by one domestic on horseback. He patiently bore his own misfortunes, and was greatly affected with those of others. He most strictly observed all the fasts of the church, and added to them that of the Advent. He was a great friend to the religious, and took a particular delight in their company. He encouraged learning in others, being a man of great learning himself."¹ "Before his promotion he was remarkable," says his secretary de Niem, "for his love of justice, for his abhorrence of simony, for his piety, modesty, and benevolence to all, especially to men of learning and virtue."² "But after his promotion one would have thought," adds Papirius Massonus, "that he never had been endowed with any of those virtues, or had at once forfeited them all when he stood most in need of them."² He was elected on the 8th, and enthroned on the 9th of April, taking on that occasion for his motto, the words of the psalm, "Arise, O Lord, and judge my cause."² On the 18th of the same month, Easter-day, he was crowned with the usual solemnity by cardinal Ursini, in the presence and with the approbation of all the cardinals then at

Rome, being at that time in the sixtieth year of his age.

Urban, thus elected, enthroned, and crowned, caused a solemn mass to be said the day after his coronation in the pontifical chapel for the deceased pope, at which all the cardinals assisted. On the same day, the 19th of April, the cardinals at Rome wrote to the six who had remained at Avignon, to acquaint them with the election of the archbishop of Bari, which they solemnly declared, in their letter, to have been entirely free, and desired those cardinals to give no credit to any who should assert or write the contrary. "Our late father Gregory of holy memory," said the cardinals, "having left us, to our unspeakable concern, on the 27th of March, we entered into the conclave on the 7th of April to deliberate about the election of a new pontiff. The next day, being enlightened by the rays of that sun that never sets, about the hour when the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles, we all freely and unanimously elected for high pontiff our reverend father and lord in Christ, Bartholomew archbishop of Bari, a man endowed, in an eminent degree, with every virtue becoming so high a station. The news of his election was received with loud acclamations by an innumerable multitude of people. On the 9th he was placed in the apostolic throne, taking on that occasion the name of Urban VI. On the day of the resurrection of our Lord he was solemnly crowned, according to custom, in the basilic of St. Peter. We have thought it necessary to transmit to you this account, containing the truth, and nothing but the truth, of what has passed within these few days in the Roman church. You may safely rely upon what we write; and it is incumbent upon you to contradict, as absolutely false, all reports to the contrary."¹ Thus the cardinals at Rome to their brethren at Avignon, and likewise to all the Christian princes, apprehending, as they afterwards owned, that had they wrote the truth, their letters would probably have been intercepted, and they cut in pieces by the enraged Romans.

The cardinals, so long as they remained at Rome, paid all the obedience to Urban that was due to a lawful pope; and most authors are of opinion that, to avoid a schism, and the dreadful consequences attending it, they would have continued to obey him, but for his unseasonable severity. For in a consistory held immediately after his coronation, he reprimanded the cardinals very severely, and in very coarse terms, taxing them with pride, avarice, and venality; with engrossing to themselves all the best benefices of the church, and insolently lording it over

¹ Apud Oldoin. in notis ad Ciacon.

² Anonym. et Papirius Masson. apud Ciacon.

Vol. III.—17.

¹ Oldoin in novis additionibus ad Ciacon.; et Raymund. ad ann. 1378. Num. 19.

Urban's haughty behavior to Otho, duke of Brunswick. The ultramontane cardinals resolve to proceed to a new election, and retire with that view to Anagni. Letter written at this time to the university of Paris.

The ultramontane cardinals resolve to proceed to a new election, and retire with that view to Anagni. Letter written at this time to the university of Paris.

the rest of the clergy. At the same time he commanded them to retrench all unnecessary expenses, to lessen the number of their attendants, to forbear all public and expensive banqueting, threatening to cut off the means of supporting their extravagance if they did not reform it of their own accord. He forbade them to accept of any presents or pensions from secular princes, on pain of being looked upon as betrayers of the rights of the church, and treated accordingly. While he thus behaved to the cardinals, he was all complaisance to the Romans, made it his study to gratify them in all their demands, and even distinguished with particular marks of his favor such of them as had been the most active in the late disturbances.

The news of his election no sooner reached Naples than Otho, duke of Brunswick, queen Joan's third husband, came to Rome to congratulate him upon that occasion, and do him homage, in the queen's name, for her kingdom, a fief of the apostolic see. Otho was a prince endowed with every princely virtue; had in the latter end of Gregory's pontificate negotiated, and happily concluded a peace between the church and the Florentines, after a long and destructive war, and had been publicly thanked on that account by the pope and the whole college. Yet Urban received him with great haughtiness, scarce deigned to return him an answer when he congratulated him in the queen's name and his own upon his own promotion, and treated him with great contempt during the whole time he stayed at Rome. Of this Theodoric de Niem, Urban's secretary, gives us the following instance: The pope happening to dine one day in public, the duke desired the honor of waiting upon him at table, and standing behind his chair, when he called for drink, offered it to him on his knees; and in that posture the pope suffered him to remain, discoursing with those about him of different matters, till one of the cardinals took upon him to tell his holiness that it was time for him to drink.

Many such like instances are recorded by the contemporary historians of his haughty and imperious behavior to all, more especially to the cardinals, whom he looked upon as his enemies, knowing that he owed not his promotion to them, but to the Roman people, whose favor he therefore courted, while he treated the cardinals, the ultramontane cardinals, with the utmost contempt; which so provoked them that they came to a private resolution among themselves to declare his election uncanonical and null, as being entirely owing to violence, and proceeded in some other place to a new election. Pursuant to that resolution the sixteen ultramontane cardinals retired, with Urban's permission, who entertained not the least suspicion of their design, to Anagni, not all

together, but one after the other, and at different times, under color of avoiding the excessive heats of Rome, to which they were not accustomed. They all met at Anagni about the latter end of June, Urban himself repairing at the same time, with the four Italian cardinals, for the benefit of the air, to Tivoli. The cardinals, being now out of all danger, and free from all fear, assembled at the house of Peter de Cros, chamberlain and judge in ordinary of the apostolic see, who had likewise retired, with many other prelates, to Anagni, and in his presence attested, upon oath, all the particulars mentioned above concerning the election of the archbishop of Bari, and the violence to which it was owing. They then sent some religious to acquaint Urban with what they had done, and exhort him, as he tendered the peace and welfare of the church, to resign a dignity to which he himself could not but know that he had no legal title. The cardinals, finding after repeated exhortations and admonitions, that he was determined to maintain himself, at all events, in the pontifical chair, resolved to proceed to another election. But in the first place, to guard against any violence that might be offered them by Urban's friends, they sent an order to a body of troops quartered at Viterbo under the command of Bernard de la Sale, a Gascon, to repair to Anagni, in order to protect the ultramontane cardinals, assembled there to provide the church with a true pastor, instead of a ravenous wolf. As they passed near Rome, the Romans, who by this time had heard of the proceedings of the cardinals at Anagni, sallying out in great numbers, attempted to stop them, but were repulsed with great loss; which so enraged them, that upon their return to the city they massacred all the domestics of the French cardinals, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

These particulars we learn from a letter of Marcellus or Marcellinus Inghen, formerly rector of the university of Paris, to that university, dated at Tivoli the 27th of July. "The church," says he in his letter, "is at this present time in greater danger of being divided by a schism than it has been for these hundred years. The pope resides here with the cardinals of Florence, of Milan, of St. Peter, and Ursini. The other cardinals are all at Anagni; and it is reported that the four Italian cardinals, the Roman people, and the greater part of Italy, acknowledge Urban for true and lawful pope, while the rest will have his election to be null on account of the violence used by the Roman people. The cardinals at Anagni have sent for some troops to protect them; and by those troops many Romans have been killed as they passed by Rome. Their death the Romans have revenged upon

Manifesto sent by the cardinals at Anagni to Urban. They summon him to appear before them. Urban forsaken by the Italian cardinals. The election of Urban declared null by the ultramontane cardinals, who retire to Fondi under the protection of queen Joan.

the French in Rome, of whom they have massacred great numbers; and the foreigners were all in great danger of their lives. How the cardinals intend to employ those troops is not certainly known. 'Some say that they design to proceed to a new election, and have with that view sent for the cardinals at Tivoli. I beg you will lay your commands upon me, that I may execute them without delay; for I am here in great danger, and at a much greater expense than I can bear. Yesterday the pope confirmed, in a public consistory, the election of the king of the Romans. The queen of Sicily has sent two hundred horse and a great body of foot to guard and defend the pope. It is said that he will return in a week's time to Rome.'¹

The cardinals soon after the arrival of the troops at Anagni drew up a manifesto, and sent it to the Italian cardinals to be communicated by them to Urban. In that manifesto, addressed to Urban himself with no other title but that of archbishop of Bari, they solemnly declared, that the danger to which they were exposed of being massacred by the Roman people, if they chose not an Italian, had induced them to choose him; that they had elected him in that fright and confusion, flattering themselves that as he was so well acquainted with, and pretended to be so strict an observer of the canons, he would not avail himself of an election which he could not but know to be null by the canons; but that as he nevertheless, trampling upon all laws, and regardless of his own salvation, had the assurance to impose himself upon the world for true and lawful pope, they thought it indispensably incumbent upon them to undeceive those who received him as such, by declaring him an apostate from the church and an usurper of the apostolic see. At the same time Peter de Cros, by order of the cardinals at Anagni, sent him a formal summons to appear at his tribunal, and there answer what was urged by the cardinals, who had elected him, against the validity of his election. The summons was directed "To Bartholomew, archbishop of Bari, intruded into the apostolic see:" which was, in effect, summoning him to maintain the validity of his election, and at the same time declaring it to be null. The four Italian cardinals, who had attended Urban to Tivoli, were likewise summoned to Anagni, in order to proceed with the rest, as the see was vacant, to the election of a lawful pope.² Upon this summons the Italian cardinals left Urban; but, instead of repairing to Anagni, went to Suessa, situated between Gaeta and Capua, in the kingdom of Naples. St. Catherine of Siena, who had espoused with great

warmth the cause of Urban, did all in her power to persuade them to return to Tivoli; reproaching them, in a very sharp letter she wrote to them on that occasion, with forsaking one whom they themselves had proclaimed to the world for lawful pope. But no more regard was had by them to her reproaches and exhortations, than to the repeated invitations of the ultramontane cardinals at Anagni, pressing them to come and proceed jointly with them to the election of a new pope, since they had sufficiently shown, by their abandoning the archbishop of Bari, that they looked upon him as an usurper.

The ultramontane cardinals, therefore, making more than two parts in three of the college, resolved to proceed by themselves; and assembling accordingly on the 9th of August, in the great church of Anagni, they first assisted at the mass of the Holy Ghost, celebrated with great solemnity by James, the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, and then caused the sentence, which they had drawn up, declaring the archbishop of Bari an usurper and intruder, to be publicly read, and copies of it to be sent to all the Christian princes, setting forth the violence to which alone he owed his election. The next step was to elect another in his room. But lest any violence should be offered them at Anagni, in the territories of the church and at no great distance from Rome, they resolved to remove from thence, and hold the conclave at Fondi, a city in the kingdom of Naples, or, as it was then called, the Hither Sicily, subject to queen Joan, who of a most zealous friend to Urban was become his most bitter enemy. As he was a native of Naples the queen expressed great joy at the news of his promotion; had espoused his cause with uncommon warmth; had sent a body of troops, upon whom he could depend, for his guard, and besides assisted him with large sums of money. But she was in the mean time informed that a treaty was privately carried on between him and Charles of Durazzo, her cousin-german by the father, and that the queen was by that treaty to be deposed, and Charles raised to the throne in her room, upon condition of his yielding the principality of Capua to Urban's nephew. The queen, provoked, and very justly, at such treachery and ingratitude, resolved to oppose Urban and support the cardinals to the utmost of her power. She therefore very readily granted them leave to hold the conclave at Fondi, and assured them of her protection.¹

Urban in the mean time, leaving Tivoli, returned to Rome, and the ultramontane cardinals, removing from Anagni to Fondi, wrote most pressing letters to the three

¹ Hist. Universitat. Paris, tom. 4. p. 468.

² Apud Bzovium ad ann. 1376.

¹ Vit. Urban apud Baluz.

The ultramontanes artfully entice the Italian cardinals to join them. Cardinal Robert of Geneva elected, who takes the name of Clement VII. Urban acknowledged by some princes, and Clement by others. Urban creates twenty-nine cardinals, and Clement six. Clement retires to Naples. Is received and treated as lawful pope by queen Joan.

Italian cardinals at Suessa (the fourth cardinal, Thebaldeschi, being dead) to come to Fondi, and provide the church, left to the mercy of a furious wolf, with a lawful pastor. But the Italian cardinals showing themselves more disposed to hearken to St. Catherine of Siena and return to Urban, than to have any hand in the electing of another, the ultramontanes, to entice them to Fondi, wrote to each of them in particular, that they had agreed among themselves to elect him, provided he carefully concealed this their agreement from the other two, to obviate the difficulties which they, aspiring at the same dignity, might raise. There wanted no more; they flew all three to Fondi, each of them looking upon himself as already placed in the pontifical throne. But (the cruel disappointment!) the ultramontane cardinals, entering a few days after their arrival into the conclave, chose with one voice Robert of Geneva, cardinal presbyter of the title of the twelve apostles. He was brother to Peter, count of Geneva; was allied to most of the Christian princes; had been notary of the apostolic see, and bishop, first of Terrouane and afterwards of Cambray; was raised in 1371 by Gregory XI. for his distinguished merit to the dignity of cardinal, and was at the time of his promotion to the pontificate but thirty-six years of age. The Italian cardinals neither voted for him nor opposed his election; but, finding they had been made the dupes of the ultramontanes, they left Fondi as soon as the conclave broke up, and returned no less confused than mortified to Suessa. Robert was elected on the 20th of September, and crowned, according to the most probable opinion, the very next day in the presence of Otho, duke of Brunswick, and the chief nobility of the kingdom; and on that occasion he took the name of Clement VII. The cardinals immediately notified his election to all the Christian princes, giving them a particular and distinct account of the violence to which alone that of the archbishop of Bari was owing, and exhorting them to look upon him as an usurper, and receive Clement, whom they had freely and canonically elected, for lawful pope. These letters were written and sent to all the Christian princes and bishops the day after Clement's coronation, that is, the 22d of September.²

The election of Clement divided the whole Christian world, nay, and even private families, some adhering to one of the competitors and some to the other. Urban was received as lawful pope in Italy and almost all over Germany, in England, Portugal, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, and Nor-

way, while Clement was acknowledged in France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and in the islands of Rhodes and Cyprus. As nothing could be certainly determined in favor of either of the pretenders, some sided at one time with the one, and at another with the other, as their interest directed them. Indeed, both had amongst their partisans some of the most eminent men of the age for their integrity, as well as their knowledge in the civil and canon law, and by those of one party new pieces were daily published, and answered by those of the other.

Urban finding himself abandoned by all the cardinals, made a new promotion on the 18th of September, of no fewer than twenty-nine, the most numerous that had ever yet been made. Of the twenty-nine whom he nominated to that dignity, three declined receiving it at his hands, and were afterwards preferred to it by Clement. They were all men of merit, and most of them Italians and of great families whom Urban wanted to gain to his party. On the other hand, Clement, on the 17th of December, added six new members to his college of cardinals, of whom three were natives of Italy.¹

As the Romans supported Urban to the utmost of their power, the Gascons under de la Sale, whom Clement had taken into his pay, committed most dreadful ravages in their territories, and threatened Rome itself with a siege; insomuch that Urban had resolved to retire from thence and abandon the city to his rival. But Clement's troops being in the mean time defeated, and most of them cut in pieces by a body of adventurers under the command of an Englishman, whom authors call Haucut, Clement, thinking himself no longer safe at Fondi, removed from thence to Spionata in the diocese of Gaeta, and soon after from Spionata by sea to Naples. The queen who had, for very just reasons, abandoned Urban, as we have seen, received Clement with extraordinary marks of honor and respect, acknowledged him for lawful pope and entertained him with the greatest magnificence in the castle dell' Ovo. But the populace mutinying and loudly complaining of the queen, of the duke her husband, and the nobility, for supporting a foreign pope against an Italian and a native of Naples, nay and flying night and day about the streets and crying out aloud, "viva papa Urbano," God save pope Urban, Clement thought it advisable to leave Naples and return to Spionata. He had not been long there when he was informed that Urban was contriving the means of getting him into his power, which so alarmed him, as he was well acquainted with the cruel and savage temper of his antagonist,

¹ Apud Spond. ad ann. 1378. Niem de Schism. Auctor. primæ Vit. Clement; et secundæ Greg., et Bzovius ad hunc ann.

² Apud Baluz. col. 1261.

Goes from Naples to reside at Avignon;—[Year of Christ, 1379.] France declares, upon the most mature deliberation, for Clement. Urban revives the old quarrel between the king of Hungary and queen Joan. Encourages Charles of Durazzo to drive her from the throne.

that, distrustful the Italians, he resolved to throw himself into the arms of the French. Pursuant to that resolution he embarked, in the month of May 1379, with his court and all his cardinals on board some galleys and other vessels that accidentally put into Gaeta, and on the 10th of June landed safe at Marseilles. From thence he pursued his journey to Avignon, and was there received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, not only by the inhabitants of all ranks, but by the cardinals who had remained in that city when the late pope went with the rest to reside at Rome.¹

When the election of Clement was known in France, the king, Charles V., not to proceed rashly in an affair of such importance, dispatched some persons, in whom he could confide, to Rome, to inquire upon the spot into all the circumstances of both elections. They returning to the king assured him that the election of Urban was owing to violence alone, giving him at the same time a minute account of the outrageous behavior of the Roman people, threatening the cardinals in the conclave with immediate death, if they chose not an Italian. What they attested was confirmed upon oath by several eye-witnesses, and among the rest, by cardinal John de Cros. Upon this information, the king assembled all the prelates and learned men of the kingdom in the castle of Vincennes, and having first obliged them to swear upon the body of our Lord, that they would divest themselves of all partiality, and judge according to their consciences, he caused all the attestations relative to the one and the other election, to be laid before them. All that had been or could be urged for or against either of the pretenders was strictly examined by that learned assembly according to the established laws or canons of the church; and it was upon the most mature deliberation determined on the 16th of November of the present year, 1379, that the election of Urban was null, as being entirely owing to fear, and that Clement, freely elected by more than two parts in three of the cardinals, ought alone to be acknowledged for lawful pope. This determination the king immediately communicated to all his allies, and caused it to be published throughout his dominions, that his subjects might all know which of the two popes they were to acknowledge and which to obey. The university of Paris had hitherto acknowledged Urban, and sent Marcellus de Inghen, of whose letter to that university I have spoken above, to congratulate him in their name upon his promotion; nay, they had, it seems, espoused his cause with great zeal, and publicly maintained the legality of his election against all who questioned it. For we have a letter

from him to the members of that university, wherein he thanks them for having asserted his right with such solid reasonings, as had either convinced or silenced all who had dared to call it in question. But before the university received this letter they had, agreeably to the decision of the assembly of Vincennes, disowned Urban and acknowledged Clement.¹

In the mean time Urban, wholly intent upon being revenged on Joan, queen of Naples, for abandoning him and siding with his rival, revived the old quarrel between her and king Lewis of Hungary, whose brother she had married and was accused of having treacherously murdered. She had been declared innocent of that crime by Clement VI. in 1347, as has been related above. But nevertheless Urban, pretending she was guilty, left nothing unattempted to stir up Lewis and his Hungarians, who had once invaded the kingdom, to invade it anew. Charles of Durazzo, count of Gravina, and next heir to the crown of the hither Sicily or Naples, served at this time under Lewis of Hungary, his cousin, in the war that prince was carrying on in the Trivigiana against the Venetians. Urban therefore, thinking he could by no other means more effectually compass the ruin of the queen, than by engaging Charles to invade her kingdom, and the king of Hungary to assist him with his troops, wrote most pressing letters to that prince, promising to depose the queen and bestow the kingdom upon Charles, provided he would allow him to employ the troops under his command to conquer it, which he represented as an undertaking that could not fail of success, and was due to the manes of his brother. The king readily consented to the proposal. But Charles, mindful of the many favors he had received at the queen's hands, who had brought him up almost from his infancy as her own child, had given him her niece in marriage, and designed him for her successor, showed himself at first inclined not to disturb his benefactress in the possession of a kingdom, that upon her death, as she had no children, would fall to him. But being importuned by Urban, and at the same time encouraged by Catherine of Siena, the great saint of the age, to forget, on such an occasion, all obligations, and embark, without hesitation, in an undertaking which she assured him was pleasing to heaven, and would be crowned with success, he yielded at last, and acquainted therewith both Catherine and the pope, to the unspeakable joy of the one and the other.²

Urban, having obtained Charles' consent, in order to facilitate the undertaking, thence-

¹ Auctor. Vit Clement. apud Surita. Annal. Arragon. 1. 20. c. 24.

¹ Apud Raynald ad ann. 1378. Num. 61. Continuatur Nangii, et Auctor. Vit. Clementis.

² Auctor Vit. Clement. apud Baluz.

Queen Joan excommunicated by Urban and deposed;—[Year of Christ, 1380.] Charles of Durazzo crowned king of Naples by Urban;—[Year of Christ, 1381.] The churches and monasteries pillaged by Urban to support the war. Queen Joan adopts Lewis of Anjou, who is crowned king of Sicily by Clement;—[Year of Christ, 1382.]

dered out the sentence of excommunication against the queen for acknowledging, admitting into her dominions, and honoring as lawful pope an apostate, an intruder, and an usurper of the apostolic see; declared her a schismatic, a heretic, and guilty of high treason; deprived her of the kingdom, and of all fiefs and possessions which she held of the empire, of the Roman or of any other church; confiscated all her estates, her moveables and immoveables, bestowing them upon any who should seize them; and not only absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, but forbade them, on pain of excommunication, to acknowledge or obey her for the future as their sovereign.¹ This sentence is dated at Rome the 21st of April, in the third year of Urban's pontificate, or in 1380.¹

The queen being thus excommunicated, anathematised, and deposed, and the throne thereupon declared vacant, Urban gave immediate notice thereof to Charles, pressing him to hasten to Rome, in order to receive there the investiture of his new kingdom at his hands, and invade it before the perfidious Joan could put herself in a condition to oppose him. Upon the receipt of the pope's letter Charles set out for Rome at the head of a numerous body of Hungarians, was received on his arrival in that city with all possible marks of distinction by Urban and his cardinals, and on the 1st of June 1381 anointed and crowned king of Sicily with the usual solemnity in the church of St. Peter. On that occasion Urban, not satisfied with the oaths that it was customary for the kings of Sicily to take at their coronation, insisted upon Charles's solemnly promising, before he crowned him, to yield to his nephew Francis Prignano, surnamed Butillus, the principality of Capua, with so many other lordships, territories, cities, and castles as made near one-third of the kingdom. We are told by all the contemporary historians, that it was not only to be revenged upon queen Joan, for abandoning him and declaring for his rival, that he deprived her of her kingdom, but in order to aggrandize his own family, not doubting but Charles, if raised by his means to the throne, would readily comply with all his demands; nay, if we may rely upon the testimony of some of the most credible writers of the times, while the queen was supporting him both with men and with money to the utmost of her power, he was secretly treating with Charles, and had even agreed to transfer the kingdom to him, upon his promising to yield the principality of Capua, and some other demesnes of the crown, to his nephew Butillus; and it was, according to those writers, on ac-

count of this his unparalleled baseness and treachery that the queen of a most zealous friend became his most implacable enemy.¹

Charles came attended by a strong body of Hungarian troops, but as he brought no money to pay them, Urban was obliged to pay them himself; and in order to raise the necessary sums for that purpose, he was forced to lay most exorbitant taxes upon the clergy under his obedience, to alienate or mortgage several estates of the churches and monasteries, to sell the most valuable ornaments that adorned them, the gifts of kings and emperors, and even to melt down and turn into money the chalices themselves, and the gold and silver images of the saints.² Thus were the churches pillaged, says the author of Clement's life, to gratify the revenge and ambition of an ambitious and furious man, whom nothing could satisfy but the exaltation of his family to the rank of princes, and the destruction of all who presumed to traverse his wicked designs.³

Charles, being thus supplied with the necessary money to defray the expenses of the intended expedition, set out from Rome on his march for the kingdom of Naples. As the queen had no other allies but the French, being descended from the royal family of France, she had, as soon as informed of Urban's designs, dispatched the count of Caserta to implore the assistance of that king, Charles V., and to engage him more effectually she had adopted, having no children of her own, his brother Lewis of Anjou, and made him her heir and successor to all her dominions both in Italy and Provence. This adoption was approved and confirmed by pope Clement, as lord paramount of the kingdom of Naples, by a bull dated at Avignon the 22d of August 1380.⁴ Upon this bull was grounded the claim of the second race of the princes of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples, which, in process of time, involved that unhappy country in endless calamities.

And now Lewis, looking upon the kingdom of Naples as his own, began to make the necessary preparations to support his claim against Charles of Durazzo, pope Urban's king. With that view he raised a strong body of troops in France, being upon the death of his brother Charles V. which happened at this time, made regent of the kingdom, as Charles VI. the son and successor to the deceased king was but twelve years of age. Before he set out for Italy he came to Avignon, attended by Amedeus, count of Savoy, and many other persons of distinction, to receive at the hands of pope

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1381. Num. 24.

² Niem. l. 1. c. 21. Raynald ad ann. 1381. Num. 24.

³ Apud Baluz. p. 501.

⁴ Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. Num. 11.

¹ Apud Raymund. ad eum ann. Num. 2; et Niem de Schism. l. 1. c. 9.

Charles of Durazza enters the kingdom, and is joined by many of the barons. The queen's troops under the duke of Brunswick defeated, and he taken prisoner. The queen surrenders, and is by his order put to death.

Clement the investiture of his new kingdom. Clement received him with all possible marks of esteem and affection, and on the 30th of May of the present year, 1382, crowned him king of Sicily and Jerusalem, blessed his standard, and declared him commander in chief of the army of the church against Bartholomew Prignano, who styled himself pope, and all his adherents.

In the mean time Charles of Durazzo, entering the kingdom with his Hungarians, was welcomed and joined by many of the Neapolitan barons, choosing to have rather for their king one born and brought up among them, and nearly related to most of the great families, than a stranger, who, they apprehended, would bring new ultramontanes with him, whom he could not help rewarding at the expense of the natives. Charles, encouraged by the barons who flocked daily to him from all parts of the kingdom, advanced without opposition to the very gates of Naples itself, which obliged the queen to retire with her court to the castle dell'Ovo. The duke's approach occasioned great disturbances in the city, some declaring for the queen, and some for Charles. But the latter prevailing, the gates were opened, and Charles admitted, who immediately laid siege to the castle. On the other hand, the duke of Brunswick, determined to relieve the queen, or perish in the attempt, approached Naples with what troops he had been able to assemble. Charles met him with his army in battle array, and an engagement thereupon ensuing, both armies fought several hours without losing or gaining one inch of ground. But while victory still remained doubtful, the duke of Brunswick rushing forward with more courage than caution to engage Charles hand to hand, was surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, and obliged to surrender. His captivity was followed by a total defeat of his army; and Charles returning triumphant before the castle dell'Ovo, summoned the queen to surrender, assuring her that she should in every respect be treated as queen, and no violence should be offered to her, or to any who belonged to her. Upon these conditions she surrendered, being reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and hearing nothing of the duke of Anjou, from whom alone she expected relief. Charles being admitted into the castle, saluted and addressed her as queen, renewed all the promises he had made, and allowed her to remain in the royal apartment of the castle, and be there attended by her own servants. But this kindness of Charles was very short-lived. For finding the queen was greatly pitied by the people of Naples, and apprehending, as he was well acquainted with their fickle and turbulent temper, that they might attempt to rescue her out of his hands, he first placed guards about her, and soon

after sent her prisoner to the city of Muro in the province called Basilicata, and at the same time ordered her husband duke Otho to be conveyed under a strong guard to the castle of Altamura in Apulia. He then wrote to the king of Hungary to give him an account of his success, and to know of him how he should dispose of his royal captive. The king answered, that he ought to treat her as she had treated his brother her husband. Pursuant to this sentence she was, according to Niem, by Charles's order, strangled while she was praying in her chapel, and, according to others, smothered in her apartment with a bolster. However that be, certain it is, that on the 22d of May 1382 she was put to death by Charles's order, and he is on that account very justly charged by all the contemporary writers with the utmost ingratitude, cruelty, and a manifest breach of the conditions upon which she had delivered herself up into his hands. Her body was brought to Naples, was for the space of seven days exposed to public view in the church of St. Clare, and then interred there near the remains of her father the duke of Calabria, king Robert's only son, where her tomb is to be seen to this day. The plague that broke out in the city of Naples soon after her death, and swept off 27,000 inhabitants, is commonly construed by the writers of those times into a judgment upon them for their ingratitude to one who deserved so well of them and the whole kingdom. With the queen were taken, upon the surrender of the castle dell'Ovo, her two nieces, sisters to the duchess of Durazzo, Charles's wife, and two cardinals of pope Clement's creation. The two young princesses Charles shut up, unmoved by the entreaties and tears of the duchess, in different prisons, where they soon died of the barbarous treatment they met with. As to the two cardinals, James de Itró and Leonardus de Giffono, they were delivered up to cardinal Gentilis de Sangro, who had attended Charles in this expedition with the character of legate *a Latere* from pope Urban; and by him they were obliged to acknowledge Urban publicly, in the church of St. Clare, for lawful pope, to abjure Clement as an usurper and intruder, and to throw the red hats they had received from him into a fire kindled for that purpose in the said church. All the bishops and other dignitaries, who had adhered to the queen as their lawful sovereign, were deposed by the legate, and confined, after he had stripped them of all their effects, among the common malefactors, to the public jails, without any regard to their rank, age, merit, or learning. These cruelties, practised by the inhuman cardinal, as Urban's legate, upon so many innocent men, we shall see in the sequel retaliated upon him by Urban himself. Such is the account the writers, who lived in those times, or near them, have

Lewis of Anjou invades the kingdom;—[Year of Christ, 1383.] Urban repairs to Naples. Is ill treated by Charles, and confined in a castle. The pope and Charles reconciled.

given us of this revolution, and the unhappy end of the famous queen Joan.¹

In the mean time Lewis of Anjou, whom Clement had crowned, as we have seen, king of Naples, having crossed the Alps at the head of a very numerous army, pursued his march through Lombardy with such expedition that Charles, not having time to assemble his forces, was obliged to abandon to him great part of Apulia. His arrival alarmed the Romans, and they had determined, says the author of Clement's life, if Lewis should prevail, to deliver up to him Bartholomew the Intruder, and all his anti-cardinals. Of this Urban was apprized, and therefore distrusting them, he left Rome under color of avoiding the infection that raged there, and retired to Tivoli, where he stayed a month, and then removed first to Valmontone in Campania, and afterwards to Ferentino, in his way to Naples. The Romans, apprehending that he designed to leave them, and settle at Naples, his native country, dispatched messengers after him to invite him back, threatening, if he did not return, to look upon his flight from his see (for they could call it by no other name) as a resignation, and appoint another in his room. Urban answered, that he had some affairs of the utmost importance to transact with the king of Sicily, Charles of Durazzo, and would, in a very short time, return to Rome. Charles, it seems, loth to part with the principality of Capua, one of the best jewels of his crown, and the other lordships, which at the time of his coronation he promised to yield to the pope's nephew, Butillus, delayed, under various pretences, to put him in possession of those lordships, and it was with a design of obliging Charles to perform, without further delay, what he had promised, that Urban undertook the present journey to Naples. The cardinals, apprehending the consequences of a rupture, which they foresaw would probably happen on this occasion between Charles and the pope, did all they could to dissuade him from entering the kingdom, and putting himself in the power of that prince. But Urban proceeding, without hearkening to their remonstrances or reasons, on his journey, was met by Charles as he approached Aversa, and attended by him, leading his horse on foot as his equerry, into the city. De Niem, who was present, tells us that the pope, dismounting from his horse at a small chapel, not far from the gate of Aversa, attired himself in his pontifical robes, and then remounting, was met by the king, who came clad in black, not by the high road, but riding through the vineyards—"per vineas equitando." He was attended by a great number of peasants, who, prostrating them-

selves before the pope, kissed his foot after kissing three times the ground.¹

Urban and Charles entered Aversa together, and were received by the inhabitants with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Charles offered him the castle to reside in, under color of doing him honor, but in truth to confine him till he renounced all claim to the principality of Capua, which he was determined to keep, at all events, annexed to the crown. Urban, suspecting his design, declined his offer, and went to reside in the episcopal palace. The next day he sent to invite the pope to the castle, as he himself lodged there, and the invitation was so pressing that Urban thought it advisable to comply. Charles, having now the pope in his power, and in a manner his prisoner, obliged him to revoke most of the conditions upon which he had granted him the kingdom. Charles then returned to Naples, whither he was followed the next day, the 9th of October, by Urban. He had caused a magnificent throne to be erected before the gate, through which the pope was to pass, and placing himself in it in his royal robes, with the crown on his head, and the sceptre in his hand, he descended as the pope approached, kissed his foot, and attended him, holding his stirrup, to the episcopal palace. Urban remained there till the feast of All Saints, or the 1st of November, when Charles, being informed that he was endeavoring by his emissaries to stir up the people against him, sent some of his officers to arrest him, and bring him to the Castel Nuovo, where he himself resided. Thus was his holiness, says Gobelius, carried as a common malefactor to prison; but undaunted even while in the power of his enemies, he excommunicated and anathematized all who were any ways concerned in so wicked an attempt; and heaven espousing his cause, he who first laid violent hands on him, lost for ever the use of his right hand.² De Niem, who then attended the pope, knew nothing, it seems, of this miracle. Be that as it may, Urban was, by Charles's order, kept three days closely confined in the castle, and then enlarged, but was not allowed to go out of the castle, nor were any, besides those of his own court, suffered to come near him. But a reconciliation being in the end brought about, Urban was set at liberty, upon condition that he did not concern himself with the affairs of the kingdom. Charles even asked publicly pardon for his past behavior; and to court his favor, as Lewis of Anjou carried all before him in Apulia, he renewed the promise he had made of giving the investiture of the principality of Capua to his nephew Butillus, a promise, says the historian, which he never intended to perform. But what above all rivetted him in the pope's

¹ Niem. de Schism. c. 23 et 26. Nauclerus Generat. 47. Kranzius, l. 10. c. 15. Auctor Vit. Clement. apud Baluz.

¹ Niem, l. i. c. 28.

² Gobelius. state 6. c. 77.

Urban excommunicates the duke of Anjou;—[Year of Christ, 1384.] Death of the duke of Anjou. Urban and Charles quarrel anew. Six cardinals imprisoned, and cruelly tortured by Urban's command.

favor was his pardoning Butillus, sentenced to death for forcibly entering a monastery, and carrying off and debauching a professed nun of the first quality. Of such an outrage the relations of the nun complained to the magistrates, and they to the pope. But his holiness excusing it, and saying that it was but a sally of youth, though Butillus was at that time above forty years of age, the magistrates brought him to his trial, and by them he was sentenced to death, but pardoned by Charles.¹

As Lewis in the mean time made daily great progress in Apulia, Charles, dissatisfied with the conduct of his generals, resolved to go and head his army against him in person. Before he set out he assisted at high mass, celebrated, on the 1st of January 1384, with great solemnity by Urban. When mass was over the pope thundered out, in the most solemn manner, the sentence of excommunication against Lewis of Anjou, for presuming to invade a kingdom that belonged to the apostolic see, and against all who any ways assisted or favored him in so treasonable an attempt; granted to all who should join his beloved son Charles in the present expedition, a plenary indulgence, with all the privileges, immunities, and exemptions enjoyed by those who went to the Holy Land; presented him with a standard, representing St. Peter and his keys, and blessing it, appointed him standard-bearer of the church. However, Charles did not set out till the beginning of April, the pope refusing to grant him any subsidies, and only supplying him with indulgences and pardons, upon which, he said, his army could not subsist. Upon his departure the pope, finding that his presence was no ways acceptable either to the people or the nobility, retired with his court to Nocera, which had been granted to Butillus, and was distant but a day's journey from Naples.²

In the mean time Charles arrived with his army in Apulia. But though the duke of Anjou offered him battle upon his arrival; he wisely declined it, contenting himself with harassing the enemy in their march, with ravaging the country through which they were to pass, and intercepting their convoys. Thus they passed the summer; and on the 18th of October, as some write, or, as others will have it, on the 21st of September, Lewis of Anjou died of the fatigue he had undergone, and his army dispersed, some returning to France, and some submitting to Charles. An end being thus put to the war in Apulia, Charles returned to Naples in the month of November, and entered that city amidst the loud acclamations of all ranks of people. As Urban was still at Nocera, Charles soon after his arrival sent to invite him to Naples, pretending he

had some affairs to impart to him of the utmost importance. Urban answered with his usual haughtiness, that it was customary for kings, when they had any business to transact with the popes, to wait upon them, and not for the popes to wait upon kings. He added, that if he desired to live in friendship with him, he must moderate, or entirely abolish the oppressive taxes with which he burdened his subjects, the vassals of the church. Charles, having now no enemy to contend with but Urban, returned answer, that the kingdom was his own by right of his wife as well as by conquest, and that instead of lessening he would double the taxes. And he did so accordingly, standing at that time in great want of money to support his claim to the crown of Hungary, to which he was called, upon the death of king Lewis, by some of the grandees of that kingdom.¹

Urban's own cardinals were no less dissatisfied with his conduct than the rest of the world; and some of them began privately to deliberate among themselves about the means of controlling the power which he so much abused. The author of this horrid plot, as he called it, was cardinal Bartholomew Mezzavacca, called the cardinal of Reate, now Rieti, as he had been bishop of that city before his promotion to the dignity of cardinal. Being at this time in Naples, under the protection of Charles, he kept up a private correspondence with the cardinals who had attended the pope to Nocera. The subject of their correspondence was, whether if a pope neglected his duty, if he was too much attached and indulgent to his relations, if he acted arbitrarily without consulting the cardinals, and by his conduct brought the church into danger, whether in such cases it was lawful to place some discreet persons about him, chosen by the cardinals, with full authority to control him. This correspondence was privately discovered to Urban by one of the cardinals themselves, cardinal Thomas Ursini, and a letter in cyphers from cardinal Gentilis de Sangro to the four cardinals who had withdrawn from Nocera to Naples, being at the same time intercepted and brought to Urban, he called a consistory on the 11th of January 1385, and having acquainted the cardinals with the horrid conspiracy, as he called it, carried on by some of them against him, and shown the intercepted letter, he ordered his nephew Butillus, who was present, to take six of them, whom he named, into custody. These were Gentilis de Sangro, who, as Urban's legate, had, but four years before, treated with the utmost barbarity all who did not acknowledge him; Lewis, a native of Venice; Adam de Aston, an Englishman, Bartholomew, archbishop of Genoa; John, arch-

¹ Niem, l. 2. c. 28.
Vol. III.—18

² Idem ibid.

¹ Niem, l. 2. c. 28.

Urban makes a promotion of cardinals. He excommunicates and deposes Charles and his wife Margaret. The friends of Urban treated with great severity by Charles. Urban besieged in Nocera.

bishop of Corfinium or Valva, and Martin, archbishop of Taranto. These Butillus immediately seized, and, loading them with irons, shut them up in separate cells, so low and narrow that they could neither stand upright nor lie at length. The bishop of Aquileia, who lived in great intimacy with most of these cardinals, was taken together with them, was put immediately to the rack, and tortured till he declared, that the conspirators, to his certain knowledge, had agreed among themselves to depose the pope, or, if they failed in that attempt, by some means or other to despatch him. Upon the bishop's confession, though extorted by the most exquisite torments, the six cardinals were most cruelly tortured for several days together, till, finding that they must confess or die on the rack, they owned every article of the charge brought against them. We are told by Theodoric de Niem, who was present, that Butillus assisted in person at the torturing of these unhappy men, and that far from being affected with so shocking a spectacle, he seemed rather to delight in it, insulting them with an instance of barbarity scarce to be matched, in the height of their torments.¹ Upon their confession they were carried back to their cells, and there kept upon bread and water for the space of seven months, that is, till the following August, when Urban leaving Nocera carried them with him in chains, as we shall see in the sequel.

Urban soon after held a consistory, in which he declared the six above-mentioned cardinals deprived of their dignity, and at the same time promoted others, we are not told how many, in their room. Among those whom he nominated to that dignity were the three electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Treves, the bishop of Liege, and two other German bishops; but not one of them could be prevailed upon to accept it at his hands; and, upon their declining it, he was obliged to confine that honor to his own countrymen the natives of Naples; who indeed accepted it, but dared not publicly appear in their robes; the king, says de Niem, meaning Charles of Durazzo, looking upon the pope's friends as his enemies and the enemies of his kingdom.²

On the 15th of January, Urban, having assembled all the clergy of Nocera and the neighborhood, acquainted them with the horrid conspiracy against his life, contrived, he said, by the cardinal of Rieti; read to them the confession of the six cardinals, but took no notice of its having been extorted from them upon the rack; charged Charles, styling him only duke of Durazzo, and his wife Margaret with having been privy to it; inveighed in a long speech and in most bit-

ter terms against both, setting forth the many favors he had bestowed upon them, and the ingratitude with which they had repaid them, &c. When he had done he caused a cross to be erected and a great number of tapers to be lighted, and then, attended by all the cardinals who had remained with him, he thundered out with great solemnity the sentence of excommunication against Charles of Durazzo, who styled himself king of Sicily, and his wife Margaret; divested them, as the vicergerent of him to whom all power was granted in heaven and on earth, of the royal and every other dignity; absolved their subjects from their allegiance, and declared them heretics, schismatics, and enemies to the church; forbad any obedience to be paid to them, or to any acting in their name. At the same time he excommunicated anew the six cardinals, with the cardinal of Rieti, and all their accomplices and abettors, all who had been privy to their wicked designs and had not discovered them, as being no less guilty than the authors themselves of so black an attempt; forbad on pain of excommunication, all intercourse with them; and, lastly, put the whole city of Naples and all its inhabitants, without distinction, under an interdict, declaring such of the clergy as should perform divine service, or exercise any function of their office in that city, to be "ipso facto," excommunicated, and deprived of all their benefices and dignities. Having pronounced this sentence, he ordered all the tapers to be put out and dashed to pieces on the ground.¹

Charles, provoked beyond all measure at the unparalleled insolence and boldness of the pope in thus excommunicating and deposing him in his own kingdom, resolved to treat him no better than he was treated by him. He accordingly forbad all his subjects under the severest penalties to maintain any correspondence with him, to pay any obedience to him or to any acting in his name, to have any intercourse with the inhabitants of Nocera, or to convey any provisions into their city. Such of the clergy as observed the interdict met with the same treatment from him as the six cardinals had done from the pope. Some of them were by his order shut up in dark and painful dungeons, others were most cruelly tortured, and some thrown into the sea. Charles did not stop here; but determined to keep no measures with the pope, as the pope kept none with him; he sent a strong body of troops under the command of the cardinal of Rieti, the pope's avowed enemy, to besiege the city of Nocera. The place was soon obliged to surrender at discretion, was given up by the cardinal to be plundered by the soldiery, and then set on fire. Upon the surrender of the

¹ De Niem, c. 50, 51. Gobelinus, c. 78.

² Niem, ibid.

¹ Niem, c. 49. Walsingham in Richard II. Kranzius Metrop. l. 10. c. 18.

Urban makes his escape. He arrives at Genoa.

city the pope fled to the castle, where he was closely besieged, and soon reduced, for want of provisions, to the utmost extremity. During the siege, the pope regularly excommunicated three times a day, and cursed with bell, book, and candle, Charles' army from one of the windows of the castle.—Charles was not behindhand with him; for on the 10th of May, of the present year, 1385, he caused it to be proclaimed throughout the army by the public crier, that whoever delivered up pope Urban VI. dead or alive to any of his officers, or to any civil magistrate, should receive ten thousand florins of gold as a reward; and that whoever procured or favored his escape, publicly or privately, by day or by night, should be deemed guilty of high treason and punished as a traitor.¹

Urban remained thus closely besieged in the castle and greatly distressed for want of provisions till the 7th of July, when, to the great disappointment of Charles, expecting hourly the news of his captivity, he was unexpectedly delivered out of his hands. Of this remarkable event the contemporary writers give us the following account: Raymund Ursini, son of the count of Nola, either pitying the deplorable condition of Urban, or expecting to be well rewarded by him, should he save him from the imminent danger he was in of falling into the hands of his most implacable enemies, resolved at all events to attempt it. With that view he applied to Thomas Sanseverino, a native of Naples, and to a German officer named Lotharius, who had both served with him in the army of the duke of Anjou, and distinguished themselves no less by their courage than their conduct.—Both approved the undertaking, and readily engaged in it, being encouraged by Ursini with the hopes of great rewards. It was, therefore, agreed between them, that they should, with the utmost secrecy, assemble the dispersed troops that had served under them, and meeting through bye-ways in a wood at a distance from Nocera, should sally from thence, and fall unexpectedly upon the besiegers. The day appointed for the execution of their design was the 10th of July, and on that day it was executed with all the success they could have wished. For Charles' troops seeing themselves attacked when they expected nothing less, and knew not by what enemy, nor by what force, betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Ursini would not allow his men to pursue the fugitives, but entering the castle, which he found must have surrendered in a few days, took from thence the pope with his cardinals, even the prisoners, whom Urban would by all means carry with him; and travelling through bye-roads almost impracticable, got safe to the plains of Salerno. He was there attacked by a body of Charles' troops, whom he repulsed

with great loss on their side, and then pursuing his march, or rather his flight, being harassed by parties of the enemy constantly at his heels, he arrived by way of Benevento and Minerhium in Apulia, at a place between Trana and Barletta, where ten galleys, sent by the republic of Genoa, waited for him. For Urban, from the very beginning of the siege of Nocera, had written to that republic, begging they would send ten galleys to convey him out of the kingdom, in case he should by some means or other make his escape out of the besieged city. For he expected that his friends in Naples, especially the relations of those whom he had preferred to the dignity of cardinals, would attempt his rescue. Urban during his whole journey carried his prisoners, the six cardinals and the bishop of Aquileia, along with him on horse-back, and near his person, lest Ursini, who could not help showing some compassion for them, should connive at their escape. As the bishop of Aquileia, whose limbs had been all disjointed on the rack, could not keep up with the rest, the pope suspecting that he only wanted to be left behind and to make his escape, ordered the soldiers to dispatch him; and they dispatched him accordingly with many wounds, and left his mangled body unburied on the public road. Urban before he embarked presented Raymund Ursini with eleven thousand florins of gold besides some lordships in the kingdom of Naples, and as he could spare no larger sum for the present, he solemnly promised to pay as soon as he conveniently could twenty-six thousand more, to be divided among the other officers and the soldiery.¹

The fleet, with the pope, his court, and his prisoners, sailed first to Messina, and from thence to Palermo, and in both places he caused his bulls to be published excommunicating and deposing Charles of Durazzo and his wife Margaret, as schismatics, heretics; and enemies to the church. The pope, after a very short stay at Palermo, re-embarked for Genoa, not thinking it safe for him to appear at Rome, as he was there universally hated, and Charles had a strong party in that city. He landed safe at Genoa on Saturday the 23d of September, and remained there till the latter end of the following year, 1386. His first care and chief concern after his arrival in that city was to have his prisoners closely shut up and carefully guarded in different jails, all but Adam, the English cardinal, and him he dismissed at the request of Richard, king of England, whom he was unwilling to disoblige. That cardinal had been no less cruelly treated than the other five; and yet the only crimes laid to his charge were his having spoken disrespectfully of the pope, and not having discovered what the others were machinat-

¹ Niem, Walsingham, Kranzius, *ibid.* Baluz in notis ad Vit. Pap. Aven. col. 1332.

¹ Gobelinus, Walsingham, Kranzius, Summontius apud Spondan. ad ann. 1385; et Niem, c. 50.

The French clergy burdened by Clement, and relieved by the king. Urban puts his prisoners to death;—[Year of Christ, 1386.] Is forsaken by two of his cardinals. Leaves Genoa, and repairs to Lucca.

ing against him. The pope, in discharging him, degraded him from the dignity of cardinal, and deprived him of all the benefices he possessed: but he was restored to his former condition by Boniface IX., the immediate successor of Urban.¹

In the mean time Clement, residing constantly at Avignon, on the 12th of July of the present year created seven new cardinals. As he stood in great need of money to support his own dignity and that of his cardinals, the unsuccessful expedition of Lewis of Anjou against Charles of Durazzo having been, in a great measure, carried on at his expense, he was obliged to load the Gallican clergy with most exorbitant taxes, exacting one-half of all benefices, as well as of the revenues of all the churches and abbeys throughout the kingdom. But the king, interposing upon the complaints of the clergy, ordered their revenues to be divided into three equal parts, one to be employed in their maintenance, another in discharging the burdens laid upon them, and the third in repairing the fabrics. At the same time he forbade any gold or silver to be carried out of the kingdom. The ecclesiastical revenues were thus to be divided and laid out, not by the ecclesiastics themselves, but by the king or his ministers. To this ordinance Clement, though greatly distressed for want of money, was forced to agree.²

Urban, who had remained at Genoa from the 23d of September to the latter end of the present year, 1386, began now to think of removing to some other place. As he found by experience that the cruel treatment of his prisoners prejudiced all, who had any sense of humanity, against him, he resolved to carry them no longer about with him; and accordingly ordered them to be all put to death a few days before he left Genoa. There is a strange disagreement among authors with respect to the manner of their death. De Niem, who was then absent from the pope's court, says it was reported, that by a remarkable instance of severity or justice, five of them were either shut up in sacks, and thrown into the sea; or strangled in prison, or beheaded, and that their bodies were privately conveyed from the prison to the pope's stables, and there consumed with quick lime.³ The author of Clement's life, who lived at this time, writes that, if public report may be relied on, the unhappy prisoners were either thrown into the sea and drowned; or buried alive, or beheaded, being first buried in the ground up to the chin.⁴ Blondus, who flourished in 1440, only says that they were drowned.⁵ Pietro Giannone tells us, in his civil history of Naples, that Urban caused the heads of two of the cardinals

to be struck off, and their bodies to be dried in ovens, and reduced to powder, which he ordered to be put into bags, and carried with their red hats upon mules before him when he travelled, to deter others from conspiring against him.¹ But Collinuccio, whom Giannone quotes is a modern writer, and of what he relates no notice is taken by any of the historians who lived in those times, or near them. Boninsegni, the Florentine historian, who lived and wrote at this time, says, that with the five cardinals five eminent prelates were put to death in the same cruel manner.²

Two of Urban's favorite cardinals, shocked at his cruelty, on this occasion left him, namely, Pileus de Prata, archbishop of Ravenna, formerly his legate in Germany and England, and Galeatto Tarlato de Petramala, who had hitherto adhered to him with unshaken fidelity, and had ever been his inseparable companion. They both declared for Clement, and afterwards repaired to Avignon. Cardinal de Brata, not satisfied with abjuring Urban, burnt in the public market-place at Pavia, and in the presence of Duke Galeazzi, lord of Milan, the red hat he had received at the hands of Urban, which gave great pleasure, says the historian, to the duke, provoked against Urban on account of his having refused him the title of king. Urban excommunicated both the cardinals, deprived them of their dignity, and declared them incapable of holding any benefice, or being ever raised to any preferment in the church. But Clement reinstated both in their former dignity. Galeatto adhered to Clement and his successors in Avignon to the hour of his death. But Pileus, upon the death of Urban, changed sides again, and leaving Clement, joined Boniface IX., Urban's successor, whence he was commonly called Cardinal de Tricarel, the cardinal of three hats, having received one from Urban, another from Clement, and a third from Boniface.³

Urban, having resided at Genoa a whole year and upwards, left that city in the latter end of December of the present year 1386, either on account of a misunderstanding between him and the doge Antonio Adorno, as we read in the history of Genoa by Folieta,⁴ or because the Genoese, says Walsingham, treated him not with due respect, but insisted upon his paying them an immense sum of money for the use of their galleys in delivering him out of the hands of his enemies; for it was more for the sake of money, adds that author, than the love of God, that they undertook his rescue.⁵ From Genoa he repaired to Lucca, being attended at his departure by the galleys of the republic. At Lucca he resided nine whole months,

¹ Gobelius, Walsingham, Kranzius, Summontius apud Spondan. ad ann. 1385; et Niem, c. 50.

² Apud Spond. ad ann. 1385. ³ Niem, c. 60.

⁴ Apud Baluz. ⁵ Blond. l. 2. decad. 10.

¹ Giannone. l. 24. c. 1.

² Boninsegni. l. 4.

³ Gobelius in Persona, c. 81. Auctor Vit. Clement. Rubens Hist. Ravenn. l. 6. p. 591.

⁴ Folieta Hist. Gen. l. 9. ⁵ Walsingham, in Rich. II.

The kings of Navarre and Arragon forsake Urban, and declare for Clement. New disturbances in the kingdom of Naples. Urban attempts to seize it for himself;—[Year of Christ, 1387.] Urban sets out upon his expedition against the kingdom of Naples;—[Year of Christ, 1388.]

and on Christmas-night solemnly blessed, at high mass, and delivered to the supreme magistrate of the city a gilt sword, richly adorned with jewels, and the cap of liberty, a mark of distinction hitherto conferred only upon great princes or commanders, when they marched against the infidels, or had obtained a signal victory over them.

The two kingdoms of Navarre and Arragon had hitherto acknowledged Urban. But Charles of Navarre dying the following year, 1387, and Peter of Arragon soon after him, an assembly was convened by their successors of all the learned men and grandees of their respective kingdoms, and the right of the two pretenders being strictly examined, the election of Clement was declared canonical, and that of Urban null; and it was decreed that Clement alone should be thenceforth acknowledged for lawful pope. This change is said to have been chiefly owing to cardinal Peter de Luna, a man of extraordinary parts, and at this time Clement's legate to the court of Spain. Thus of all the Spanish princes the king of Portugal alone now adhered to Urban.¹ In Lucca, Urban received the ambassadors of several German princes, sent to propose an accommodation between him and Clement. But to all he returned the same answer, that he never would, nor was it reasonable that he should, suffer the legality of his election to be called in question.²

At this time great disturbances and a general confusion reigned throughout the kingdom of Naples. For Charles of Durazzo being gone into Hungary, at the invitation of many of the grandees, to take possession of that crown as the next male heir, Lewis, the deceased king, having left but one daughter, who was yet very young, he was treacherously murdered, as an usurper, by one of the young queen's friends. By his wife Margaret, niece to the celebrated queen Joan, he left two children, Joan, already a woman, and Ladislaus; at the time of his father's death but ten years of age. No sooner was the news of the unhappy end of Charles brought to Naples than Ladislaus was proclaimed king by one party, and Lewis, the son of Lewis of Anjou, who died in Apulia in 1384, by another. Thus was a most cruel and bloody war kindled in the bowels of the kingdom. Clement supported Lewis to the utmost of his power, both with men and money; but Urban would lend no assistance to the one or the other, having formed a design, as afterwards appeared, of seizing on the kingdom for himself, and bestowing it, as was supposed, upon his nephew Butillus, in order to raise his family by that means to the royal dignity. Pursuant to this design

he forbore declaring for either of the competitors, till thinking that both were sufficiently weakened, and that either would rather submit to him than yield to the other, he notified to all the bishops, by a circulatory letter, that the kingdom of Naples neither belonged to Ladislaus nor to Lewis, but to the apostolic see, to which it had devolved by the excommunication and deposition of Charles of Durazzo; that he was determined to ascertain his right by dint of arms, and therefore ordered the bishops to cause a crusade to be preached in their respective dioceses, with the same indulgences, exemptions and immunities for such as should serve in this war, as had ever been granted by his predecessors to those who fought in the Holy Land against the infidels. The pope's letter is dated at Lucca the 29th of August, in the 10th year of his pontificate, that is, in 1387.¹ St. Antonine writes that the crusade was published chiefly against Otho of Brunswick and Thomas Sanseverino, who sided with Lewis of Anjou, and made themselves masters of Naples, but that none took the cross, though great indulgences were offered to all who should take it.²

Urban, however, unalterable in his resolution of subduing the kingdom of Naples, set out from Lucca in the latter end of September, with a design to assemble his troops at Perugia, and march from thence into Apulia. We are told, that as he rode out of the gate at Lucca, his bridle broke, and the mitre fell off his head, which was by many reputed a bad omen. But Urban, looking upon such incidents as merely casual, pursued his journey, and arrived safe at Perugia. He remained there wholly employed in assembling his forces from the beginning of October, 1387, till the month of August, 1388, when he left that place with a numerous body of cavalry, in order to proceed upon the intended expedition. But heaven declared against it, says the historian. For he had scarce gone ten miles when, his mule stumbling, he fell, and was so bruised with the fall as not to be able to travel any otherwise but in a litter. He avoided Rome, and rested a few days at Tivoli, having resolved to enter the kingdom of Naples, not by Apulia, agreeably to his first plan, but by Campania, where he expected to be joined by many of the barons. At Tivoli he was met by the deputies of the Roman people sent to invite him to Rome, and divert him, if by any means they could, from concerning himself at all, at least for the present, with the affairs of Naples. But he, paying no regard to their invitation or remonstrances, pursued his march to Ferentino, flattering himself that he should be able

¹ Bellegard. Hist. General. Hispan. tom. 3. p. 326.

² De Niem, c. 66.

¹ Raymund. Num. 7. ² Antonin. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 2.

Urban is obliged to drop his expedition against Naples, and return to Rome. Terms of accommodation proposed by Clement, but rejected by Urban. The jubilee reduced by Urban to the thirty-third year;—Year of Christ, 1389.] Urban dies. His character and writings.

to reduce the frontier cities in that part of the kingdom before either of the competitors could come to their relief. But being obliged for want of money, to curtail the soldiers' pay, they all forsook him.¹ Thus de Niem. But according to St. Antonine, the mercenaries, consisting chiefly of English, left the pope at Narni, and went to serve the Florentines, by whom they first had been hired.² However that be, Urban, now despairing of being able to carry his design upon the kingdom of Naples into execution, dropped in the end that wild undertaking, and, returning to Rome in the beginning of October of the present year, spent there undisturbed the small remains of his life.

In the mean time, Clement, pretending great zeal for the peace and union of the church, dispatched nuncios to all the Christian princes and states to propose the assembling of a general council, and declare, in his name, that he was ready to acquiesce in their judgment; that should the present unhappy dispute be determined by them in his favor, Urban should meet with the kindest treatment from him, should be made cardinal of the first rank, and enjoy that dignity to the hour of his death. But, on the contrary, should the controversy be decided in favor of his antagonist, he would that moment resign his dignity, acknowledge Urban for lawful pope, and deliver himself up into his hands, to be disposed of by him as he should think fit. But Urban declaring he would hearken to no terms, many, looking upon him as the author of the schism, forsook him, and sided with Clement, though, perhaps, no more disposed to hearken to any than he.³

Urban now led a quiet life at Rome, and attending only to spiritual matters, issued three constitutions the following year, 1389, all on the same day, the 8th of April. By the first he reduced the jubilee from every fiftieth to every thirty-third year, in memory of the thirty-three years our Saviour lived upon earth, and ordered that solemnity to be kept the ensuing year, 1390.⁴ By his second constitution he ordered the festival of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, when she visited Elizabeth, the mother of St. John Baptist, to be kept for ever as a festival on the 2d of July: and by the third he allowed divine service to be performed in all churches with the doors open on Corpus Christi day, even in time of a general interdict; and besides granted a hundred days indulgence to all who should attend the body of Christ when carried to any infirm person.⁵

We hear no more of Urban till the time of his death, which happened on the 15th of October 1389, after a most unhappy pontificate of eleven years, six months, and six or seven days. It was suspected that he died of poison, says St. Antonine, for his body swelled after his death.¹ Onuphrius writes, that he died without receiving any of the sacraments of the church, though his illness had lasted, according to de Niem, two and twenty days. He was buried in the Vatican, where his tomb, with an epitaph, was still to be seen in the time of Onuphrius Panvinus.² None were found, says Trithemius, who grieved at his death, except his creatures and relations.³ Indeed his whole conduct, from the time of his election to the hour of his death, shows him to have been a most ambitious, arrogant, inexorable, and bloody-minded tyrant, an entire stranger to all pity and compassion, one who could neither live himself, nor suffer others to live in peace, and on that account justly called by Otho, prince of Brunswick, Turbanus instead of Urbanus. He stuck at nothing, as we have seen, to aggrandize his family, especially his nephew Butillus, whom all the contemporary historians represent as an abandoned profligate, without any sense of honour, honesty, or religion. On his account he quarrelled first with his great benefactress, queen Joan, excommunicated and deposed her, and afterwards treated Charles of Durazzo, whom he himself had raised to the crown, in the same manner as he had done the queen. But by a just judgment his whole family perished soon after him. For Butillus, knowing that he was universally hated by the Romans, left Rome as soon as the recovery of his uncle was despaired of, with a design to reside in the March of Ancona, where Urban had granted him some castles. But being taken prisoner on his journey, in the neighborhood of Perugia, we are not told by whom, he was obliged to purchase his liberty with the delivery of those castles, and of all he was worth. Being thus reduced to poverty, he retired into Apulia, and having lived six years there with his friend Raymundus Baucius, he embarked for Venice with his mother, his children, and his whole family; but a violent storm arising, the vessel was cast away, and all on board perished.

Urban wrote the lives of the bishops of Bari to his time, some forms of prayers, some ecclesiastical constitutions or bulls, to be met with in the Great Bullarium.

¹ Niem. l. 1. c. 99.

² Antonin. ubi supra.

³ Chron. Germanic. l. 26.

⁴ Gobelius Persona, Num. 81.

⁵ Idem ibid.

¹ Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 3.

² Panvin. in notis ad ejus Vit. a Platina.

³ Trith. in Chron.

Boniface elected. His birth, education, &c. Creates some new cardinals, and restores others. The French king at Avignon. The jubilee celebrated at Rome;—[Year of Christ, 1390.]

BONIFACE IX., THE TWO HUNDREDTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[MANUEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—WENCESLAUS, RUPERT OF BAVARIA, *Emperors of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1389.] The news of Urban's death was received with great joy by all well-meaning persons, flattering themselves that it would put an end to the schism, or at least pave the way to a reconciliation between the two parties. But the cardinals of Urban's party all aspiring at the papacy, and besides apprehending that, should Clement be universally acknowledged, the see would be again settled at Avignon, resolved to proceed without delay to the election of a new pope in the room of the deceased. Of the many cardinals Urban had created, only fourteen were present at Rome when he died; and these, entering into the conclave as soon as they had performed his funeral obsequies, after some disagreement among themselves, unanimously elected Peter, or Perinus Thomacelli, cardinal presbyter of St. Anastasia, who was enthroned the same day, the 2d of November, under the name of Boniface IX., and on the 9th, or the 11th, as others will have it, of the same month, consecrated and crowned with the usual solemnity in the church of St. Peter.¹

Boniface was a native of Naples, descended from a noble, but a very poor family in that city, and is only commended by the contemporary historians for his skill in singing and writing, and his knowledge of the grammar; but as for the more sublime sciences he is said to have been very little acquainted with them, but to have supplied that want with his prudence and address. He was at the time of his promotion forty-five years of age according to de Niem; but only about thirty according to Platina, Boninsegni, and St. Antonine. His affable, obliging, and courteous behavior, quite the reverse of his predecessor's, engaged the affections of all who had any business to transact with him.² He never was taxed, though in the prime of his years, with any levity or lewdness, insomuch that he seemed, says Platina, to have exchanged youth for old age.³

As Urban's cardinals were reduced to a very small number, being at this time in all but seventeen, for many had died, some he had put to death, and others, forsaking him, had gone over to Clement, Boniface on the 18th of December created four new cardinals, and reinstated five whom Urban had

deposed, in their former dignity. These were Adam, bishop of London, Bartholomew Mezzavacca, bishop of Rieti, Landolph Mattamarus, archbishop elect of Bari, and Pileus de Prata, who had left Urban to join Clement, and now left Clement to join Boniface.

In the mean time Charles VI. king of France, to show the world his steady resolution of adhering to Clement, paid him this year a visit at Avignon, which city he entered on the 25th of October, attended by his brother, his uncles, and the flower of the French nobility. Clement received him with all the marks of distinction that were due to his dignity, and the obligations he owed him, had several private conferences with him concerning the state of the church, and declared himself ready to agree to what terms of accommodation he should think fit to propose. As Lewis of Anjou was then at Avignon, having been invited thither by the pope to be crowned by him king of Naples, Charles would assist at that ceremony; and it was performed in his presence with great solemnity on the 1st of November of the present year. On that occasion the pope celebrated high mass, at which the king is said to have sung the Gospel. Before the king left Avignon, the pope, at his request, conferred the dignity of cardinal upon John de Talaru, archbishop of Lions, a prelate descended from one of the most illustrious families in France, of great learning, and an exemplary life. From Avignon the king went to Toulouse, staid there till the following January, and taking Avignon in his way on his return from thence, paid a second visit to the pope.¹

As Urban had ordered the jubilee to be celebrated the following year, 1390, Rome was crowded that whole year with pilgrims from all the countries where Boniface was acknowledged, namely, from Hungary, Germany, England, Portugal, Norway, and most states of Italy: To the two kings of England and Portugal, and likewise to their queens, Boniface granted the same indulgences in their own kingdoms, that they would have gained by coming to Rome, upon their representing to him the inconveniences that would inevitably attend their undertaking that journey. But for that dispensation they were to pay what the journey would have cost them. When the jubilee year expired,

¹ Niem, l. 2. c. 6. Gobelinus ætate 6. c. 81.

² Niem, *ibid.* Antonin. tit. 22. c. 3. Boninsegni, l. 4.

³ Platina in ejus Vit.

¹ Auctor. Vit. Clementis et Miscellan. Labbei, tom. 1. p. 640.

Ladislaus crowned king of Naples by Boniface;—[Year of Christ, 1391.] Attempts towards a reconciliation between the two competitors;—[Year of Christ, 1392.]

Boniface sent his collectors into all the countries of his obedience, with full power to grant the indulgences of the jubilee to such as had been prevented by sickness, or any other lawful impediment, from going to Rome. Thus were immense sums collected. But the collectors, abusing the power vested in them, absolved for ready money the most hardened sinners, refused no dispensations to those who came up to their price, and setting the most sacred things to public sale, left none unabsolved, of what crimes soever guilty, but such as wanted money to purchase absolution.¹ They remitted, says de Niem, all sins to all at a fixed price without repentance, satisfaction, or restitution, as if money alone were a sufficient atonement for the most enormous crimes. But being convicted upon their return to Rome of having embezzled great part of the treasure thus collected, they were punished by the pope with the utmost severity, some of them being imprisoned for life, and some even put to death.¹

Urban had excommunicated and deposed, as has been said above, Charles of Durazzo, and excluded his posterity from the crown of Naples, with an intention of seizing on that kingdom for himself. Upon his death Margaret, the widow of Charles, killed in Hungary, and his son Ladislaus, applied to Boniface as soon as they heard of his election, begging he would absolve them from those censures, would take them into his protection, and restore them to the throne, from which they had been so unjustly driven by his predecessor. Boniface readily granted their request, and Angelus, bishop of Florence, and cardinal of St. Lawrence in Damaso, was immediately dispatched to crown the young king, and govern the kingdom jointly with his mother during his minority. The ceremony of the coronation was performed on the 29th of May, of the present year, at Gaeta, the city of Naples being then held by the prince of Brunswick and Saxe-severino for Lewis of Anjou, whom Clement had crowned the preceding year king of Naples. On this occasion Ladislaus bound himself by a solemn oath not only to adhere to Boniface, but to support him to the utmost of his power against the usurper Clement, and his false cardinals.²

As the evils occasioned by the schism, became daily more intolerable, both popes plundering, as it were, in emulation of one another, the churches and nations of their obedience, to support themselves and reward their friends, while the ecclesiastical discipline was entirely neglected, many proposals were made by the princes, the universities, and even by private persons, for the re-establishing of the so much wished for union and tranquillity. Among the lat-

ter was a Carthusian, prior of Asti in Lombardy, a man universally esteemed for the sanctity of his life and his learning, who, pitying the deplorable state of the church, undertook a journey to Rome, in order to try whether he could persuade Boniface to hearken to an accommodation. The pope received him with all possible marks of kindness, hearkened to him with great attention, and pretending to wish for nothing so much as to see an end put to the present unhappy division, declared himself ready to give ear to any terms of accommodation that his dearly beloved son the king of France, the chief support of his antagonist, should in his great wisdom think fit to propose. The monk, encouraged with the reception he met with from the pope, and believing him sincere, begged he would allow him to acquaint the French king with his peaceable disposition. Boniface not only consented to his request, but appointed him and another monk of the same order his nuncios to the court of France, charged them with a letter for the king, earnestly entreating him to exert his utmost endeavors in re-uniting the divided members of the church under one head, and promising to leave nothing in his power unattempted that could be any ways conducive to the forwarding or completing of so meritorious a work. With this letter the two monks set out for Paris, but taking Avignon in their way, in order to sound the disposition of Clement, they were arrested by his order, and kept confined in the Carthusian monastery, till the king, at the desire of the university of Paris complaining of Clement as guilty of a manifest violation of the right of nations in stopping and detaining them, commanded them to be set at liberty. From Avignon they pursued their journey to Paris, and arriving there about Christmas, were well received both by the king and the university. The letter they brought from Boniface was read in a full council, and it was agreed, contrary to the opinion of some of Clement's more zealous friends, that an answer should be returned to it. But they were all greatly at a loss with respect to the direction of the answer. For to give the title of pope to Boniface was to acknowledge him, and renounce Clement. On the other hand, to address him under any other title would be treating him as an usurper, and deciding the controversy in favor of his antagonist. It was therefore resolved that no answer should be returned in writing, but two monks of the same order should be sent with the two come from Rome, to assure Boniface by word of mouth, in the king's name, that he had nothing so much at heart as the peace and unity of the church, and was ready to concur in any measures calculated to procure them. On the other hand Clement, pretending to be no less desirous than his rival of putting an end

¹ Gobelius Persona, c. 88.

² De Niem, c. 68.

[•] Niem, l. 2. c. 4.

Proposals made by the university of Paris;—[Year of Christ, 1393.] Clement dies;—[Year of Christ, 1394.] Benedict XIII. elected. Oath taken by the cardinals in the conclave.

to the present division, and the evils attending it, caused prayers to be offered in all the churches, and public processions to be made for the peace and unity of the church.¹

In the mean time the four Carthusian monks arriving at Perugia, where Boniface then resided, acquainted him with the French king's answer. But he, instead of proposing any terms of accommodation upon which the king could proceed, undertook in another letter to prove the validity of Urban's election, and the nullity of Clement's, concluding from thence, that Urban and his successors ought to be acknowledged for lawful popes. To this letter no answer was returned, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the king's two uncles, who then governed the kingdom (the king himself being seized with a fit of madness) thinking it unworthy of their notice. Thus was the negotiation with the king and his ministers entirely broken off.² But the university of Paris, interposing the following year with the consent and approbation of the king, who had some lucid intervals, proposed, upon the most mature deliberation, three ways of removing effectually the present scandal, and restoring the long wished-for tranquillity. These were, that the competitors should both resign, or that the matter should be left to arbitration, or be decided by a general council. These proposals were communicated by the university both to Boniface and to Clement, but neither would suffer the legality of their election to be disputed, nor resign a dignity that had been legally conferred on them. We are told that the cardinals at Avignon approved of the proposals of the university, and even told Clement that he must submit to one of them; since by no other means an end could be put to the schism, and that he thereupon fell into so violent a passion, as brought on a fit of apoplexy, of which he died in a few days.³

Clement died on the 16th of September 1394, in the sixteenth year of his pontificate, and was buried in the cathedral church of St. Mary de Donis in Avignon: but in 1401 his remains were translated from thence to the church of the Celestines in the same city, where his tomb is to be seen to this day. His death was no sooner known at Paris than the king and the university wrote most pressing letters to the cardinals at Avignon to delay the election of his successor till they had renewed their endeavors with Boniface, and used every other means of putting an end to the present unhappy division. The king of Arragon wrote to the same purpose, exhorting the cardinals, as they tendered the peace of the church, not to proceed to the election of a successor to

Clement till they had consulted their brethren at Rome as well as the other prelates of the church, and tried jointly with them all possible means of accommodating their differences. But the cardinals then at Avignon, in all twenty-one, shutting themselves up in the conclave on the 26th of September, as soon as they had performed the funeral obsequies of Clement, elected on the 28th, before they received or at least before they opened the French king's letter or that of the university, Peter de Luna, cardinal deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin, a man of an unbounded ambition, of great parts and learning, but of greater cunning and address. He was descended from a very ancient and noble family in Arragon, was preferred in 1375, by Gregory XI. to the dignity of cardinal for his knowledge in the canon law, which he had taught with great applause in the university of Montpellier. Upon the breaking out of the schism he joined Clement, and being sent by him, with the character of his legate, into Spain, he gained over to his party the two kingdoms of Arragon and Castile. He was employed by Clement as his legate to the court of France at the time of that pope's death: but he no sooner heard of it than he flew to Avignon to hasten the election, being well apprised that the king and the university would interpose, and endeavor to prevent or delay it. He was ordained priest on the 3d of October by Guido, bishop of Palestrina; was consecrated on the 11th of the same month by John, bishop of Ostia, and crowned the same day by Hugh, cardinal deacon of St. Mary in Porticu, taking on that occasion the name of Benedict XIII.

The cardinals, to avoid the imputation of abetting and countenancing the schism, drew up an act obliging each of them to promise upon oath, that, should he be elected, he would readily and sincerely embrace all means of restoring peace, that of cession not excepted, should it be judged expedient by the greater part of the sacred college. The oath was drawn up in the following terms: "We all and each of us cardinals of the holy Roman church, assembled for the election that is to be, being before the altar upon which mass is celebrated, and touching the holy Gospels, promise, for the service of God, for the unity of the holy church, and the salvation of souls, to labor without fraud or deceit, and use our utmost endeavors to restore peace, and extinguish the present unhappy schism. We shall neither publicly nor privately, directly nor indirectly, counsel or advise him, who shall be Christ's vicar upon earth, any ways to hinder or retard the union of all the faithful under one head. On the contrary, we shall all and each of us readily and sincerely embrace all possible means of procuring so desirable an end, that of cession not excluded,

¹ Monachus Dionys. in Hist. Carol. VI.; et Johannes Juvenalis Ursinus in Vit. Caroli. ² Idem ibid.

³ Auctor Vit. Clement. apud Baluz. Monachus. Dionys. ubi supra, et Spondan. ad ann. 1394.

Benedict's dissimulation. He is acknowledged in France. Tumult against Boniface at Rome. Charles VI. of France strives to put an end to the schism. The way of cession approved in a grand council held at Paris;—[Year of Christ, 1395;]—but rejected by Benedict.

if it shall be approved by the cardinals, or by the greater part of them, and thought expedient for the union and good of the church."¹

Three of the cardinals excused themselves from taking that oath, but the other eighteen readily took it, and cardinal Peter de Luna amongst the rest; nay, he even confirmed it after his election. Not satisfied with declaring to the cardinals his sincere desire of restoring peace; in the letter he wrote to all the Christian princes and the prelates of the church, to acquaint them with his promotion to the pontifical dignity, which, he said, had been forced upon him, he assured them, that he was ready to concur with them in all measures any ways conducive to the end they all aimed at, the union and tranquillity of the church; that this his disposition was well known to all the cardinals, and that it was chiefly upon that consideration they had preferred him to many much better qualified than he to discharge so great a trust.

Upon the receipt of these letters the French king and the university of Paris, believing him sincere, not only acknowledged him, but sent deputies to congratulate him upon his promotion, and express the satisfaction it gave them to see one trusted with the government of the church, who was so ready to resign it, and sacrifice his dignity to the peace of the church. The pope received the deputies with particular marks of distinction, and upon their exhorting him, in the name of the king and the university, to convince the world by his actions, as he now had it in his power, of the sincerity of his intentions, he assured them that he was firmly and unalterably resolved to embrace all means of redeeming the church from the present unhappy situation, and would, to obtain that end, as willingly and readily lay down his dignity as he laid down his mantle, which he was then putting off to sit down to dinner. He returned the same answer to Peter d'Ailly, chancellor of the university and the king's almoner, upon his representing to him the distracted state of the church and the many evils attending it. But many suspected, adds the author, that this was all mere fiction;² and that it was mere fiction appeared soon after.

Towards the latter end of the present year, 1394, the Roman people, provoked at Boniface's claiming and exercising an absolute power in Rome, which they maintained to be lodged in their magistrates, rose up in arms, besieged the pope in his palace, and would, as was apprehended, have imprisoned or even put him to death in the height of their fury, had not Ladislaus, king of Naples, who happened to be then at Rome,

armed his people, and saved him from falling into the hands of the enraged multitude. By his mediation an agreement was concluded, upon what terms we know not, between Boniface and the people, and tranquillity restored to the city.¹

In the mean time Charles, king of France, wholly intent upon extinguishing the schism, and, depending upon the repeated declarations of Benedict that he was ready to concur with him in all the measures, without exception, that should be thought conducive to that end, assembled in the beginning of February 1395, the chief prelates and the most learned men of the kingdom, to deliberate about the most effectual means of restoring peace. The result of their deliberations was, that both the competitors should resign; that this was the most effectual as well as the most expeditious way of putting an end to the schism, and ought therefore to be alone insisted upon, as it would prove a difficult and endless task to examine into the pretensions of both, and decide the controversy in favor of either. This being agreed to by the whole council, they deliberated in the next place about the method of proceeding in the affair; and it was determined, that the king and Benedict himself should notify to the princes of his obedience that he was ready to sacrifice his dignity to the peace of the church, provided his competitor in like manner agreed to sacrifice his. As for the princes who acknowledged Boniface, the king alone was to acquaint them with the pacific disposition of Benedict, and urge their insisting with Boniface upon his embracing the way of cession, since his competitor was ready to embrace it. When both had resigned, the affair was to be left to a certain number of arbitrators chosen by both parties, or the cardinals of both parties were to meet, and, proceeding to a new election, elect a third person, or either of the two competitors, as they should think proper. Such was the determination of that grand assembly; and the king immediately acquainted Benedict with it by the most splendid embassy that on any occasion had been ever sent. It consisted of the most eminent prelates of the kingdom, of the chief members of the king's council and the university, of the flower of the nobility, with the king's two uncles, John duke of Berry, Philip duke of Burgundy, and his brother, Lewis duke of Orleans, at their head.²

The ambassadors arrived at Avignon on the 22d of May, met with a most favorable reception from Benedict; but found him, to their great surprise, entirely averse, notwithstanding his repeated declarations and the solemn oath he had taken, to the way of cession or resignation, which he said had

¹ Apud Raymund. ad hunc ann. et Dacheri Spicileg. tom. 6. p. 64.

² Joannes Juvenal. Ursin. in Vita Caroli VI. et Ursin. in Indic. 1. 3.

¹ Antoninus, tit. 22. c. 1.

² Monachus Dionys. ubi supra.

Appeal of the university of Paris. Benedict declares all appeals from the Roman pontiff to be null;—[Year of Christ, 1396.] The way of cession approved by some princes, and disapproved by others.

never been approved, but on some occasions had been disapproved, by the fathers, as tending to expose the pontifical dignity to contempt. He added, that his resigning would be generally construed into a consciousness of the nullity of his election, which would be arraigning the judgment of the prelates, the princes, and the people who had acknowledged him. He therefore proposed three other methods of reconciling the present differences, all three, in his opinion, preferable to that of cession, as being free from all the difficulties and inconveniences attending it. These were, that the two competitors and their cardinals should meet in some safe place under the protection of the king of France, and there amongst themselves accommodate their differences; or that arbitrators should be chosen by both parties, and the competitors should bind themselves to acquiesce in their decision; or lastly, if neither of these methods should be approved of, he would propose, or leave the opposite party to propose, some other, and readily agree to it, if founded upon justice and reason. In answer to these proposals the ambassadors put Benedict in mind of the oath he had taken in the conclave before his election, binding himself to embrace all possible means of restoring peace, "that of cession not excepted," if approved and thought expedient. Benedict answered, that he entertained not, nor could he entertain, the least doubt of his being true and lawful pope, and that he could, by no oath, be bound to resign that dignity. The ambassadors, finding Benedict unalterably determined against the way of cession, appointed the cardinals to meet them at Villeneuve, in the neighborhood of Avignon; and at that meeting, held on the 1st of June, the way of cession was approved and recommended by all the cardinals except the cardinal of Pampelona alone, a relation of Benedict, who protested with great warmth against it.¹

The university of Paris, hearing from their deputies, upon their return, of the ill success of their negotiations at Avignon, wrote a long letter, addressed to Benedict and all the faithful, to confute his reasons and arguments against the way of cession, and prove that to be of all others the most easy, the most expeditious, the most effectual means of restoring peace. As they apprehended that Benedict, provoked at the liberty they took in their letter, might thunder out the sentence of excommunication, or proceed to other censures against them, they publicly appealed from him to the future only true orthodox and universal pope, and to his holy and apostolic see; and sent one of their members to notify this their appeal to Benedict himself. In answer to their ap-

peal Benedict published a constitution, dated the 30th of May 1396, declaring all appeals from the Roman pontiff to be derogatory to the plenitude of power with which he is vested, and consequently null. As for the present appeal, it deserved, he said, no other name than that of a bold, presumptuous, and rebellious attempt upon the authority of the Roman church, which no man or body of men had it in their power to control; and he therefore advised them to revoke it, lest he should be obliged to proceed against them as rebels to the church. The university replied, that they were no rebels to, but zealous defenders of, the Roman church; that it was for the peace, the honor, and the dignity of the church, that they had interposed in the present controversy between the two competitors, and therefore feared no censures that either might inflict upon them on that account, but appealed anew from both.

In the mean time the French ambassadors, finding they could by no means prevail upon Benedict to embrace the way of cession, but on the contrary that he daily had recourse to new subterfuges and evasions to elude their endeavors, left Avignon, and returning to Paris gave a minute account to the king and the university of what had passed in their several interviews with Benedict and his cardinals. Upon their report another grand council was held, and by all it was agreed, that the way of cession should be absolutely insisted on, and the king should write to the other Christian princes to concur with him in promoting that measure. Embassadors were accordingly sent at the breaking up of the council to the emperor, to all the electors, to the kings of England, Arragon, Castile, Navarre, Portugal, and Hungary. Their instructions were to invite those princes to join their master in procuring the peace of the church, and propose to them the way of cession as the most effectual as well as impartial. That method had been disapproved by the university of Oxford, in a letter dated the 10th of March 1395, and addressed to the king, Richard II. In that letter they had answered the reasons alledged by the university of Paris to support the way of cession, and proposed the assembling of a general council, from whose decision neither of the competitors would presume to appeal. This method the king had embraced; but the point being disputed, in his presence, by some of the members of the university and the French king's envoys, Peter Regis abbot of Mount St. Michael in Normandy, Simon Cramaud patriarch of Alexandria, and the archbishop of Vienne, he changed his opinion, and even wrote both to Boniface and Benedict, exhorting them to sacrifice their dignity to the peace of the church. With that letter he dispatched the abbot of Westminster to Avignon and to Rome; but

¹ Apud Baluz. Vit. Papar. Aven. Spontan. ad ann. 1396.

The way of session approved in a diet at Francfort;—[Year of Christ, 1397.] And by the emperor;—[Year of Christ, 1398.] Another grand council held in France;—[Year of Christ, 1398.]

as in the address he gave to Benedict no other title than that of cardinal, he would neither receive the letter nor admit the abbot to his presence, who thereupon returned to England. In Spain a council was held at Salamanca in Castile, consisting of all the grandees, prelates, and learned men of that and the neighboring kingdom of Arragon; and by them the way of cession, though warmly urged by the ambassadors of France and England, was rejected, and the deciding of the controversy left to the two competitors themselves, meeting with their cardinals in some place chosen by both. Some of the other princes approved and some disapproved the method proposed by the kings of England and France.¹

The following year, 1397, a diet was held at Francfort, at which were present all the electors, all the princes of Germany, and ambassadors from the kings of France, of England, of Hungary, and deputies from the university of Paris, and most other universities, to examine the different methods that had been hitherto proposed for the restoring of peace, and cause that which should appear to them the most effectual to be carried into execution in their respective dominions and territories. By that assembly the way of cession was judged of all others the most eligible, and ambassadors were sent, in the name of the princes who composed it, to acquaint Boniface therewith, and persuade him to embrace it. They met with a favorable reception from the pope, who even bestowed, at their request, several benefices on their friends and relations, but declined with many shifts and evasions returning any positive answer with respect to the subject of their embassy.²

The emperor Wenceslaus had neglected to assist at the diet of Francfort, notwithstanding the desire he expressed on all occasions of seeing an end put to the schism. But, finding that the way of cession had been approved by the princes of the empire, he resolved to embrace it, and sent to acquaint the king of France, the chief promoter of that measure, with this his resolution. Several letters passed between him and the king on that subject; and Wenceslaus in the end resolved to confer in person with the king, and settle the method of proceeding with the two competitors in the affair. Pursuant to that resolution he left Bohemia, where he then was, in March 1398, and after a short stay in Germany pursued his journey to France; was met at his entering that kingdom by a great number of persons of the first distinction, sent by the king to receive him and attend him to Rheims, where the king waited for him with his brother, the duke of Orleans, and his

two uncles, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. In the several conferences they had, the emperor was gained over to the opinion of the king and the university of Paris, that both should resign, that a third should be elected by the cardinals of both parties; and if either refused, under any pretence whatsoever, to conform to so salutary a measure, he should be looked upon as the author of the schism, and be no longer obeyed as true and lawful pope, either by the emperor or the king. Peter d'Ailli, bishop of Cambrai, was dispatched to Rome, with the character of ambassador from both, to acquaint Boniface with this their resolution, and exhort him to conform to it. The bishop was received with particular marks of distinction both by Boniface and the cardinals; but could not persuade him or them, in the frequent conferences he had with them, to agree to the way of cession, nor obtain any other answer of Boniface, than that he had as much at heart the peace of the church as either the emperor or the king, and would, as soon as they had prevailed upon the antipope to resign, leave them no room to complain of him.¹

This answer being no ways satisfactory, the king appointed another grand council to meet on the 22d of May of the present year, 1398, to deliberate about the means of obliging both popes to resign, since it now evidently appeared that, happen to the church what would, both were obstinately bent against all resignation. At this council were present most of the prelates of France, no fewer than eight archbishops, besides Simon Cramaud, patriarch of Jerusalem, and thirty-two bishops, deputies from all the universities and chapters in the kingdom, a great number of abbots, all the members of the king's council, ambassadors from all the princes who approved of the resignation of both competitors, and Charles king of Navarre, in person. The king of France could not attend, being seized with a fit of illness, but his brother, the duke of Orleans, and his three uncles, the dukes of Berry, of Burgundy, and Bourbon, assisted in his room. By this grand assembly the way of cession was preferred to all others; and it was resolved, that if Benedict did not agree to it, all who had hitherto acknowledged him, should withdraw from his obedience. Whether this resolution should extend only to the temporalities of the church, and deprive him of all power of disposing of them, or to all other matters, so that he should be no more obeyed than if he were no longer pope, was the subject of a long and learned debate; some maintaining that they could not withdraw from the obedience of Benedict, nor control him in the disposal of the temporalities of the church, so long as they acknow-

¹ Niem de Schism. l. 2. c. 33. Antoninus. tit. 22. c. 3. Spond. ad ann. 1396. Juvenalis Ursin. et Monachus Dionys. in Carolo VI.

² Niem ibid.

¹ Monachus Dionys. l. 18. c. 6. Chron. Froissard. c. 96. Hist. Universitat. Paris. tom. 4. p. 800.

The council resolved that no obedience should be thenceforth paid to Benedict. Benedict abandoned by his cardinals. Benedict besieged in his palace. His rescue attempted by the king of Arragon. The siege raised, and upon what terms;—[Year of Christ, 1399.]

ledged him for lawful pope; and others asserting, that they could, for the tranquillity and peace of the church. This point was disputed nine whole days by the ablest divines and canonists of the kingdom of France, but carried in the affirmative, when put to the vote, by two hundred and forty out of three hundred. This determination of the assembly being communicated to the king, as soon as he returned to himself, a decree was published by his order on the 28th of July, forbidding his subjects thenceforth to pay any obedience whatever to Benedict, since the present unhappy division was entirely owing to his obstinacy in maintaining the pontifical dignity, though he had bound himself by a solemn oath to resign it, should it be thought necessary or expedient for the peace of the church. As for Benedict's competitor, the king left those who acknowledged him to compel him by withdrawing from his obedience, or by what other means they should think fit, to lay down his usurped dignity.¹

The decree published by the king was, by his order, immediately communicated to Benedict's cardinals and the citizens of Avignon; and by a particular order the subjects of France were all required to quit forthwith the service of Benedict and retire from his court, which was readily complied with by the clergy as well as the laity. As for the cardinals, they assembled at Villeneuve, beyond the Rhone, and subject to the king, and there, after many long and warm debates, nineteen out of twenty-four agreed to renounce all obedience to Benedict, drew up an act declaring this their resolution, and caused it to be published at Avignon. Hereupon Benedict, provoked beyond all measure at the conduct of the rebel cardinals, as he called them, ordered them to be arrested as guilty of high treason in refusing to obey him, though by their own confession their lawful lord and master. But the cardinals leaving Avignon before that order could be put in execution, retired to Villeneuve in the territory of France, and there renewed their former declaration, appealing at the same time from Benedict to the pope, who should be lawfully elected in his room by the cardinals of both parties.²

In the mean time the king of France, determined to bring Benedict to terms by force, since all other means proved ineffectual, sent marshal de Boucicaut, a renowned commander, to lay siege to Avignon, and prevent any provisions from being conveyed into that city, in order to starve him and the inhabitants, who steadily adhered to him, into a compliance with his decree. As all

the avenues to the place were strictly guarded, and the marshal threatened to burn their country-houses and vineyards if they did not submit, they soon opened their gates and admitted him into the city, declaring to the pope, when he exhorted them to hold out, that they could not pretend to withstand alone the whole power of France. Upon the surrender of the city Benedict retired with his court, and the cardinals who had not renounced his obedience, into the pontifical palace or castle, where Boucicaut was ordered to keep him closely confined, and suffer nothing to be conveyed into the palace or out of it till he agreed to gratify the king and resign.

While these things passed at Avignon, Martin, king of Arragon, who had never approved of the way of cession, nor could be prevailed upon to withdraw his obedience to Benedict, his relation and countryman, hearing that he was besieged in his palace at Avignon, sent a fleet with orders to sail up the Rhone and attempt his deliverance. But the fleet being stranded in the river, the undertaking miscarried, and the king was obliged to recur to the way of negotiation. He sent accordingly by ambassadors to Avignon, to treat of an accommodation between Benedict and the princes who had withdrawn from his obedience, especially the king of France. As the pope was by this time reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, the palace being kept closely blocked up by Boucicaut, he received the ambassadors with the greatest demonstrations of joy; and, pretending to have nothing so much at heart as to see peace restored to the church, declared himself ready to submit to what terms their master and the other princes of his obedience should think fit to propose, especially his beloved son Charles, king of France, who had treated him, and continued to treat him, with so much severity and so undeservedly. From Avignon the ambassadors repaired to Paris, to acquaint the king with the present disposition of Benedict, and intercede for his liberty. Upon their request a council was held, at which the king assisted in person; and in that council it was resolved, that if Benedict promised to resign upon the death or the resignation of his competitor, to assist in person at the council that should be assembled to put an end to the schism, and not to stir in the mean time from his palace, or what other place the two kings, of France and Arragon, should assign to him, without their knowledge and consent, the king would upon these conditions take him into his protection, would suffer no violence to be offered him, but would provide him and an hundred persons of his retinue with all necessities, and order the marshal to withdraw his troops from before the pontifical palace. To

¹ Monachus Dionys, et Juvenalis. Ursin. in Vit. Caroli VI. Froissard, c. 97. Raymund. ad ann. 1398. Num. 3. Hist. Universitat. tom. 4. p. 829.

² Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1398. Num. 7.

Boniface makes himself absolute master of Rome. Jubilee solemnized at Rome;—[Year of Christ, 1400]
The subjects of France forbidden to go to Rome. The emperor Wenceslaus deposed.

these conditions Benedict agreed. But the king, knowing by experience how little his word or promises were to be relied on, ordered guards to be placed on all the roads to prevent his escape, and none to be admitted into the palace who could not give a satisfactory account of themselves as well as of the business upon which they came. Thus was Benedict confined in his palace for the space of near five years, from 1398 to 1403, when he made his escape, as we shall see in the sequel.¹

While these things passed in France, Boniface leaving Rome, where the Banderesians, or heads of the people, had engrossed all power to themselves, went to reside at Perugia, and from thence soon after removed to Assisi. He remained there till the present year, 1399, sparing neither pains nor money to strengthen his party in Germany and Italy, as he was no less averse to the way of cession than his competitor Benedict. As the jubilee was to be celebrated at Rome the following year, 1400, according to the institution of Boniface VIII., who ordered it to be observed every hundredth year, the Romans, apprehending that in the absence of the pope it would not be celebrated with the usual solemnity, and consequently that their gains would be considerably lessened, sent a solemn embassy to invite his holiness back to Rome. Boniface received the ambassadors with all possible marks of esteem for the Roman people; but, pretending great reluctance to return to their city, he told them that he could not comply with their request, nor was it consistent with his dignity that he should, as they had lodged all the power in the hands of their own magistrates and the Banderesians, and left none to him. With this answer the ambassadors returned to Rome; and the Romans, to satisfy the pope and entice him back to their city, not only suppressed the Banderesians, but transferred all their power upon him; bestowed, at his recommendation, the dignity of senator upon Malatesta of Pesaro, a man of great probity, in whom he could confide, and sent a considerable sum of money to defray the expenses of the pope's journey from Assisi to Rome. Boniface, availing himself of the present temper of the Romans, set out as soon as he was acquainted with it for Rome, and being received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by all ranks of people, he caused the walls of the city, the towers, the castle of St. Angelo, and the capitol, to be repaired and strongly fortified, placed garrisons in them, and thus by degrees made himself absolute master of the city, which many of his predecessors had attempted, but none had ever been able to accomplish. Thus did the Romans sacri-

fice their liberty to their interest, and Boniface thenceforth governed the city with an absolute sway.¹

The jubilee was, by the appointment of Boniface VIII., to be celebrated every hundredth year, but was reduced by Clement VI. to every fiftieth, and by Urban VI. to every thirty-third, and had accordingly been solemnized in 1390 by the present pope the successor of Urban. However in 1400 pilgrims flocked from all parts to Rome for the indulgences, which they supposed were to be gained every hundredth year; and Boniface to gratify their devotion granted them the same indulgences that were to be obtained in the jubilee year; which drew such multitudes of people from all countries, even from France, that the king, to prevent his kingdom from being unpeopled, and the whole wealth of the nation from being conveyed to Rome, was obliged to forbid by a public edict any of his subjects to go to Rome during that year, and order those who had undertaken that journey to return. The reasons alledged by the king for issuing this edict were, I. Because his enemies, should they at this juncture invade his kingdom, would find it unprovided with men as well as money. II. Because most of the countries between France and Rome acknowledged the pretended pope, who would enrich himself with the money of his subjects spent on the road as well as at Rome, and become by that means more intractable. III. Because the undertaking of so long and so expensive a journey to gain indulgences granted by him, was tacitly acknowledging him for lawful pope. The clergy, who transgressed this order, were to forfeit their temporalities, and the laity to be fined and imprisoned at the pleasure of the king. But notwithstanding this prohibition, Rome, says de Niem, then upon the spot, was crowded during the whole year with pilgrims from France of both sexes and all ranks, with some even of the highest. The concourse of people was no less numerous from all other nations. But most of them died of the plague that broke out with great violence at Rome, and carried off, says Boninsegni, who lived at this time, seven or eight hundred persons a day.²

As the emperor Wenceslaus led a most debauched life, and entirely neglected the affairs of the empire, four of the electors, namely, the archbishops of Cologne, Mentz, and Treves, and Rupert or Robert, count palatine of the Rhine, and duke of Bavaria, assembling with several other princes of the empire at Lonstein in the diocese of Treves, declared him unworthy of the imperial dignity, and by a formal sentence deposed him on the 20th of August of the present year.

¹ *Surita Indic.* l. 3. ad ann. 1399. *Baluz. Vit. Papar. Aren.* tom. 2. p. 216; et *Spond.* ad ann. 1398 et 1399.

¹ *Flavius Blondus Decad.* 10. *Antonin. tit.* 22. c. 3.

² *Niem.* c. 28. *Boninsegni.* l. 4. c. 7.

The French divided among themselves with respect to the confinement of Benedict. Benedict makes his escape;—[Year of Christ, 1403.] Obedience restored to him, and upon what terms.

In his room they chose Frederic, duke of Brunswick, for king of the Romans, a prince of a fair character and great experience in war. But he being assassinated on his return from the diet, the above-mentioned electors met again in the same place, confirmed the sentence against Wenceslaus, and conferred unanimously the dignity of king of the Romans upon Rupert, count Palatine. As Boniface consented to the deposition of Wenceslaus, and was even suspected of having promoted it, being highly offended at his late connection with the French king, the two kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia withdrew from his obedience, the latter being subject to Wenceslaus, and the former to his brother Sigismund. But the new emperor, or king of the Romans, maintained with great zeal the cause of Boniface, gained over to his party most of the princes of the empire, and would consent to no measures but what were recommended to him by Boniface himself.¹

The two following years, 1401, 1402, warm debates arose in France about the withdrawing of all obedience to Benedict, and his imprisonment or detention, some approving of both these measures as absolutely necessary to bring the pope to terms, and others condemning them as quite unprecedented, and highly injurious to the pontifical dignity. Among the former were the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, the university of Paris, and the far greater part of the clergy; and among the latter the duke of Orleans, the ambassadors of the king of Arragon, and the university of Toulouse. The duke of Orleans, whom Benedict had gained, we know not by what means, frequently declared against his two uncles, that though a schism was a great evil, yet to have no pope was still a greater, and that to him it seemed altogether inconsistent with reason to acknowledge Benedict for lawful pontiff, or Christ's vicar upon earth, and yet refuse to obey him. Peter Ruban, bishop of St. Pons, a prelate of great eloquence and address, seconding the duke of Orleans, took the liberty to complain to the king himself of the imprisonment of Benedict, and their forbidding any obedience to be paid to him, as derogatory, in the highest degree, to the authority of the apostolic see, which his ancestors had ever made it their business to reverence and maintain. But the king was inflexible, alledging that Benedict had bound himself by a solemn oath to embrace all means of restoring peace to the church, even by the way of cession, if judged necessary or expedient, and that by the breach of so solemn an oath he had forfeited the obedience that was due to him as pope.

Benedict had promised, as has been related above, not to depart from his palace in

Avignon without the knowledge and consent of the kings of France and Arragon. But being weary of his confinement, and as regardless of his promise as he was of his oath, he resolved to make his escape, and began to contrive with some of his most intimate friends the means of effecting it. As one of these, Robert de Braquemond, a native of Normandy, was frequently admitted to the pope as a person no ways suspected, it was agreed between them that Braquemond should one day, the 12th of March, not depart from the palace till late in the evening, and that the pope should attend him at his departure in the disguise of one of his domestics. That disguise Benedict assumed, and passing through the guards quite unobserved, arrived that night at castle Raynard, four miles distant from Avignon, and early next morning at Marseilles, subject to Lewis, king of Naples, and count of Provence, who went immediately to wait upon him, and lend him all the assistance in his power. Authors observe that Benedict was attended in his escape by three domestics only; that he took nothing with him but the body of our Lord in a box, and a letter from the French king; that he had let his beard grow during the five years of his confinement, but caused it to be shaved on his arrival at Marseilles. From castle Raynard he wrote to the king to acquaint him with his escape, and assure him that, though at liberty, he was determined faithfully to perform what he had promised, and concur in all the measures that his dearly beloved son should, upon mature deliberation, suggest or approve. This letter is dated at castle Raynard the 12th of March, the day on which he made his escape.¹

Some few days after Benedict sent cardinal Malesicco, bishop of Palestrina, and cardinal Amadeus of Saluzzo, with the character of his legates, to the king to divert him from pursuing the way of cession, and persuade him to revoke the decree, forbidding his subjects to pay him any obedience as pope till he had agreed to resign. The legates were powerfully seconded by the duke of Orleans, and in a council held on the 28th of May, it was resolved that the decree should be revoked, and Benedict be obeyed as before, but upon the following conditions: I. That he promised, in writing, to resign, in case his competitor resigned, died, or was expelled. II. That all offences hitherto given or received should, by both parties, be buried in oblivion. III. That Benedict should confirm all promotions to ecclesiastical dignities and collations to benefices, that had been made while he was not allowed to dispose of them. IV. That in the term of one year he should assemble a general council of his obedience to deliberate about the means of

¹ De Niem, ubi supra.

¹ Monachus Dionys. l. 18. p. 471.

Benedict sends an embassy to Boniface;—[Year of Christ, 1404.] Death of Boniface.

restoring peace, and moderating the many heavy burthens laid by the popes on the Gallican church. These terms were no ways pleasing to Benedict. But the duke of Orleans having with great difficulty prevailed upon him to agree to them, the decree, forbidding any obedience to be paid to him, was repealed, and the subjects of France were, by a new decree, enjoined thenceforth to obey Benedict XIII. as lawful pope. The decree was issued in the king's name, and the following words: "It was resolved near five years ago in an assembly of the clergy of our kingdom, that no obedience should be thenceforth paid to pope Benedict XIII., because he would not consent to the way of cession, which appeared to us the most expeditious method of putting an end to the schism. But as our withdrawing from his obedience has not had the wished-for effect, and he has agreed to the terms that we have lately proposed, and think better calculated to restore tranquillity, we revoke our former edict, and by the advice of our uncles, of our brother, the duke of Orleans, of the universities of Toulouse, of Angiers, of Orleans, of Montpellier, and of most of the prelates and lords of our kingdom, we order Benedict XIII. to be thenceforth obeyed by all our subjects as lawful pope, and this our ordinance to be published and immediately complied with throughout our kingdom."¹

The following year, 1404, Benedict, to persuade the world of the sincerity of his intentions, published a bull, declaring that he was ready to resign, provided his competitor in like manner agreed to resign. Not satisfied with this declaration, he sent Peter Raban, bishop of Pons, and some other bishops to Rome, to treat with Boniface of an accommodation. They were ordered to propose a meeting of the two popes and their cardinals in some place of safety approved of by both, in order to deliberate jointly about the means of putting an end to the present division. The ambassadors met with a favorable reception from the cardinals. But Boniface received them with great haughtiness, and upon their modestly exhorting him to concur with their master in restoring peace to the church; he told them with no small emotion, that Peter de Luna was an intruder and anti-pope, and himself alone true pope. The bishop of Pons, piqued at this answer, replied that their master was no simoniac, thus tacitly reproaching Boniface as guilty of that crime, which so provoked him, that he ordered the ambassadors to depart the city that moment. They answered, that they had a safe conduct both from him and the Roman people, and therefore would not depart till the time they were thereby allowed to remain in Rome was expired. Boni-

face made no reply, but fell into a violent passion that brought on a fit of the stone, to which he was subject, and he died the third day, the 1st of October.¹ He is charged by de Niem with the most flagrant simony, with bestowing all church preferments upon the best bidder, without any regard to merit or learning, and making it his study to enrich his family and relations. One of his brothers he made marquis of the March, now la Marca, and another duke of Spoleti. But both were reduced to great poverty before their death.² Niem supposes the Annates to be the invention of Boniface; but others will have them to have been introduced long before his time, either by Clement V. or John XXII., of whom the former was raised to the see in 1305, and the latter in 1316. The author of the chronicle of Bordeaux, at this time in Rome, tells us, that a person worthy of credit, who was present at Boniface's death, assured him, that scarce the value of one florin of gold was found in his coffers. This testimony is alledged by Papebroch and Pagi, to show that Boniface was not so intent upon heaping up wealth as is generally supposed. But as he made it his study, according to all other contemporary writers, to accumulate, and consequently must have accumulated immense riches, I shall leave Papebroch and Pagi to inquire how he disposed of them, if it be true that he died so poor. St. Antonine writes, that it was reported that Boniface being advised by his physicians to redeem himself from his complaint, that of the stone, at the expense of his chastity, he rejected that advice with great indignation, saying, he had rather die chaste than live unchaste.³ "His love of chastity," adds father Pagi, "intituled him, (notwithstanding his ambition, his avarice, his unsincere dealings, his simony, &c.,) to a place among the good popes."⁴ No writings of Boniface have reached our times, besides some letters and ordinances.

Upon the death of Boniface, Benedict's legates in Rome were imprisoned, notwithstanding their safe conduct, in the castle of St. Angelo, by the governor of that castle, a kinsman of the deceased pope, and obliged to purchase their liberty with the sum of five thousand florins of gold. Thus de Niem and Surita.⁵ But the affair is differently related by pope Innocent VII., the immediate successor of Boniface, in a letter to the university of Paris. For in that letter he tells them, that the nuncios were advised by the Romans to remain in Rome, and assured of protection; but choosing to depart, they fell into the hands of one, out of whose power neither the Roman people nor the cardinals, nor he himself could deliver them.

¹ De Niem, l. 2. c. 23, 24.

² Apud Pagi, tom. 4. p. 329.

³ Antonin. tit. 22. c. 3.

⁴ Pagi, tom. 4. p. 324.

⁵ Niem, c. 24. Surita Indic. l. 3.

Innocent VII. elected. His birth, education, employments, &c. Disturbances in Rome. The Roman people recover their liberty.

INNOCENT VII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIRST BISHOP OF ROME.

[MANUEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—RUPERT OR ROBERT OF BAVARIA, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1404.] Boniface dying, as has been said, on the 1st of October 1404, his cardinals immediately applied to Benedict's nuncios, to know whether they had been enjoined by their master to propose a resignation in his name, provided the deceased pope agreed to resign, being, they said, in that case determined not to proceed to a new election till they had tried all means in their power of putting an end to the schism. The nuncios answered, that they were only empowered to propose an interview between their master and his competitor. The cardinals, having received this answer, resolved to provide the church with a new pastor as soon as they had performed the obsequies of the deceased. They entered accordingly into the conclave on the 12th of October, and having all and each of them bound themselves by a solemn oath, in the presence of several public notaries and witnesses, to use all means in their power of restoring the peace and unity of the church, and even to resign the papal dignity, how canonically soever elected to it, should that be judged necessary to procure so desirable an end, they unanimously elected, on the 17th of the same month, Cosmato Megliorati, cardinal presbyter of the holy cross in Jerusalem.¹ The new pope took the name of Innocent VII. and was crowned, according to some, on the 2d, and according to others, on the 11th of November.

Innocent was a native of Sulmona, in the Hither Abruzzo, descended from a family of a middling condition in that city, but had distinguished himself by his learning, especially by his knowledge of the civil and canon law, and much more by his virtue and probity; for he was, according to de Niem, who speaks well of very few popes, a man of a most generous, mild, and beneficent temper, an enemy to all pomp and show, free from all pride and ambition, an avowed enemy to simony, and of great address and experience in negotiations and all state affairs.² He was made clerk of the apostolic chamber by Urban VI.; was afterwards employed by the same pope to collect the revenues of the apostolic see in England, and on his return from thence preferred first to the archbishopric of Ravenna, and soon after to the bishopric of Bologna. Boniface IX. raised him to the dignity of cardinal in

the first year of his pontificate, or in 1389; appointed him chamberlain of the holy Roman church, and sent him with the character of his legate to compose the differences of the Italian princes at war with one another. He was sixty-five years of age at the time of his election, and was elected without opposition by the nine cardinals who were then present at Rome. For of all the cardinals created by Boniface, twelve only were then living, and of these three were absent. The king of France, Charles VI., who distinguished himself above all other princes by his zeal for the unity of the church, no sooner heard of Boniface's death than he dispatched a messenger to Rome with letters to the cardinals, exhorting and earnestly entreating them to suspend the election of a new pope till the arrival of a solemn embassy, which he intended to send to them. But the election was over before the messenger reached Rome.

Upon the first notice of Boniface's death Ladislaus, king of Naples, entering unexpectedly the territories of the church, advanced to Rome at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, with a design, says Leonardo of Arezzo, to make himself master of that city during the vacancy of the see. But finding at his arrival that Innocent was already elected, he pretended to have had nothing in his view but to maintain the liberty of the conclave, and support the new pope against all his enemies.¹ A most dreadful tumult broke out in Rome during the king's stay in that city, stirred up, as was supposed, underhand by him. The Romans, to entice Boniface back to Rome, had suppressed the Banderesians, as we have seen, and lodged all the power in him. But the Gibelins, headed by John and Nicholas Colonna, were for having that power restored to the people, while the Guelfs, supported by the Ursini, strove to maintain it in the pope and the church. Thus was a civil war kindled in Rome, and in the daily skirmishes great numbers were killed on both sides. Innocent, not thinking himself safe in Rome, left the Lateran palace, and privately retired to the Transtiberine or Leonine city. But Ladislaus interposing, a peace was concluded between the two parties, and it was agreed that the civil government of the city should belong to the people, that is, to ten men chosen by them;

¹ Innocent VII. in Epist. ad Universitatem Paris. apud Spondan. ad ann. 1404.

² Niem c. 34, 36.

¹ Leonard. Aretin. Hist. sui temporis.

Innocent proposes to assemble a general council. New disturbances in Rome. The governors massacred by the pope's nephew;—[Year of Christ, 1405.] Innocent flies to Viterbo. John Colonna makes himself master of Rome; but is driven out by the Romans, and Innocent is recalled;—[Year of Christ, 1406.]

that the Leonine city, with the castle of St. Angelo, should be left to the pope, and the senator be appointed by him, but not without the approbation and consent of the people.¹ Thus did the Roman people, in great measure, recover the power which they had given up under Boniface.

Matters being thus adjusted for the present, Innocent wrote to all the archbishops, bishops, and dignitaries of the church to acquaint them with his promotion, and at the same time to give them notice that he intended to assemble a general council in Rome before All Saints day of the following year 1405. He exhorted them to meet in the mean time in their respective provinces, and deliberate among themselves about the means of healing the present division of the church, assuring them that he was ready to concur in all the measures that should by them be judged the best calculated for procuring the so long wished-for tranquillity. This letter is dated the 27th of December, 1404, and was addressed to all the archbishops and their suffragans.² The meeting of this council was frequently put off, and all thoughts of it were at last laid aside on account of the disturbances that broke out anew in Rome.

For the new governors of the city, not satisfied with the power granted them by the late treaty, encroached daily upon that which by the same treaty had been allowed to the pope. Innocent, to gain them, and to prevent any new commotions, created eleven cardinals, of whom five were natives of Rome, which quieted them for a while. But being stirred up by Ladislaus, who wanted to improve the discontent of the people to his own advantage, and make himself master of Rome, they soon began to insult the officers of the pope, and exercise the authority that they themselves had vested in them; which so provoked Innocent's nephew, Lewis Megliorati, a bold and enterprising youth, that falling upon the governors as they returned, attended by some citizens of distinction, from a conference with the pope, he arrested them all, carried them prisoners to his house, and there put eleven of them to death, and caused their dead bodies to be thrown out of the window, saying, "thus popular seditions are to be appeased." Platina, who wrote in this century, in 1474, tells us, that the Romans were sent by the pope to his nephew as to an executioner, insinuating thereby that it was by his order his nephew put them to death.³ But de Niem, who was at this very time upon the spot, clears Innocent from being any ways privy to that barbarous execution;⁴ and so does Leonardo of Arezzo, saying,

the pontiff was overwhelmed with grief when he heard of the cruel slaughter; for the whole affair had been transacted altogether unknown to him. He was a man of a mild and pacific disposition, and abhorred above all things the effusion of human blood; he often bemoaned himself, bewailed his hard lot, and lifting his eyes up to heaven, called upon God to witness his innocence.¹ Had he delivered up his nephew to the Romans, as he ought in justice to have done, he would have cleared himself effectually from all suspicion of being concerned in that massacre; and his not having done so, but, on the contrary, his taking his nephew with him in his flight, and thus screening him from the deserved punishment, would incline one to believe what Platina says to be true.

Innocent, hearing of the cruel massacre, left Rome that moment, and in the utmost consternation fled with his nephew and all the cardinals to Viterbo. As their flight happened in the height of the summer, on the 5th of August, when the heats in Italy are quite insufferable, and they stopped nowhere, apprehending that the Romans, breathing revenge, pursued them close at their heels, de Niem tells us that about thirty of the pope's retinue died of thirst on the road.² Innocent was scarce gone when the alarm bell was rung, and the Romans flying to arms, flocked from all parts to the pontifical palace, destroyed or carried off all the furniture, put every man to the sword that belonged to the pope, and would not have spared his holiness himself had he not saved himself by a timely and precipitate flight.³ In the mean time John Colonna, availing himself of these disturbances, entered Rome with a body of troops, and possessing himself of the pontifical palace, he governed the city from thence with all the authority of a pope; whence he was ironically styled John XXIII. as there had been twenty-two popes of that name. But the Romans being, in the term of twenty days, tired of his government, and revolting against him, he invited king Ladislaus to his assistance, promising to resign to him the sovereignty of the city. The king, who had long aspired at the dominion of Rome, sent without delay an army under the command of the count of Troia, with orders to maintain Colonna in possession of Rome. Colonna admitted the Neapolitan army into the city. But the Romans, determined rather to die than to submit to Ladislaus, exerted themselves with so much vigor, resolution, and union, as obliged Colonna and his allies to abandon the undertaking, and retire out of the city. The Romans, being now left to themselves, committed the government of the city to three

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1404. Num. 16.

² Idem, Num. 12. ³ Platina in Innocent VII.

⁴ De Niem, c. 16. 37.

¹ Leonard. Aretin. de rebus Ital. p. 254.

² Niem, c. 36. ³ Idem ibid.

Benedict repairs to Genoa. Demands a safe conduct of Innocent, which is denied. Ladislaus excommunicated by Innocent. The king submits, and is absolved.

persons only, whom they called "the good men;" and these, finding, says Leonardo of Arezzo, upon the strictest inquiry, that the pope was no ways accessory nor privy to the massacre of their fellow citizens, persuaded the people, tired with intestine dissensions, and convinced of his innocence, to recall him. Embassadors were, accordingly sent in the beginning of the present year, 1406, to invite his holiness back to his see, to beg pardon for their past conduct, and offer him the keys and the sovereignty of the city. With that unexpected invitation Innocent readily complied, forgave the Romans all past injuries, and leaving Viterbo in the month of March, entered Rome in a kind of triumph, being attended by vast crowds of people of all ranks, and amongst the rest by the "three good men," who, at his entering the gate, resigned all their power into his hands.¹

In the mean time Benedict, to impose upon the world, and persuade them that the continuance of the schism was not to be imputed to him, undertook this year a journey to Genoa, in order to confer, as he gave out, with his competitor, and settle by mutual consent the means of restoring peace and tranquillity, the object of every good man's wishes, and of none more than of his. The city of Genoa had hitherto adhered to the popes of Rome, but being lately gained over to the popes of Avignon by their archbishop Pileus Marinus, a prelate held in great esteem for his sanctity, Benedict met there with a most honorable reception from persons of all ranks and conditions. He had not been long in that city, when he caused application to be made in his name to Innocent for a safe conduct, intending, as he pretended, to send nuncios, as soon as it could be procured, to treat of an accommodation. Innocent very unadvisedly refused the safe conduct, telling those who applied for it, that he questioned whether a true and lawful pope could with a safe conscience enter into any treaty with an antipope and an intruder. He added, however, that he was willing to hearken to any terms that persons, upon whose sincerity he could depend, should think fit to propose. From his refusal of a safe conduct, Benedict took occasion to represent him, in the letters he wrote to all the Christian princes, as averse to an accommodation, as guilty of a breach of the solemn oath he had taken at his election, and to charge the schism wholly upon him. In answer to these letters Innocent wrote others, accusing Benedict of insincerity, and false dealing, as having nothing in his view in setting a negotiation on foot, but to amuse the world, and gain time. Thus both made it their study, says de Niem, to keep, with new subterfuges and

evasions, those at bay, who sincerely wished to see peace restored to the church.¹ Benedict, after a short stay in Genoa, was obliged, by the plague that broke out there, to quit that city and return to Provence.

At Rome the troops of king Ladislaus, which Colonna had admitted into the city, and the castle of St. Angelo, still held that fortress, and often sallying from thence committed great disorders in Rome and the neighboring country. Innocent therefore, after repeated admonitions, thundered out the sentence of excommunication against him, the same sentence that his predecessor Urban VI. had issued against his father Charles of Durazzo, declaring him an enemy to the church, and depriving him as such of his kingdom, a fief of the apostolic see. The king, apprehending that the friends of his rival Lewis of Anjou would take occasion from thence to rise up in arms against him, chose rather to satisfy the pope, than to have his kingdom involved in a civil war, and all the calamities attending it. He sent accordingly embassadors to Rome as soon as he heard of the sentence, with orders to conclude a peace with Innocent upon his own terms. A peace was accordingly concluded upon the following conditions, that Ladislaus should promise steadily to adhere to Innocent as lawful pontiff, and assist him to the utmost of his power when required; that the castle of St. Angelo should be immediately evacuated and delivered up to the pope; that the king should publicly own himself a vassal of the church, and as such take an oath of allegiance to Innocent, and his successors lawfully elected; that he should promise never to make war upon the vassals or friends of the church, should forgive and receive into favor such of his subjects as had borne arms against him, and repair all damages done by him or his men to the churches and other holy places. On the other hand, Innocent was to recall and receive into favor such of the Roman nobility as had joined the king in his attempt upon Rome, and on that account had been driven out of the city, to absolve him from the excommunication which he had incurred, to revoke the sentence issued by Urban VI. against his father Charles of Durazzo, and to reinstate him (Ladislaus) in the government of Campania, which he had granted him in the first year of his pontificate for the term of three years. These articles being agreed to, Innocent not only repealed the excommunication against the king, but appointed him defender and standard-bearer of the church.²

In the mean time Benedict finding, on his return to France, the king as eagerly bent as ever upon the way of cession, sent cardi-

¹ De Niem, l. 2. c. 18.

² Aretin. Hist. sui temporis, et Antonin. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 4.

² Aretin. et de Niem, ubi supra, et apud Raynald. ad ann. 1406. Num. 7.

The French withdraw anew from the obedience of Benedict. Innocent dies.

nal de Chalant, a man of great eloquence and address, to assure him that he was ready to resign, provided the princes under the obedience of his competitor prevailed upon him in like manner to resign, or promised to withdraw from his obedience if he did not. The cardinal enlarged upon the sincere desire his master had of seeing peace and unity restored to the church, alledging as an instance of it his late journey to Italy; inveighed with great bitterness against Innocent for refusing a safe conduct to the Nuncios of Benedict, and left the king and his council to judge upon which of the two the continuance of the schism was to be charged, upon his master, who undertook a journey to Italy with no other view but to treat of an accommodation with his adversary, or upon his adversary, who would hearken to no treaty? The affair was referred by the king to the prelates of the kingdom, and by them it was determined, that as Benedict had promised to resign when they returned under his obedience, if that should be thought necessary or expedient, they ought to withdraw anew from his obedience if he did not perform, without any shifts or subterfuges, what he had promised. As for the intruder, meaning Innocent, they left those to deal with him who acknowledged him for lawful pope, not doubting but if Benedict resigned, they would oblige their pope, for the sake of peace, to follow his example. The university of Toulouse had published a writing against the way of cession, which was read in the present assembly, and being referred by the king to the parliament of Paris, it was by their order publicly torn in pieces. The way of cession being both by the parliament and the members of the assembly thus declared the most effectual and expeditious method of restoring peace, the king by an edict, dated the 18th of February 1407, ordered his subjects to withdraw anew from the obedience of Benedict, and at the same time forbade them to receive any benefices at his hands, or to pay any thing into the apostolic chamber, flattering himself that his necessities would, in the end, oblige him to submit, and resign a dignity which he could not support. On the 11th of November of the same year, the French bishops met again, and it was resolved that the king should be applied to, and desired, in the name of the whole body of the clergy, to procure the assembling of a general council for the reformation of the church in its head and its members.¹

In the mean time Innocent died at Rome in the sixty-seventh or sixty-eighth year of his age, having held the see from the 17th of October 1404, the day of his election, to the 6th of November 1406, the day of his death. As he died suddenly of an apoplexy,

it was reported and believed by many, that poison had been administered to him by some of his own court. That report Leonardo of Arezzo confutes in a letter to Francis, lord of Cortona, as entirely groundless: "I am not at all surprised," says Leonardo in his letter, "that the report concerning the death of Innocent should have reached you, since various conjectures and suspicions have been whispered about even here in the very house where he died. As this court is full of ill-designing people, they are but too apt to suspect crimes in others, which they themselves would not scruple to commit; and some there are who, out of love for calumny, take delight in spreading reports which they themselves do not credit. As for myself, so far as I can judge as an eyewitness, I can by no means doubt of his dying a natural death. Who can think otherwise of a man of seventy years of age, and a broken constitution? He was subject to the gout, had been long liable to violent pains in his side. He had had, to my knowledge, two fits of apoplexy, a slight one at Viterbo, and another at Rome so violent while he was giving public audience, that had we not hastened to his assistance and supported him, he would have fallen from his chair with his head foremost. We carried him half dead to his bed; and his tongue was so embarrassed, that he could not articulate a single word, &c. Four days before his death I introduced to him the Florentine ambassadors, sent to acquaint him with the reduction of Pisa. At their coming into his bed-chamber, he put out his foot from under the coverings of the bed, and offered it to them to kiss, received them with so much good humor, and heard them with so much patience, that one would have thought he labored under no complaint. He died in the Vatican palace, and was buried in St. Peter's."² Innocent is blamed even by those who commend him the most, on account of his nepotism, or the immoderate affection he bore to his nephews and relations, heaping immense wealth upon them, and preferring them, though not so deserving as many others, to the highest post both in state and church. He is said, indeed, to have reprimanded his nephew Lewis Migliorati for the massacre spoken of above; but it does not appear that he ever inflicted any punishment upon him for so enormous a crime, though it deserved the severest. To conclude, Innocent for all his good qualities showed himself as little inclined to the way of cession as his competitor, though he had bound himself by a solemn oath to embrace it, should it be judged necessary or expedient.

No writings of Innocent have reached our times, besides a discourse upon "Church Union," and some letters.

¹ Bochel. l. 4. tit. 21. c. 3. Juvenalis Ursin. in Carol. VI. p. 222. Niemi. l. 2. c. 39. Vide Spondan. ad ann. 1406.

² Aretin. in Hist. sui temporis.

Election of Gregory XII. His birth, education, employments, &c. Desirous of putting an end to the schism. Writes to his competitor, who answers his letter;—[Year of Christ, 1407.]

GREGORY XII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND SECOND BISHOP OF ROME.

[MANUEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East.*—RUPERT OF BAVARIA, *Emperor of the West.*]

[Year of Christ, 1406.] Upon the sudden death of Innocent, his cardinals, then present at Rome, and in all fourteen, were greatly at a loss whether they should immediately proceed to a new election, or suspend it for some time, seeing the anti-pope had promised to resign upon the death of Innocent, provided his cardinals elected no other in his room. But the cardinals knowing that promise to have been extorted from him by the French king, much against his will, and consequently not to be relied on, and at the same time apprehending that, if the election were delayed, great commotions would thereupon ensue in the city, it was by them unanimously resolved that the see should be filled as soon as possible, but that the person elected should bind himself in the most solemn manner to quit his new dignity, if the anti-pope quitted his. Pursuant to this resolution the fourteen cardinals entered into the conclave on the 18th of November, and on the 23d of the same month each of them promised, swore, and vowed, and gave it in writing, that should he be elected, he would lay down the dignity, if his competitor did so too; that he would acquaint him by letters with the promise he had made, and exhort him to follow his example; that he would procure unity, "by all means," without fraud or deceit, and would notify this, his promise, oath, and vow to all the Christian kings and princes, as soon as he conveniently could, that they might be witnesses of the obligation which he had voluntarily laid upon himself. Thus Leonardo of Arezzo and de Niem, who were both at this time in Rome.¹ The cardinals, having all taken this oath upon the Holy Gospels without any limitation or restriction whatever, proceeded immediately to the election, and on the 2d of December chose, with one consent, Angelus Corarius, cardinal presbyter of St. Mark, who was crowned on the 19th of the same month, and on that occasion took the name of Gregory XII.

Gregory was a native of Venice, descended from a noble and ancient family of that city. Urban VI. preferred him to that bishopric, Boniface IX. made him titular patriarch of Constantinople, and his immediate predecessor Innocent VII. raised him to the dignity of cardinal. He was not a man of very shining parts, but of the strictest probity;

and being greatly advanced in years, the cardinals thought that he would rather choose to resign his dignity, than to hold it, during the short remainder of his life, by a breach of his oath. He, at first, fully answered the public expectation. For he not only renewed and confirmed after his election the oath he had taken in the conclave, but declared over and over again that he was ready to treat with his competitor about an union; that what place soever should be appointed for that purpose, he would immediately repair to it, how distant soever it might be from Rome; that were he to go to it by sea, and could neither be supplied with galleys nor other vessels, he would be conveyed to it in a boat; and were he to go by land, and wanted horses, he would travel to it on foot, supported only by his staff.¹ At the same time he wrote to his rival Benedict, to acquaint him with his promotion as well as with the oath he had taken, and let him know that he was ready to lay down his dignity the moment he was ready to lay down his, that the see being thus become vacant the cardinals of both parties might meet and choose a third person, whose election would admit of no dispute. Gregory wrote letters to the same purpose to all kings, princes, republics and universities, expressing in them a sincere desire of restoring peace and unity even at the expense of his dignity. Thus Leonardo of Arezzo, who was Gregory's secretary, and penned, as he informs us, those very letters.² Benedict received at Marseilles the letter directed to him, and immediately answered it, congratulating his competitor upon his good intentions towards an union, and assuring him that he was ready to concur in all measures to procure it, and to meet him for that purpose at what time and what place both parties should judge the most proper. The direction of Gregory's letter was, "Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to Peter de Luna, whom some nations call in this deplorable schism Benedict XIII. wishing him the love of peace and unity;" and the direction of Benedict's, "Benedict bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Angelus called Corarius, whom some, adhering to him in this pernicious schism, style Gregory, wishing him the love and effects of true peace and unity."³

¹ Aretin. in Hist. sui temp. et Epist. l. 2. Epist. 3. de Niem. de Schis. l. 3. c. 1.

¹ Aretin. et Niem, ubi supra.

² Aretin. ubi supra, et apud Raynald. Num. 14.

³ Apud Raynald ad ann. 1407. Num. 1 et 2.

The two popes agree to meet at Savona. Benedict declines consenting to the way of cession. Gregory declines the intended interview. Various shifts used by Gregory to avoid it.

Gregory, upon the receipt of Benedict's letter, sent his nephew Antony de Mota, bishop of Bologna, Guillinus, bishop of Todi, his treasurer, and Antony de Brutio, doctor of civil and canon law in Bologna, with the character of his legates to settle the place and time of the congress, which they had both agreed to. The legates met with a very favorable reception from Benedict, and all difficulties being removed, it was agreed that the two competitors and their cardinals should meet at Savona, a small town on the coast of Genoa, at next Michaelmas, the 29th of September, or at Martlemas, the 11th of November, in case Gregory could not be supplied with galleys to convey him thither before that time; if he had not even then got together the necessary shipping, the congress was to be put off till All Saints day, the 1st of November.¹

As Gregory had declared in all his letters that he was ready to resign, provided his competitor did so too; the French king, to obtain the like declaration from Benedict, sent a solemn embassy to him, consisting of two archbishops, five bishops, five abbots, two secular lords, and twenty doctors, with Simon de Cramaud, patriarch of Constantinople, at their head. These were enjoined to insist upon Benedict's declaring, in plain terms, and without any ambiguity, that he agreed to the way of cession, and would resign at the same time that his competitor resigned. If they could not extort from him such a declaration, they were ordered to let him know, that the king would look upon him as the author of the schism, and withdraw with his whole kingdom from his obedience. The ambassadors met with a very favorable reception from Benedict, but could obtain no positive and direct answer with respect to his resignation. His only reply was, that he had the unity of the church as much at heart as their master, and that if a peace was not concluded they should have no reason to complain of him, or to charge the continuance of the schism to his account.

With this answer some of the ambassadors returned to the king, while the rest, with the patriarch of Constantinople, repaired, pursuant to their instructions, to Rome to attend Gregory to the place of the conference. They arrived at Rome in the beginning of July, and being admitted, as soon as they arrived, to the pope, they found him, to their great surprise, entirely averse to the intended interview, though every thing relating to it had been settled not long before by his legates with his approbation and consent. As the whole state of Genoa was then under the dominion of France, where Benedict was acknowledged, he excepted on that account against Savona, and

when the ambassadors, to remove that exception, offered him a safe conduct both from the king and the Gallican church, he had recourse to the plea of poverty, pretending not to have wherewithal to defray the expenses of the journey. But the ambassadors, to leave him no color or pretence for declining the interview, took upon them to promise in their master's name, that out of his great zeal for the unity of the church he would bear all the charges of his journey from Rome to Savona, and from Savona back to Rome. Gregory was some time at a loss how to elude that offer, but at last, to gain time, he told them, that it was not fit he should enter into any engagement whatever, or think of resigning without first acquainting therewith the princes of his obedience, and obtaining their consent.¹ Thus Gregory, who was ready to treat with his competitor about an union in any place whatever, how distant soever from Rome, and to repair to it by land on foot if horses were wanting, or by sea in a boat if he could not be supplied with galleys. It grieved all who knew Gregory, says here de Niem, to see a man, who had lived to the age of fourscore with an untainted character, thus sacrificing his reputation as well as his conscience to an unseasonable ambition, and recurring, without shame or remorse, to the most pitiful shifts and subterfuges to hold a dignity, which he had bound himself by the most solemn oaths to resign. This conduct, so contrary to all his declarations, was entirely owing, if his secretary, Leonardo of Arezzo, may be credited, to his nephew and relations, who had a great influence over him, and left nothing unattempted to divert him from parting with the power of aggrandizing and enriching them.²

Benedict was no less averse to the proposed interview than Gregory, and no less determined to retain at all events his dignity. However, he was no sooner informed that his competitor had changed his mind, and declined meeting him, than he flew to Savona, the place where they had agreed to meet, and wrote from thence to all the princes of his obedience to let them know that he was ready to treat with his competitor about an union, and was come with that view to the place, which his competitor himself had chosen for that purpose. But Gregory, though most earnestly entreated by all his cardinals to repair to the same place, could not be prevailed upon to stir from Rome till the commotions raised there by the friends of king Ladislaus, obliged him to quit that city; and he then retired first to Viterbo, and soon after to Siena. As he seemed to have laid aside all thoughts

¹ De Niem. in Nemore, c. 10; et apud Raynald. Num. 4.

¹ De Niem, ubi supra, et Aretin. l. 2. Epist. 7.

² Aretin. l. 2. Epist. 7.

Gregory and Benedict equally averse to an union. Gregory creates four new cardinals;—[Year of Christ, 1408.] Is forsaken by his cardinals,

of meeting his adversary, his cardinals began, during his stay in the last-mentioned city, to importune him anew to repair, without further delay, to the place of the congress, urging that, if he declined it, the world would charge, and not without reason, the continuance of the schism upon him. Gregory, finding himself thus pressed not only by the cardinals, but by most of the cities of Italy, to fulfil his engagements, in order to redeem himself from their importunities offered, in a consistory called for that purpose, to resign his dignity upon certain conditions without going to Savona, where, he said, he could not avoid, without a miracle, the snares, which he had certain intelligence his enemies had laid for him. The conditions he required were, that he should be restored to the patriarchate of Constantinople, which he had given up upon his promotion, and should be allowed to hold some benefices which he was possessed of in the state of Venice; that to them should be added the archbishopric of York, or the bishopric of Oxford, which were both said to be vacant, and that some territories or lordships, belonging to the Roman church, which he specified, should be granted to his three nephews, Mark, Francis, and Paul, to be held by them and their heirs for ever. These were pretty extraordinary demands, and yet when the cardinals had agreed to them contrary to his expectation, Gregory still put off his resignation till a promise in writing was obtained from his competitor, of resigning at the time he should resign, since peace, he said, could only be restored by the abdication or cession of both.¹

In the mean time Benedict, having waited at Savona for the arrival of Gregory till All Saints day, the last term fixed for their meeting, went from thence in the beginning of January 1408 on board the galleys of Genoa to Porto Venere, in order to be nearer at hand, as he gave out, to treat with Gregory. On the other hand Gregory, hearing of his arrival at that place, left Siena in the latter end of January, and removed to Lucca, less distant from Porto Venere. During their stay in those two places, many letters and embassies passed between them, and nuncios were daily sent from the one to the other, both pretending great zeal for the unity of the church, while both were equally averse to the means of procuring it. The anonymous writer of Bourdeaux, who was at this time with Gregory, tells us, that Benedict having sent the two archbishops of Rouen and Taroncon to propose a congress between the contending parties, and settle the place of their meeting, some in the retinue of the latter privately dissuaded Gregory from hearkening to any proposals of that

nature, telling him, that he had better share the popedom with another than be no pope.¹ Indeed that both thought so, and meant no more than to impose upon the world is but too plain from their whole conduct. Benedict had been always looked upon as a cunning, artful, and deceitful man, whereas Gregory had been universally held in the greatest esteem, not only for his exemplary piety, but for the strictest honor and honesty, having never been known, says his secretary, Leonardo of Arezzo, to have failed of his word till he was pope; but with his condition he seemed to have changed his nature, recurring to the most pitiful shifts to elude the most solemn engagements, and sticking at nothing to hold a dignity which he had bound himself by the most awful oaths to resign.²

One of the oaths taken by all the cardinals, and by each of them in particular, at his entering into the conclave, was, that should he be elected, he would create no new cardinals till an union was concluded, or nothing had been left unattempted on his side to conclude it. This oath Gregory took before he was elected, and confirmed it in the first consistory he held after his election. However, on the 9th of May of the present year 1408, when he had not yet taken a single step towards an union, but on the contrary excepted against every measure tending to promote it, he made a promotion of four cardinals. These were James of Udine, John Dominici, a preaching friar, archbishop of Ragusa, Anthony Corarius, bishop of Bologna, his brother's son, and Gabriel Condulmerius, his sister's son, who was afterwards raised to the pontificate under the name of Eugene IV. None of the old cardinals would assist, though invited by Gregory, at their promotion, lest they should seem to countenance so notorious a breach of his oath. But Gregory, as regardless of their remonstrances as of his own oath, promoted them; nevertheless, in a consistory only composed of the auditors of the rota and a few bishops.

The cardinals, provoked beyond measure at the conduct of Gregory, after various consultations among themselves, resolved in the end to abandon him, and leaving him at Lucca with his new cardinals, to retire to some other place. Of this, their design, Gregory was privately informed, and to prevent their carrying it into execution, he forbade them, on pain of forfeiting their dignity, of degradation, and other penalties, to depart without his leave from Lucca, to hold any consultations among themselves, with those of the opposite party, or with the ambassadors of the king of France, and the university of Paris. But notwithstanding this pro-

¹ De Niem in *Nemore Unionis*, tract 6. c. 31; et de Schism. c. 20.

¹ Apud Spond. ad ann. 1408. Num. 5.

² Aretin. l. 2. Epist. 7.

hibition, cardinal John Ægidius, a man of most unspotted character, finding Gregory obstinately bent against a resignation, and hearkening to none but his relations, secretly withdrew in the night from Lucca to Pisa, and was followed the very next day by most of the other cardinals. Of the whole conduct of Gregory, from the time he left Rome to the flight of the cardinals, we have a very particular and curious account in the following letter from Leonardo of Arezzio, who was upon the spot, to a friend of his, named Petrillus, who had quitted the court and retired to Naples: "We have both long foreseen," says that writer in his letter, "that the clouds which were daily gathering would produce, in the end, a terrible storm; and what we have foreseen has happened at last. The cardinals, highly dissatisfied with the conduct of the pope, have lost all patience, and forsaken him. I commend your prudence in not waiting till the storm overtook you, but retiring to Naples to avoid it. I wish I had done so too. But I must inform you of what has happened since your departure. The pope, leaving Rome, retired to Siena, and though the time approached when he was, by agreement, to meet his competitor at Savona, he seemed, to the great scandal of all good men, to think of nothing less than to make good his engagements. His competitor repaired to the appointed place in due time, and from thence insulted and reproached him in the most bitter terms with his backwardness. O shame! O grief! We have voluntarily, and upon the most mature deliberation, fixed the time and the place to treat of an union, and yet we decline it! At such a conduct I am doubly grieved, as a Christian and as an Italian. It grieves me as a Christian to see the hopes of a speedy union amongst all Christians thus suddenly vanish. I am concerned, as an Italian, to find that my countrymen are, for the conduct of one, generally looked upon as men destitute of all honor and honesty. In speaking thus you will own, that I show myself more jealous of the honor of the pope than they who, by flattery, divert him from a design that would acquire him immortal glory. But to return to my subject, Gregory being now universally looked upon as the author of the schism, on account of his declining to meet his competitor, and treat in person with him about the means of restoring tranquillity, he made a new proposal, which was, that he should repair to Lucca, and his competitor to Porto Venere, in order to be nearer at hand to confer with one another. Gregory, therefore, leaving Siena, hastened to Lucca, and Benedict to Porto Venere; and being now at no great distance, letters and embassies passed daily between them. Both pretended to have nothing so much at heart as the unity of the church, but both were

equally averse to the means of procuring it. They pretended to be desirous of conferring in person, but no place could be found that the one or the other did not object to. Gregory excepted against all maritime places, and Benedict against all at a distance from the sea. You would have thought the one a terrestrial animal that hated the water, and the other an aquatic that dreaded the dry land. This conduct gave great offence to all sensible and well-meaning men, who could not but see that their fears were affected, and dangers were pretended where there was nothing to fear. All loudly complained of so palpable and criminal a collusion: and how shocking was it to see two men, both at the age of seventy and upwards, sacrificing their reputation, their conscience, and the peace of the church to their ambition, to the desire of reigning but a few days. As for myself, I verily believe that Gregory meant well, but was ill advised. But behold! a new storm unexpectedly arises. Gregory resolves to create new cardinals, able to support him against the old ones, and calls with that view a consistory, commanding all the cardinals to attend. Such a command alarmed the whole college, some suspecting one thing and others another. When they were all met, the pope comes out of his chamber, places himself in his throne, and after a short silence, addresses them thus: 'As there is no depending upon you, I have resolved to provide the church with new cardinals.' So manifest a breach of the most solemn oath alarmed all the old cardinals, and they left nothing unattempted to divert him from it. I myself saw cardinal Colonna entreating him on his knees, with tears in his eyes, to forbear, or at least, to suspend for a while the execution of a design so prejudicial to his reputation and credit. But his obstinacy was proof against all remonstrances. At the breaking up of the consistory the pope forbade the cardinals to hold any assemblies among themselves, or to depart from Lucca without his leave. But, notwithstanding this prohibition, cardinal Ægidius privately withdrew from Lucca; which the pope was no sooner informed of than he dispatched some of his men on horseback after him, with orders to bring him back by force. They overtook him at a little town under the dominion of the Florentines; but in attempting to seize him they were opposed by the garrison of the place, not without some bloodshed on both sides. Upon their return to Lucca the governor ordered them to be all put under an arrest for committing hostilities in the territories of Florence. The pope, unwilling to disoblige the Florentines, appointed Marcellus Strozzi and me to excuse to the republic, in his name, the violence committed by his men in their territories. But while we were receiving our instructions news

The cardinals appeal from Gregory; and send copies of their appeal to all the princes. Benedict excommunicates all who withdraw from his obedience.

was brought that the rest of the cardinals, not thinking themselves safe at Lucca, had fled from thence to Pisa. Upon that unexpected intelligence the pope dismissed us, in order to deliberate about other measures. As the pope's men had been arrested, the cardinals laid hold of that opportunity to make their escape, and they all got safe to Pisa. Upon their flight the pope created four new ones.¹

The cardinals, in all seven, the very next day after their arrival at Pisa, the 13th of May, published a manifesto in justification of their conduct, and at the same time an appeal from Gregory misinformed and acting contrary to reason, to Gregory better informed and acting agreeably to reason, from Gregory as the vicar of Christ, to Christ himself, who is to judge the quick and the dead and the world by fire, to a general council, in which and by which the actions of the high pontiffs themselves are judged, and approved or condemned, and to the future pope, it being the duty of every new pope to correct what has been done by his predecessor amiss. In their manifesto they showed the unreasonableness of the three commands he had laid upon them not to depart from Lucca without his permission; not to hold any assemblies among themselves; nor treat with the ambassadors of his competitor, or with those of France. Against the first they urged the danger to which they would have exposed themselves by remaining at Lucca, having been informed by persons worthy of credit that his holiness designed to confine them, nay, and that some of them were to be put to death by his order, had they remained but one day longer at Lucca, which, they said, they had reason to believe; it being well known that they who were sent after cardinal Ægidius had private orders to kill him, if he refused to return, or they were by any unforeseen obstacle prevented from bringing him back. The second prohibition, not to meet and consult among themselves about the proper means of restoring tranquillity, they showed to be inconsistent with their duty as cardinals of the holy Roman church, it being incumbent upon them, as such, to meet and deliberate about all matters relating to the faith, especially to the schisms and heresies that might spring up in the church. The third prohibition, not to treat with the nuncios of his competitor or with the ambassadors of France, was, they said, evidently repugnant to the oath which they had all taken, to omit nothing in their power that was any ways conducive to the unity and peace of the church, which it was impossible to procure without treating and conferring with the adverse party. Upon the whole, they concluded those prohibitions to be no ways

binding, but in themselves null, and closed their appeal with entreating his holiness, as he tendered the good of the church and his own reputation, to revoke them. This appeal the cardinals published in Pisa; and it was presented to the pope, we are not told by whom, in a full consistory, while he was delivering to the new cardinals their rings and the other badges of their dignity. Gregory in perusing it, said no more than that it was not worthy of his notice. But the next day his nephew, cardinal Antony Corarius, chamberlain and judge in ordinary of the apostolic see, declared the cardinals, and those who had fled with them, deprived of all their benefices, and of all places of honor or profit.¹

The cardinals sent copies of their appeal to all the Christian princes, and caused them to be dispersed all over Italy, France, Spain, the empire, and England, representing, in the letters they wrote on that occasion, both popes as equally averse to an union, as daily inventing new pretences to impose upon the world, and starting new difficulties against the only means of redeeming the church from its present unhappy situation. They therefore exhort the princes as well as the prelates of the church to withdraw from the obedience of both, to appeal to a general council or to the future pope, and in the mean time to protest against the bulls, monitories, and ordinances, that either might issue.²

In France the king had already determined, with the advice of his council, of the bishops, and the university of Paris, to renounce, with his whole kingdom, all obedience to Benedict, and embrace a neutrality; that is, to pay no obedience to the one or the other, if by the feast of the Ascension, which in 1408 fell on the 14th of May, an end was not put to the schism, and tranquillity restored to the church. This determination the king caused to be immediately notified in due form to Benedict, by John de Chateaumorant and John de Toursay, whom he sent for that purpose with the character of his ambassadors to Porto Venere. Benedict returned no other answer to the ambassadors, than that he would write to the king and send his letters by his own messengers. He accordingly dispatched a few days after two messengers with a bull, dated the 19th of May of the preceding year, by which all who should withdraw from the obedience of the Roman pontiff, by what dignity soever distinguished, were declared excommunicated if they did not return in the term of twenty days under his obedience. To that bull Benedict added a brief, forbidding, on pain of excommunication, any who had ever acknowledged him to withdraw their

¹ Aretin. lib. 2. Ep. 28.

¹ Niem de Nemore Unionis, tract. 6. c. 10; et de Schis. 1. 3. c. 33.

² Idem ibid.

Benedict's bull torn in pieces in France. What punishment inflicted on the messengers who brought it. Decree of neutrality published in France. The king writes to the cardinals of both parties. Benedict retires to Spain. Is abandoned by his cardinals; who join those of Gregory, and appoint a council to meet at Pisa.

obedience from him, and anathematizing all who should countenance, or promote, or approve a neutrality. He was well apprized that the bull as well as the brief would highly provoke both the king and his council, and therefore ordered his messengers to withdraw as soon as they had delivered them, and make the best of their way out of the kingdom. The king caused both pieces to be read in a full council, at which were present all the princes of the blood, most of the bishops, and several members of the university, and it was by all agreed, that the bull and the brief should be publicly torn, as highly derogatory to the royal prerogative, as tending to estrange the minds of the subjects from their lawful sovereign, and to raise disturbances in the kingdom. They were accordingly torn in pieces the next day in the council; and messengers being dispatched after those who had brought them, they were both apprehended and conducted under a strong guard to Paris. Being there convicted of bringing seditious papers into the kingdom, they were conveyed in a dung-cart from the prison to the square before the royal palace in black tunics, with paper mitres on their heads. Upon their tunics were painted the arms of Benedict reversed, with a placard affixed to them, importing, that they were impostors and traitors, sent into the kingdom by a traitor. When they had been thus twice exposed to the insults and fury of the populace, the one was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the other for three years only, it appearing that the one knew what was contained in the despatches they had brought, and that the other, a common courier, was quite ignorant of the contents.¹ On that occasion a monk of the order of the Trinity pronounced a speech fraught with most furious invectives against Benedict, charging him not only with the continuance of the schism but with heresy and treason.

In the mean time the king paying no regard to the menaces of Benedict, caused the decree of neutrality to be published throughout the kingdom at the appointed time, the day after the festival of the Ascension, that is, on the 25th of May. By that edict all were forbidden, on pain of incurring the king's high displeasure, to obey thenceforth either of the pretenders to the papal chair till an end was put by some means or other to the present schism. This decree the king caused to be communicated by his ambassadors to all the Christian princes; and it was readily received, published, and ordered to be observed by the kings of Hungary, of Bohemia, and by most of the German princes. At the same time the king wrote to the cardinals of both parties, exhorting and entreat-

ing them, as they tendered the welfare of the church and their own reputation, to join and concur jointly with him in restoring the so long wished-for unity without any regard to the pretended right of either of the competitors. In his letter he charges both popes with a breach of the most solemn oaths, with privately acting in concert; and imposing by a tacit agreement upon the rest of the world. He tells the cardinals that he has left nothing in his power unattempted to bring the two pretenders together, but that they have baffled, by a criminal collusion, all his endeavors; the one objecting to all maritime and the other to all inland places, as if no place could be found upon earth for them to meet in, and consider of the distracted state of the church. He closes his letter with declaring both popes unworthy of that title, and assuring the cardinals of his protection and all the assistance he has it in his power to afford them in carrying into execution the salutary measures that they shall agree to.

Benedict was still at Porto Venere, carrying on a mock treaty of union with Gregory; but being privately informed that the king had ordered marshal Boucicaut, governor of Genoa, to arrest him if he could by any means get him into his power, he embarked in great haste on board the galleys of Genoa that attended him, and steering for Spain, where he thought himself safe, landed in Catalonia, and went to reside at Perpignan, on the borders of Narbonne Gaul. At his departure from Porto Venere he wrote to Gregory who was still at Lucca, to let him know that, being no longer safe in the place where he then was, he was upon the point of removing from thence to another; but that no distance, however great, should prevent him from completing the work they had begun, that of restoring peace to the church. Benedict's cardinals, who had retired for the sake of the air into the country, and had been long dissatisfied with his conduct, finding themselves abandoned by their pope, resolved to abandon him in their turn. Having accordingly agreed among themselves to renounce all obedience to Benedict, they resolved in the next place to repair to Leghorn, whither the cardinals of Gregory had retired, and there to deliberate jointly with them about the most effectual means of obliging both popes to resign, as there was no hopes of their doing it voluntarily, and an end could no otherwise be put to the present divisions. The cardinals of Benedict were received by those of Gregory with the greatest demonstrations of joy; and after some conferences it was agreed by the cardinals of both parties, that a general council should be assembled at Pisa on the day of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, that is, on the 25th of March of the following year, 1409; that the cardinals of Gregory's obe-

¹ Monachus Dionys. lib. 28. c. 7.

The meeting of the council is approved by the kings of France and England. Benedict creates new cardinals, and assembles a council at Perpignan. What passed in that council.

dience should summon to it all who acknowledged Gregory; and those of Benedict's obedience, all who had acknowledged Benedict; and that the cardinals of both parties should make it known to the world, that a perfect harmony reigned between them, and exhort those to whom they wrote, to withdraw from the obedience of both, as the only means of establishing a lasting peace in the church.¹

This resolution was immediately communicated to all the bishops and princes of the one and the other obedience, and by most of them highly applauded, especially by the kings of France and England, the cardinals having sent one of their own body to acquaint them with their design of assembling a general council, and to beg they would oblige the bishops of their respective kingdoms to assist at it in person if they conveniently could. Both princes expressed great satisfaction at the coalition of the two colleges of cardinals, and assured the legate, that they should cause the decrees issued by them or by the general council which they intended to assemble, to be complied with throughout their dominions. The cardinals took care to invite both popes to the council, and to let them know that if they did not assist at it, nor send proper persons to represent them, they would proceed against them according to the canons.²

Benedict, instead of answering the summons of the cardinals, appointed a council to meet at Perpignan, on the 1st of November of the present year; and in the mean time, to supply the room of the old cardinals who had left him, he made a promotion of new ones; of five, according to some; of twelve or sixteen, according to others; who are all named by de Niem, Ciaconius, and Onuphrius; but most of them are generally supposed to have been created afterwards and at different times. Benedict, attended by his new cardinals, opened on the 1st of November, the appointed time, his council at Perpignan, consisting of about one hundred and twenty bishops, from the kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, and some even from France, though the king had forbidden any of his subjects to assist at it, and even placed guards upon all the public roads, with orders to stop all bishops and other ecclesiastics travelling into Spain while the council was sitting. As the assembly was entirely composed of the bishops of Benedict's obedience, his conduct, as represented by him, was universally approved; and the continuance of the schism charged upon Gregory. Thus far they were all of one mind. But in the sixth session, held on the 5th of December, being desired by Benedict to suggest what further measures they thought it expedient or necessary for him to pursue in order to put an effectual

stop to the evils attending the present division, and re-establish peace and unity in the church, great disputes arose among them.—Some were for his resigning immediately, and sending legates to make a resignation in due form in the presence of both of the colleges of cardinals at Pisa. Others declared against an immediate resignation, and though they approved of that measure, they were, nevertheless, for its being put off till the anti-pope, as they styled Gregory, had agreed to resign at the same time. Many other expedients were proposed, all as warmly opposed by the one party as supported by the other. During these disputes the bishops finding that nothing was likely to be determined, began daily to retire from the council and return to their sees, insomuch that they were at last reduced to eighteen. These in the session that was held on the 1st of February 1409, returned at last the following answer to the question Benedict had proposed in the sixth session: that they acknowledged him for lawful pope, and the only true vicar of Christ upon earth; that they believed him to be no heretic nor schismatic, nor favorer of heretics or schismatics; that they returned him their most sincere thanks for the steps he had already taken towards an union, but at the same time most earnestly entreated his holiness to pursue, in spite of all opposition, the work he had begun, to prefer the way of cession to all others; to extend the promise he had made to resign (provided his competitor resigned) to the case of his competitor's being deposed by those of his own obedience; to take such measures as should effectually prevent the continuance of the schism, in case he died before the union was concluded; and lastly, to send nuncios to the cardinals assembled at Pisa, to let them know that he agreed to these articles, and was ready to fulfil them. Such was the answer the few bishops still remaining at Perpignan returned to Benedict, desirous to know what further measures he should pursue to put an end to the schism. He thanked the bishops for the zeal they had shown in his cause, the cause of the church; and, not satisfied with promising to comply in every particular with the advice they had given him, he caused a public instrument to be drawn up containing that promise, which he signed, and caused all the bishops who were present to sign after him.¹ But it soon appeared that he never intended to observe this promise no more than the oath he had taken at his election, which gave great offence to those bishops, and estranged the minds of most of them from him.

On the other hand, Gregory, being still at Lucca, appointed a council to meet about the festival of Whitsunday, at some place

¹ Niem in Nemore, c. 13. ² Concil, tom. 11. p. 2146.

¹ Niem de Schis. l. 3. c. 67. Surita Indic. Arragon. l. 3. ad ann. 1408.

Gregory appoints a council to meet at Udine. Council at Pisa. First session. Second, third, and fourth sessions. Sentence pronounced against the two competitors. The fifth and sixth sessions. Embassadors from the emperor to the council.

to be afterwards named, in the province of Aquileia or the exarchate of Ravenna; and by circular letters, dated the 2d of July, invited to it all the bishops of his obedience, in order to deliberate with them about means of healing the present divisions. He removed soon after from Lucca to Siena, and there on the 19th of September created nine new cardinals, of different nations, to assist and support him against those lately promoted by his competitor. From Siena he went to Rimini, being invited thither by Charles Malatesta, lord of that city, and one of his most zealous friends. During his stay there he chose the city of Udine, in the territories of Venice and the diocese of Aquileia, for the meeting of his council; and acquainted therewith the bishops of his obedience, by letters bearing date the 19th of December in the third year of his pontificate; for he had been crowned on that very day two years before.¹

In the mean time the cardinals of the one and the other obedience repairing to Pisa, the council, which they had appointed to meet there, was opened in the cathedral church of that city on the 25th of March 1409. It was not very numerous at first, but the number of the fathers increasing daily, there were found to be present after the first sessions, twenty-two cardinals, one hundred and eighty archbishops and bishops, three hundred abbots, two hundred and eighty-two doctors in divinity, the three Latin patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and the ambassadors of the kings of France, England, Sicily, and most other princes. In the first session, held on the 25th of March, the mass of the Holy Ghost being celebrated with great solemnity by one of the cardinals, a doctor of divinity laid before them, in a learned speech, the distracted state of the church, pointed out the means of removing the evils arising from thence, and exhorted the fathers unanimously to concur in employing them.

The next day, the 26th of March, two cardinals, one archbishop, and one bishop, attended by the advocate for the council and some notaries, proceeded, by order of the council, to the church-gate, and there summoned aloud Peter de Luna and Angelus Corarius to appear. At the same time were summoned the cardinals de Flisco, de Chalcant, and of Osimo, who still remained with Benedict, and the cardinal of Todi, who had not yet left Gregory. As nobody appeared to answer the summons, the deputies of the council, returning to their seats, made their report, and it was thereupon resolved, that the council should proceed against the two pretenders to the pontificate as well as the cardinals who still adhered to them, as obstinately refusing to appear when lawfully

summoned. However, all further proceedings against them were put off till the next session to that which was to be held on the 30th of March. In the mean time arrived the cardinals of Milan and Bar, who had been sent into Germany to invite the emperor and the German princes to the council, and brought with them ninety archbishops, bishops, abbots, and doctors, who had not been present at the preceding sessions. As in the fourth session, on the 30th of March, neither of the competitors had yet appeared, nor any body to represent them, they were declared guilty of disobeying a just and lawful summons; and the sentence was read aloud and set up at the church door by the cardinal of Poitiers, bishop of Palestrina.

The fifth session was put off till Monday after the octave of Easter, that is, till the 15th of April, and in the mean time arrived at Pisa ambassadors from the emperor Rupert, whom they styled king of the Romans, as he had not yet been crowned at Rome. He still adhered to Gregory, had refused to renounce his obedience on account of his having approved of his election to the empire and the deposition of the emperor Winceslaus, and had therefore sent ambassadors, namely, one archbishop, two bishops, and a canon of Spire, not to assist in his name at the council, but to start difficulties against it. Being accordingly introduced to the council at the fifth session, on the 15th of April, they desired to know by whose authority the council was assembled, whether the cardinals could withdraw from the obedience of the pope, could convene a general council, or summon the pope to it? They assured the fathers, that Gregory was ready to assist at the council, and make good all his engagements, provided his competitor promised to do so too, and the council were transferred to some other place. The fathers desired the ambassadors to produce their credentials, and deliver in writing what they had proposed by word of mouth. They complied, not without great reluctance; but instead of waiting for an answer to their questions, which the council had promised to return at the next session, they left Pisa, without taking leave, and returned to Germany, having first appealed from that assembly in their master's name, and declared, that it belonged to him to convene a general council, and that no general council could be lawfully assembled but by his authority. The ambassadors withdrew from Pisa on the 20th of April, and the council meeting on the 24th, it was by the whole assembly unanimously declared, that the college of cardinals had a power in the present critical juncture to convene a general council; that a general council was the church universal, and could proceed to a definitive sentence;

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1408. Num. 67.

Seventh session of the council. Eighth session. Ninth and tenth sessions. Eleventh and twelfth sessions.

that the number of prelates then present was sufficient to form a general council; that the city of Pisa was as proper a place as any for them to meet at; and that the two pretenders to the pontificate had been sufficiently summoned to it. The day after the departure of the ambassadors Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini, where Gregory still was, came to Pisa, to beg the cardinals would transfer the council to some other place. But the four cardinals, two of Benedict's obedience, and two of Gregory's, appointed by the council to receive and to hear him, told him, that notwithstanding the great regard they had for him, they could not grant to him what, for weighty reasons, they had refused to the king of the Romans. The seventh session was held on the 24th of April, when the advocate for the council read aloud from the pulpit an account of the schism from its first rise up to that time, of the measures that had been pursued to remove it, and of the obstacles they had met with from both pretenders, choosing rather to leave the church involved in the utmost confusion, than to part with their dignity. When he had done reading, he addressed himself to the fathers of the council, begging they would cause the facts which he had alledged to be inquired into, and, if found to be true, to depose both pretenders as alike guilty; to deprive those who still adhered to either, of their offices, benefices, and dignities, and absolve all from their obedience. In the mean time arrived at Pisa, Simon de Cremaut, patriarch of Alexandria, the ambassadors of the dukes of Brabant, of Holland, of the city and church of Liege, the deputies of the university of Paris, and soon after them the ambassadors of the king of England, and those of the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne.

In the eighth session, held on the last of April, the bishop of Salisbury, Robert Alan, one of the ambassadors from the king of England, Henry IV., preached before the council, taking for his text the words of the eighty-ninth psalm, "Righteousness and mercy are the habitation of thy seat." He exhorted the fathers to complete the great and necessary work which they had begun, which his master, he said, had above all things at heart, and had therefore sent him and his colleagues with full powers to condemn or approve in his name, and in that of the clergy of his kingdom, what should be condemned or approved by so venerable an assembly. Walsingham adds, in the life of Henry IV., that ambassadors were sent by that prince to persuade Gregory, if by any means they could, to sacrifice his dignity to the welfare of the church, after the example of the true mother, who chose rather to yield her child to the pretended mother, than suffer it to be divided between them.

The council met again on the 4th of May, when Peter de Ancharano, one of the most learned doctors of Bologna, rising up, answered the questions that had been proposed to the council by the ambassadors of Rupert, styling him only duke of Bavaria, showed that the two pretenders had been sufficiently summoned, and that as neither of them had appeared in compliance with their repeated summons, the council might now proceed against them, though absent. Commissioners were accordingly named to hear and examine the depositions of the witnesses that were ready to appear, and attest the facts that the advocate for the council had alledged against both the competitors. The commissioners were, two cardinals for the two colleges of cardinals, the bishop of Lisieux, and three doctors for the kingdom of France; for England one doctor, one for Provence, and two for Germany. In this session it was ordained that deputies should be sent to appease Ladislaus, king of Naples, but we are not told what had provoked him. He was at this time most zealously attached to Gregory, and, perhaps, offended at the proceedings of the council against him. The tenth session, on the 8th of May, was not held in the cathedral, but in the church of St. Michael, the festival of his apparition on mount Gargano being solemnized on that day. In this session the patriarch of Alexandria undertook to prove, in answer to the questions of the emperor's ambassadors, that, in the present distracted state of the church, the cardinals not only had a power to assemble a general council, but were bound by their office to convene one. In a congregation that was held after the session, Nicholas, bishop of Albano, told the fathers that nuncios from Peter de Luna were on the road, and would, as he was informed, arrive in a short time at Pisa, and he therefore desired that it might be previously settled how they should be received, and what regard should be had to them, or whether any. The affair was left that day undetermined, but on the next, the 9th of May, the day of the eleventh session, it was determined that the nuncios should be received without any the least mark of distinction, but should be civilly treated and heard in full council.

In the eleventh session the bishop of Salisbury observed that some of Benedict's cardinals there present had not yet renounced his obedience, whereas all of the opposite party had withdrawn from the obedience of Gregory; and he was therefore of opinion that they should all join and jointly renounce, by a solemn act, all obedience to both. He was therein seconded by the patriarch of Alexandria, by the bishop of Cracow, nuncio from the king of Poland, and by the nuncios of Cologne and Mentz. But the cardinals, who had not yet with-

The thirteenth and fourteenth sessions of the council. The fifteenth session. Both popes deposed. Promise made by the cardinals. The nuncios of Benedict; how received.

drawn from the obedience of Benedict, desired time to deliberate, which was granted them only till the next day; when the whole council, two bishops only excepted, the one an Englishman, the other a German, agreed to the motion of the bishop of Salisbury. A decree was therefore drawn up and read aloud by the patriarch of Alexandria, importing that the cardinals, and with them the other members of the present general council, renounced all obedience to both the pretenders to the pontifical dignity, as the authors of the continuance of the schism, and the inexpressible evils attending it, which they had it in their power, and were bound by the most solemn oaths, to remove.

In the mean time the witnesses against both being examined by the commissioners, and their depositions laid before the council in the following sessions, by the archbishop of Pisa, with the name and character of each witness. As the facts were all notorious, and, besides, attested by persons of unexceptionable characters, the advocate for the council desired the fathers would declare them fully proved, and proceed, without further delay, to the definitive sentence. The fathers, however, caused the two pretenders to be summoned anew at the church-door, and on the 28th of May put off the pronouncing of the definitive sentence till the 5th of June. The next day Peter Plaon, doctor in divinity, reputed one of the most learned men in the university of Paris, preaching before the council, alledged a great many reasons to prove the superiority of the church, or a general council, to the pope, showed the conduct of Peter de Luna to be not only that of an obstinate schismatic, but an incorrigible heretic, altogether unworthy of holding any dignity in the church, much more the highest, and closed his speech with assuring the fathers, that such was the opinion not only of the university of Paris, but of Angers, of Orleans, of Toulouse. When he had done, the bishop of Novara read from the pulpit the opinions of one hundred and three professors of divinity in the university of Bologna, all entirely agreeing with those of the French universities.

As every article of the charge brought against both competitors was now fully proved, and neither appeared, though so often summoned, nor any body for them, the council proceeded at last, in the fifteenth session, held on the 5th of June, to the definitive sentence. At that session were present one hundred and seventy archbishops, bishops, and mitred abbots, one hundred and twenty doctors in divinity, three hundred doctors in civil and canon law, and the ambassadors of almost all the Christian princes. When they had all taken their places, the patriarch of Alexandria, attended by the two patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, read aloud from the pulpit the defini-

tive sentence in the hearing of an immense multitude, the church doors being all opened on that occasion. The sentence was as follows: "The holy general council, representing the church universal, and therefore vested with the necessary power finally to determine the present cause, having examined all that has been produced relative to the union of the church, and the schism between Peter de Luna, heretofore called Benedict XIII. and Angelus Corarius, styled Gregory XII., pronounce, declare, and define, upon the most mature deliberation, all the facts alledged against both pretenders to the papal dignity to be true, and both to have forfeited, as schismatics and heretics, as guilty of perjury and a breach of the most solemn vow, all right and title to that dignity. But though they have, by their obstinacy in fomenting so long a schism, forfeited the pontifical and every other dignity, and "ipso facto" incurred the sentence of excommunication and the other censures of the church, the council nevertheless excommunicates, rejects, and deposes them, and pronounces them excommunicated, rejected, and deposed by the present definitive sentence; forbids them henceforth to assume the name of high pontiffs, and all Christians on pain of excommunication to obey them, or lend them any assistance whatever; annuls all the judgments they have hitherto given, or may henceforth give, as well as the promotion of cardinals made lately by either, by Angelus Corarius since the 3d of May of the preceding year, and by Peter de Luna since the 15th of June of the same year; and lastly, declares upon the whole, the apostolic see to be at present vacant, and the cardinals at liberty to proceed to a new election."

In the following session, held on the 10th of June, a paper was read from the pulpit by the archbishop of Pisa, containing a promise made and signed by all the cardinals who were present, that if any of them should be elected to fill the vacant see, he would not dismiss the council nor suffer the fathers to separate till a reformation was made of the church universal in its head as well as its members; and that if any then absent, or not of their college, should be elected, the election should not be published till he had made the same promise. In the seventeenth session, held on the 13th of June, the patriarch of Alexandria, attended by the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, read a paper from the pulpit, empowering the cardinals to proceed to the election of one lawful and undoubted pope. The fathers met again the next day, when ambassadors appeared before them from the king of Arragon, desiring to be informed of what had passed in the council. They were received with all the respect due to their character, and told, that in compliance with their demand, pro-

Alexander V. elected. His birth, education, preferments, &c.

per persons should be appointed to give them the necessary information. But when they acquainted the council with the arrival of the nuncios of pope Benedict XIII., and desired they might be heard, they were hissed by the whole assembly for styling him pope, but at the same time told, that out of the regard they had for their master, the messengers of Peter de Luna should be heard out of the council, though by the canons nothing ought to be heard in favor of a condemned heretic. Some cardinals being therefore appointed to hear them in the church of St. Martin, they desired, in the first place, to know whether they might speak freely, having a great deal to object to some of the determinations of the council. The car-

dinals returned answer, that they might speak as freely as they pleased, provided they said nothing that was injurious to, or reflected on the council; but the fathers would suffer no reflections upon so august an assembly to pass with impunity. Being intimidated with this answer, they demanded time to deliberate, which was granted them; but the very next day, the 15th of June, they privately withdrew from Pisa, and appeared no more. And now the cardinals who were present, in all twenty-four, being empowered by the council to elect one true and lawful pope in the room of the two whom they had deposed, resolved to proceed without delay to the election.

ALEXANDER V., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRD BISHOP OF ROME.

[MANUEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—RUPERT OF BAVARIA, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1409.] The nuncios of Peter de Luna having left Pisa early in the morning of the 15th of June, the nineteenth session, as it is called in the acts of the council, was held on the same day. In that session the mass of the Holy Ghost being celebrated by the archbishop of Lions, and a sermon preached by the bishop of Novara, who took for his text the words of the second book of Kings, chap. x., ver. 3: "Look even out the best, and set him on the throne," the council was adjourned, and the cardinals, entering in the evening into the conclave in the palace of the archbishop of Pisa, remained there till the 26th of June, when they unanimously elected Peter of Candia, cardinal-presbyter of the twelve apostles, a friar Minorite, at the time of his election about seventy years of age. He took the name of Alexander V.; and immediately after his election appointed the council to meet on the 1st of the following July.

Alexander was come of an obscure family in the isle of Candia; so obscure, that he never knew, as he himself owned, father, mother, brothers, sisters, or any of his kindred; but being by nobody owned, begged his bread in the streets of Candia, the metropolis of the island, which from thence took its name. In that condition he was met by a friar Minorite, who, judging from his countenance of the good disposition of his mind, took him with him to his convent, and taught him the rudiments of the Latin tongue. As he showed a great inclination to learn, and a very uncommon capacity, he was, after the usual trials, admitted into

the order. In the mean time the friar, returning to Italy, (for he was a native of that country,) carried his pupil with him, and representing him to the superiors of the order as a very promising youth, prevailed upon them to send him to the university of Oxford, at this time one of the chief seats, if not the first, of learning. Having ended his studies there with the reputation of a very extraordinary genius, he went to Paris, and distinguishing himself in that university no less than he had done at Oxford, he was honored there with the degree of doctor in divinity. He then returned to Italy, where John Galeazzi Visconti, lord of Milan, hearing of his adventures, and being thereupon desirous to know him, was so pleased with his conversation, that he took him into his protection, and by his interest got him preferred, first to the bishopric of Vicenza, afterwards to that of Novara, and lastly to the archbishopric of Milan, from which he was raised by Innocent VII. to the dignity of cardinal, and was therefore commonly called the cardinal of Milan.¹ Such is the account Theodoric de Niem has given us of the rise of Alexander V.; and his account, as he not only lived at this time, but belonged to Alexander's court, I have preferred to those of others who wrote after him, and differ from him. The Greek name of Philargus or Philaretus, given to this pope by some historians, he must have assumed, as he knew nothing of his family or relations.

Alexander, immediately after his election, had, as has been said, appointed the council

¹ De Niem, de Schis, c. 5.

Alexander confirms all the acts of the council. Revokes all sentences pronounced by either of the competitors. Confirms all collations of benefices, &c. made by either. Last session of the council of Pisa. Council held by Gregory at Udine.

to meet on Monday the 1st of July, and they met accordingly on that day, when cardinal de Challant read a paper signed by all the cardinals, declaring that they had elected the cardinal of Milan to fill the vacant see, and recommending him and the church to the prayers of the council. The pope then preached a sermon, taking for his text the words of the gospel: "There shall be one fold, and one pastor." When he had done, the cardinal of St. Eustachius, Belthazar Cossa, commonly called the cardinal of Bologna, from his having been archdeacon of that church, read a decree of the new pope, confirming all that had been done by the council, or by the cardinals from the 3d of May 1408 to the present time. In this session, the twentieth according to the acts, the pope gave notice to the cardinals and the council, that he intended to be crowned on the following Sunday, the 7th of July, and appointed them to meet again on the ensuing Wednesday, the 10th of the same month. The ceremony of the coronation was performed in the cathedral of Pisa with the usual solemnity, and the pope rode, according to custom, through the city in his pontificals, attended not only by the cardinals, but by all the bishops of the council on horseback, clad in white, with their caparisons of the same color.¹

In the twenty-first session, held at the appointed time, the 10th of July, the pope declared null and revoked all sentences pronounced by either of the competitors against those who were not of their obedience, or had embraced the neutrality. Nothing else was done in this session, but the fathers were required to assemble again the following Wednesday, the 17th of July. But that session was afterwards put off to the 27th of the same month on account of the arrival of Lewis of Anjou, who was acknowledged king of Naples by Alexander and all the cardinals, but had been driven out by his competitor Ladislaus. He was received by the cardinals with extraordinary marks of honor, was declared by the pope the only lawful king of Sicily, that is, of Naples, and made the standard-bearer of the church.

In the twenty-second session, held on the 27th of July, the pope confirmed all collations of benefices, ordinations, consecrations, translations, &c. made by either of the competitors, provided they were, in other respects, canonical. In this session it was ordained, that in the term of three years another general council should be convened, that is, in April 1412, at some place to be named one year before that time. At the same time the pope generously remitted all that was due from the churches to the apostolic chamber till the time of his election,

and exhorted the cardinals to follow therein his example, which they all very readily did, except the cardinal of Albano. He likewise declared, that he did not intend to reserve to himself the spoils of deceased bishops, nor the revenues of vacant benefices.

The twenty-third and last session was held on the 7th of August, when it was decreed, that no goods, lands, or estates, belonging to the Roman or to any other church, should be sold or mortgaged before the meeting of the next general council; that in the mean time the archbishops and bishops should convene provincial synods, the monks and regular canons should hold general and provincial chapters, in order to inform themselves of the prevailing abuses, and lay them before the future general council; that ambassadors should be immediately dispatched to all the Christian princes to acquaint them with the determinations of the council, and exhort them to see what they had determined carried into execution; and lastly, that the council, which was to meet in the term of three years, should be reputed a continuation of the present, and should pursue the work happily begun, the reformation of the church in its head as well as its members. After these regulations, leave was granted to the bishops to return to their sees; but they were at the same time required readily to obey the summons that should be sent them, after a three years' recess, to meet again and resume the work of the so much wanted reformation. And now the church had in effect three heads. For Gregory was still acknowledged by king Ladislaus, by some cities of Italy, and by Rupert, king of the Romans, provoked at Alexander's giving that title to Wincseslaus, king of Bohemia. Benedict was still obeyed as lawful pope by the kings of Arragon, of Castile, of Scotland, and the earl of Armagnac, and Alexander by all the other Christian princes.

In the mean time Gregory, on Corpus Christi day, the 6th of June, opened the council which he had appointed to meet at Udine. But in the first session nothing was transacted on account of the very small number of bishops present at it. The second session was put off for a considerable time, and in the mean while the bishops of Malta and Ferentino were sent by Gregory to order, on pain of excommunication, all the bishops in the territories of Venice to repair, without delay, to Udine and attend the council. But the two nuncios were every where received with the utmost contempt, the Venetians having already declared, though Gregory was a native of Venice, for the council of Pisa and Alexander. However, in the second session, held on what day we know not, nor in what month, the sentence of excommunication was thundered out by

¹ De Niem, de Schis. c. 5.

Gregory's flight from Udine. Alexander's bull in favor of the mendicants.

Gregory against Peter de Luna and Peter de Candia, the election of the one and the other was declared uncanonical and sacrilegious, both were pronounced schismatics and heretics, and their acts were all annulled, and all were forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to obey the one or the other. In the third session, held on the 5th of September, Gregory, pretending to have of all things at heart the tranquillity and peace of the church, caused a paper to be read by one of the very few bishops who were present, wherein he declared, calling God to witness the sincerity of his intentions, that he was ready to resign, provided Peter de Luna and Peter de Candia would do so too personally, at the same time, and in the same place; that he left the settling of the time and the place to Rupert, king of the Romans, to Ladislaus, king of Sicily, and to Sigismund, king of Hungary. He added, that if the two intruders did not agree to these terms, he granted them leave to assemble a general council of the three obediences, at which, he said, he was ready to assist in person, and to acquiesce in their decrees, provided his two competitors engaged to assist at it in person as well as he, and to stand to the determination of that assembly.¹ But he had given too many glaring instances of his insincerity to be thought now sincere; and all he said, promised, or vowed, was looked upon as only calculated to gain time.

As the Venetians had received the council of Pisa, and all secular princes were required by that council to afford no retreat in their dominions to either of the pretenders to the apostolic see, but on the contrary to treat them as schismatics, as heretics, as rebels to the church, Gregory thinking himself no longer safe at Udine, subject to the Venetians, resolved to leave that place and return to his friend Charles Malatesta, Lord of Rimini. But Anthony, patriarch of Aquileia, whom he had deposed the year before, and very unjustly, had placed guards on all the roads, with orders to arrest him and keep him strictly guarded till further orders. Upon this intelligence Gregory, laying aside all thoughts of returning to Rimini, wrote to king Ladislaus to acquaint him with his unhappy situation, and beg he would send him two galleys to convey him out of the Venetian territories. The galleys were immediately sent, and with them fifty men to protect him against any sudden attack in his way from Udine to the sea side. But Gregory not thinking fifty men a sufficient guard, resolved to make use of them only to deceive those who lay in wait for him; he set out accordingly from Udine on horse-back in the disguise of a merchant, with only two men on foot, having first ordered his confessor to follow him at some distance in the

pontifical habit with the guards, and the rest of his court. They who guarded the road being told that the pope was coming, put themselves in a posture to receive him and his guards, and in that hurry let the pretended merchant pass unmolested. But the poor confessor paid dear for personating the pope, for the guards sallying out of their ambuscade as he approached, seized him, stript him of his pontifical habit, plundered his baggage, &c. But while they were thus employed, Gregory making the best of his way to the sea side, got safe on board his galleys. When the guards found out their mistake, they fell upon the confessor, beat him most unmercifully, and having discovered in beating him, that he had money concealed in his pontifical habit, they stript him naked, and found five hundred florins of gold sewed up in his robes, which they divided among themselves. The next day one of the guards attiring himself with all the pontifical ornaments taken from the confessor, rode up and down the streets of Udine, affecting all the gravity of the high pontiff, and giving his benediction to immense crowds of people, presenting themselves by way of diversion or derision on their knees before him.¹ Thus ended Gregory's council. As for himself, he arrived safe on board the galleys at Gaeta, and was there entertained as lawful pope by king Ladislaus.

To return to Alexander—while he was still at Pisa he issued a bull in favor of the mendicant orders, especially the Minorites, confirming all the privileges that his predecessors, namely, Boniface VIII. and John XXII. had granted them, and condemning some propositions calculated to deprive them of those privileges. The propositions were: I. That the validity of confessions made to the mendicants is, at least, doubtful, and consequently that all ought to confess to their parish priests, as the validity of such confessions has never been questioned. II. That should it even be allowed that the mendicants really have the power of hearing confessions and absolving, yet they are guilty of a deadly sin who apply to them without previously obtaining leave of their parish priest. III. That the mendicants are equally guilty in hearing the confessions of those who apply to them without the knowledge and consent of their parish priests. These propositions, and some others of the same tendency, Alexander condemned as erroneous and repugnant to the canons; ordered those who should thenceforth presume to assert, teach, or maintain them, to be reputed and proceeded against as heretics; declared them excommunicated “*ipso facto*,” and reserved to himself and his successors the power of absolving them, except at the point of death.² The bull is dated at Pisa, the 12th of October 1409. But the univer-

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1409. Num. 82. Concil. tom. 41. col. 3004.

² Niem, l. 3. c. 45. Monachus Dionys. l. 29. c. 10.

The doctrine of Wickliffe propagated in Bohemia. The pope obliged by the plague to leave Pisa. Goes to Bologna. Dies there;—[Year of Christ, 1410.]

sity of Paris protested against it as surreptitious and derogatory to the undoubted rights of the bishops as well as the parish priests; and it was not received there till long after Alexander's time.

As the doctrine of Wickliffe began at this time to take deep root in the kingdom of Bohemia, and John Huss was, among the rest, accused to the pope of holding and propagating that doctrine, Alexander wrote to the archbishop of Prague, Alexander Stinko, strictly enjoining him to proceed against all who should presume to defend those impious tenets, as heretics, and at the same time summoned John Huss to Rome, to answer at the tribunal of the apostolic see the charge brought against him. The archbishop, in compliance with the pope's order, forbade the doctrine of Wickliffe to be taught by any under his jurisdiction on pain of incurring the censures of the church, and other punishments inflicted by the canons upon heretics; ordered all who had any of that archheretic's books in their possession to deliver them up to him, and having thus got two hundred copies of them, he caused them to be publicly burnt by the hand of the common hangman. John Huss received the summons; but instead of obeying it, and appearing personally at the pope's tribunal, he sent two of his friends to plead his cause for him, and in the mean time appealed from "Alexander ill-informed to Alexander well-informed."¹ As I shall have frequent occasion to speak of John Huss in the sequel, it will not, I hope, be thought foreign to my subject to give here some account of a man, who, in the times which I am now writing of, became so famous in the history of the church.

John Huss, then, was a native of the kingdom of Bohemia, being born in a small town of that kingdom, named Hussinetz; and from thence he was called John of Hussinetz, or John Huss. He studied at the university of Prague, and soon distinguished himself above all his fellow-students by the wonderful progress he made in every branch of literature. Having ended his studies, he was appointed preacher at the famous chapel of Bethlehem in Prague, and he there preached with such zeal against the reigning vices of the age, that Sophia of Bavaria, second wife of Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, chose him for her confessor. He was in process of time elected rector of the university; and that office he discharged to the entire satisfaction of most of the members of that learned body. Trithemius speaks of him "as a man of very great note for his judgment, subtlety, eloquence, and knowledge of the scriptures;"² and the Jesuit Balbinus, who certainly was not prejudiced in his favor, gives him the following character

in his epitome of the history of Bohemia: "John Huss," says that Jesuit, "was more subtle than eloquent; but the modesty and severity of his manners, his unpolished, austere, and entirely blameless life, his pale, thin visage, his good nature, and his affability to all, even to the meanest persons, were more persuasive than the greatest eloquence." But his blameless life could afford him no protection against the malice and malevolence of the clergy. For as he inveighed in all his sermons, perhaps with too much acrimony, against their irregularities, they took occasion, from some expressions he let drop, favorable to Wickliffe, to accuse him to the pope of holding and propagating the same doctrines that Wickliffe had held, and the church had condemned. But that he was no heretic, that he taught no doctrines but what could bear a favorable construction, even according to the principles of the church of Rome, shall be shown in the sequel.

In the latter end of the present year, 1409, the pope was obliged, by the plague that broke out at Pisa, to quit that city, and retire first to Prato, and from thence to Pistoia, two cities in the territories of Florence, at a small distance from each other. Alexander intended to have gone from Pistoia to Rome, king Ladislaus, who had made himself master of that city, having been lately driven out of it by Paul Ursini, assisted by the Florentines, the Senese, the Bolognese, and other states of Italy, jealous of the power of that warlike prince. But Balthasar Cossa, cardinal legate of Bologna, persuaded him, contrary to the opinion of all the other cardinals, to go first to that city; and that with a design, as some writers suppose, of getting the cardinals into his power, and obliging them, should the pope, who was grown very infirm, die there, to elect him in his room. He had been but a very short time at Bologna when the Romans invited him, by a very solemn embassy, to come and reside at Rome; and delivered to him the keys of the city as well as of the castle St. Angelo. The pope seemed inclined to gratify the Romans, but cardinal Cossa, who governed him as he pleased, diverted him from it, and kept him, under various pretences, at Bologna till he was no longer able to undertake the journey to Rome. His complaints increased daily, and at last put an end to his life in the night between the 3d and 4th of May, 1410, in the seventy-first year of his age, when he had governed the church ten months and eight days. St. Antonine writes that it was said he had been poisoned "clystere venenato;"³ and with him Monstreletus agrees as to the report of poison having been administered to him. Neither indeed tells us by whom; but one of the articles of the complicated charge

¹ Apud Raynald. ad. ann. 1409. Num. 80.

² Trithem. in Chron. Hirsaug. tom. 2. p. 315.

³ Balbin. l. 4. p. 431.

² Antonin. tit. 22. c. 5.

Alexander's character and writings. John XXIII. elected. His birth, education, employments, &c.

brought in the council of Constance against John XXIII., the name of cardinal Cossa assumed when raised to the pontificate, was, that aspiring at the pontificate, he had conspired against pope Alexander of holy memory, and caused him to be poisoned by Daniel of St. Sophia, his physician.

Alexander is represented by most authors, who speak of him, as a man of a remarkably mild disposition, as one who made it his business to oblige all, and never was known to have refused any favor, which he had it in his power and thought it lawful to grant. His generosity bounded upon prodigality; for being unwilling to dismiss any dissatisfied who applied to him, he gave to all so liberally, that he left nothing for him-

self, and used therefore to say, that he was rich when a bishop, was poor when a cardinal, and a beggar when pope. He was a man strictly religious, says the anonymous monk of St. Denys, a contemporary writer, and led a most holy life without affecting any extraordinary sanctity.¹ As to his learning, he is called by Platina a great orator, and by cardinal Ægidius of Viterbo one of the best philosophers and ablest divines of his time.² He wrote commentaries upon the Four Books of Sentences, several philosophical pieces, sermons, letters, and a treatise on the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, not defining it, but only showing that it is not repugnant to the faith.³

JOHN XXIII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FOURTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[MANUEL PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—SIGISMUND OF LUXEMBOURG, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1410.] Alexander dying, as has been said, in the night, between the 3d and 4th of May, his exequies were performed in the church of the Minorites, where he had chosen to be buried, on the 5th of the same month, and nine days after the cardinals, who were present, in all seventeen, entering, according to custom, into the conclave, elected, on the 17th, cardinal Balthasar Cossa, or Coxa, then legate of Bologna, who took the name of John XXIII. His election was at first opposed by the three Roman cardinals, and by cardinal Francis, commonly called the cardinal of Bourdeaux. The Roman cardinals were prevailed upon to concur with the rest. But the cardinal of Bourdeaux protested to the last against the election, saying, that if cardinal Cossa were to be elected king or emperor, he might depend upon his vote and interest, but that he never would consent to his being elected pope.¹ Philip of Bergamo tells us, that as the cardinals could not agree, they applied to cardinal Cossa, desiring him to name the person who should be pope; that he, after some affected reluctance, desired them to deliver up to him the mantle of St. Peter, promising to give it to the person who should be pope; and that upon the cardinals complying with his request, he threw the mantle round his shoulders, saying, "I am pope."² The historian adds, that Cossa having, as legate, many armed men under his command, the cardinals thought it advisable to dissemble. Platina writes, that Cossa was said to have kept a

great number of troops in Bologna, and the neighboring country, to oblige the cardinals to elect him, if they did not do it of their own accord.⁴ De Niem reproaches him with bribing the poor cardinals, those especially of Gregory, and purchasing their suffrages with large sums of money.⁵ With him most other authors agree, so that according to them the election of John XXIII. if he did not elect himself, was owing either to fear or to bribery; and he had no better right to that dignity than either of the other two competitors.

John was a native of Naples; come of a noble and wealthy family of that city. He studied the civil and canon law at Bologna, and having obtained there the degree of doctor, he went from thence to Rome, aspiring even then at the pontificate. For Platina tells us, that being asked by his friends whither he was going, he answered, "To the papedom." Boniface IX. then pope, his countryman, and well acquainted with his family, admitted him soon after his arrival among his cubicularii, or waiters at his chamber-door, and in process of time made him apostolic protonotary, archdeacon of Bologna, and cardinal of St. Eutachius. He was promoted to the dignity of cardinal in 1402, and, being soon after his promotion appointed legate of the province of Flaminia, he recovered the city of Bologna from John Galeazzo, lord of Milan, and, residing there, continued to govern and plunder that pro-

¹ Monach. Dionys. l. 29. c. 3.

² Platina in Vit. Ægidius. in secul. 20.

³ Ludvic. Jacob. in Bibliothec. Pontific.

⁴ Platina, in ejus Vita. ⁵ Niem de Schis. l. 3. c. 53.

¹ Antoninus, tit. 22. c. 6. ² Philip de Bergamo, l. 14.

John enthroned, ordained, crowned, &c. Writes to all the bishops. Death of the emperor Rupert, and election of Sigismund. The claims of the pope opposed in France.

vince to the time of his election. He quarrelled with pope Gregory about the revenues of that bishopric, of which he kept the greater part for himself; and being ordered by that pope to refund, he became one of his most inveterate enemies; and it was chiefly at his instigation that the other cardinals forsook him. He was one of the chief promoters of the council of Pisa, and obtained leave of the Florentines for the council to meet in that city then subject to them. In the conclave, that was held upon the deposition of the two competitors, he exerted all his interest in favor of Alexander, as a man of great learning, of an exemplary life, and one who had no relations to enrich at the expense of the church. As Alexander, while cardinal, placed an entire confidence in him, was himself but very little acquainted with temporal affairs, and far advanced in years, Cossa knew that the government, with respect to temporals, would be left wholly to him, and did not at all doubt but he should be able to dispose matters so as to be elected upon his death, which might be daily expected, in his room. He therefore spared no pains nor money, if some of the contemporary writers are to be credited, to secure the election of Alexander, worthy, says Gobelinus, in every respect of the pontifical dignity, except the confidence he blindly reposed in cardinal Cossa.¹

John, thus elected, was enthroned on the day of his election, Saturday the 17th of May; assisted on Sunday the 18th in his pontificals at high mass in the chapel of the apostolic palace in Bologna; was ordained priest, being only cardinal deacon, on the following Saturday the 24th, and on Sunday the 25th consecrated in the church of St. Petronius, the tutelary saint of Bologna, and then crowned with the usual solemnity. Gobelinus Persona writes, that many were scandalized, seeing him ride, according to custom after his coronation, in the attire of high pontiff through the city, which he had governed as a complete tyrant, and where he was known to have led a worldly life.²

The new pope the day after his coronation wrote to all the bishops and Christian princes to acquaint them with his promotion, and exhort them to support him against the two pretenders to the pontifical dignity condemned and deposed by the church universal; at the same time he revoked all the censures pronounced by either, annulled all their decrees, and confirmed those of Alexander and the council of Pisa.³

The emperor Rupert still adhered to Gregory, and had gained over some of the German princes to his party, but fortunately for

the new pope he died at Oppenheim soon after his election. The news of his death was received with great joy by the pope; and he immediately despatched nuncios with most pressing letters to all the electors in favor of Sigismund of Luxembourg, the son of the emperor Charles IV. margrave of Brandenburg, and king of Hungary. However, the electors were divided between Sigismund and his cousin Jodocus, marquis of Moravia; and some writers tell us, that the latter was actually elected, but as he died before he was crowned, even with the silver crown at Aix-la-Chapelle, he has not been reckoned amongst the emperors or kings of the Romans. Upon his death the electors met again, and unanimously elected Sigismund. In the history of Bohemia, by Dubravius, we are told that Sigismund who was one of the electors as marquis of Brandenburg, being asked the first whom he elected? answered, "Myself; for I know myself to be equal to the empire of the world, which is more than I know or can say of any body else." The historian adds, that the electors, taken with his frankness, all unanimously concurred in his election.¹ Thus Dubravius, bishop of Olmutz. But Eberhard Windeck, who was counsellor to Sigismund, and present at his election, tells us, that upon the death of Jodocus he was, though absent, unanimously elected king of the Romans. The bishop therefore must have been misled by false memoirs, when he wrote that Sigismund nominated himself. However that be, the part the pope acted on this occasion gained him the protection and goodwill of the new emperor, and they reciprocally engaged to support, protect, and defend one another against all their enemies.

As the late pope had by an unbounded, and, as some thought, an ill-understood generosity, left nothing for himself or his successor, and John stood in great want of money to support his friend Lewis of Anjou against Ladislaus, his most inveterate enemy, he sent the archbishop of Pisa into France, to collect the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices, the revenues of the vacant churches, and the spoils of the deceased clergy.—The archbishop would, probably, have met with no opposition in the execution of his commission, had he not very unadvisedly pretended all those branches of the papal revenue to be due to the apostolic chamber by civil, canonical, natural, and Divine right. That claim or pretension was strongly opposed by the university as well as the parliament of Paris, and by them a royal mandate was obtained, forbidding all ecclesiastics to pay the demanded subsidies on pain of forfeiting their benefices, of imprisonment, and other penalties. It was further resolved, in a numerous assembly of the clergy, that

¹ Niem Vit. Joan. XXIII. in Gobel. Persona etate 6. c. 90. Leonardus Aretin. p. 257.

² Gobelinus, ubi supra.

³ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1410.

¹ Dubravius Hist. Bohemie, l. 23.

Pope John returns to Rome ;—[Year of Christ, 1411 ;]—and gains a complete victory over Ladislaus. The pope betrayed by his generals. Excommunicates Ladislaus ;—[Year of Christ, 1412.]

if the legate should employ the censures of the church against any who refused to comply with his demands, an appeal should be made in the name of the whole Gallican church to the future council.¹ However, upon the pope's representing in a letter to the legate, that king Ladislaus was making great military preparations with a design of reducing the city of Rome, and placing Gregory anew in the pontifical chair, and that without an immediate supply of money he could not pretend to oppose him, it was agreed in an assembly of the clergy, that to defeat the wicked designs of Ladislaus, and prevent the reviving of the schism, a charitable supply ("charitativum subsidium") should be granted to his holiness ; that is, a supply by way of charity, and not out of any obligation. And thus one half of the tenths of benefices was allowed him ; but his collectors were not suffered to meddle either with the revenues of vacant churches or the spoils of the deceased clergy.²

Pope John having now remained near a whole year at Bologna, resolved to leave that city, and in compliance with the pressing instances of the Romans go to Rome, the partizans of king Ladislaus and pope Gregory being all driven from thence by Paul Ursini, and Malatesta, who commanded the troops of the republic of Florence, sent to the assistance of the pope. He set out accordingly for Rome in April 1411, and on the 11th of that month, Holy Saturday, he made his public entry into that city, being attended by Lewis of Anjou king of Naples ; by the college of cardinals ; by a great number of prelates, and the flower of the Italian nobility. He was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and the next day, the festival of Easter, he celebrated mass with great solemnity in the church of St. Peter. Being determined to drive Ladislaus from the throne, and place Lewis of Anjou on it in his room, on the 23d of April, St. George's-day, after solemn mass said by himself, he blessed with the usual ceremonies the great standard of the church, and the military standards of the senate and people of Rome. On the 28th of the same month he delivered the standard of the church to Lewis of Anjou, appointing him commander-in-chief against Ladislaus, a declared enemy of the church, and Angelus Corarius, called heretofore Gregory XII.—Under him commanded Paul Ursini, and James Sforza, who had served several princes with great reputation, and was reputed one of the best commanders of his time.—The pope, who had more of the military man than the ecclesiastic, was for commanding the army in person, but being diverted from it by the cardinals he contented himself with reviewing them, and giving them his bless-

ing at their departure from Rome. Upon their entering Campania they found Ladislaus ready to receive them, and an engagement thereupon ensuing on the 19th of May, that lasted with great slaughter on both sides from noon till night, Ladislaus was in the end put to flight, and obliged to take shelter in the strong hold of Rocca Secca, and from thence to retire with the few troops that had the good luck to escape, to St. Germano. In this battle fell the flower of the nobility of Naples and ten counts with many other lords of distinction were taken prisoners.

This victory would have proved decisive had the conquerors pursued it. But Paul Ursini, sensible that his pay and the many advantages accruing to him from the war would end with it, declined, under various pretences, penetrating farther into the kingdom while the passes were all open, and gave Ladislaus time to recover from the consternation he was in, and to recruit his army quite undisturbed. Lewis, finding that the officers who commanded under him had combined to cross all his designs in order to prolong the war, and therefore despairing of being able to pursue it with success, resigned the command, and returned to his own dominions in France, declaring to the pope, whom he acquainted with the whole, that he would never more concern himself with the affairs of Italy. King Lewis brought with him to Rome the military ensigns taken from the enemy in the battle, which the pope caused to be displayed on the top of the tower of St. Peter's church, and afterwards to be dragged along the streets in the dirt, on occasion of a public procession he made by way of thanksgiving for so signal, and so useless a victory. Peter de Umile, who was present at this battle, writes, that king Ladislaus used often to say, that he was on the first day in imminent danger of losing both his life and his kingdom, on the second in danger of only losing his kingdom, and on the third in no danger of losing the one or the other.

The pope, satisfied that his commanders were not to be relied on ; that being soldiers of fortune they made it their study, for the sake of pay, to husband the war, dismissed them all, disbanded his army, and, recurring to his spiritual weapons, he first excommunicated Ladislaus, and then ordered a crusade to be preached against him all over Christendom. The bull, issued by the pope on this occasion, was one of the most dreadful and furious recorded in history. For all patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops were thereby required, on pain of excommunication, on all Sundays and festivals to excommunicate and anathematize Ladislaus, with the ringing of bells and burning of torches, as guilty of perjury and blasphemy, as a relapsed heretic, as an abetter of the schism, as guilty of high treason against the church

¹ Monstrelet. l. i. c. 67.

² Ibid, c. 62.

John Huss excommunicated. Peace concluded between the pope and Ladislaus, and upon what terms. Promotion of fourteen cardinals. Council of Rome. Wickliffe's doctrine condemned;—[Year of Christ, 1412.]

and Christ's vicar upon earth. All who adhered to him, who any ways assisted or favored him, were declared to incur, *ipso facto*, the sentence of excommunication, from which they could only be absolved at the point of death, and though then absolved were to be deprived of a Christian burial. Of this no instance had hitherto occurred. Besides, all were excommunicated who should presume to bury the body of Ladislaus, or of any of his partizans, and could only be absolved from that excommunication by digging up those bodies, and removing them out of consecrated ground. All were exhorted to take the cross and engage in this holy war, and to all who served in it, the same indulgences were granted as to those who went to the conquest of the Holy Land; and besides, heaven was promised as a certain reward to such as should die in fighting for Christ and his church, as if the cause of the pope, striving to pull down one king and set up another, as it best suited his temporal interest, were the cause of Christ and his church.¹

When this bull was published in Prague, John Huss, who was then in that city, could not forbear preaching publicly against it, as repugnant to the spirit of the Christian religion, in promising the remission of sins and the kingdom of heaven as a reward for the shedding of Christian blood. The pope therefore summoned him to Rome, and, upon his refusing to comply with the summons, he not only excommunicated him, but forbade divine service to be performed in any of the churches of Prague, except one, so long as John Huss, an excommunicated and condemned heretic, remained there. Huss wanted not friends to support him; but, to prevent all disturbances, he chose to withdraw from Prague to Hussinetz, the place of his nativity, and there he appealed from the pope to Jesus Christ.²

In the mean time Ladislaus, not a little alarmed at the pope's bull, arming all Christendom against him, thought it advisable to conclude, for the present, a peace with him upon the best terms he could obtain, and indeed upon any, as he intended to keep them no longer than he could break them with safety. As the king had already raised a new and numerous army, and was upon the point of invading the territories of the church, the pope, upon the first notice of his pretended pacific disposition, dispatched Nicholas Brancacius, cardinal bishop of Albano, to treat with him. As both were alike desirous of peace, a treaty was soon concluded upon terms equally dishonorable to both. For the pope, on his side, agreed not only to absolve the king from the excommunication issued out against him a

few months before, and to revoke the bull for the crusade, but to acknowledge him for lawful king of Naples, though he had hitherto maintained Lewis of Anjou to have an undoubted right to that crown. On the other hand Ladislaus engaged to abandon Gregory, whom he had hitherto acknowledged for lawful pope; and he ordered him accordingly to quit his dominions, allowing him but a few days to make the necessary preparations for his journey. Gregory, thus forsaken by so powerful a protector, left Gaeta, where he had resided ever since his flight from Udine, and embarking with his small retinue on board two trading vessels, arrived safe at Rimini, and met there with a most friendly and honorable reception from Charles Malatesta, who alone adhered to him, as lawful pope, to the last.¹

As many of the cardinals created by Gregory and Benedict were dead, and none had been created by Alexander, John, on the 6th of June, promoted fourteen, all said to have been men of great merit, to that dignity. Amongst these are reckoned by Panvinus, and after him by Ciaconius, Thomas Langley bishop of Durham, and Robert Alun bishop of Salisbury. But in the acts of the council of Constance, at which the bishop of Salisbury was present, he is constantly styled bishop, and never cardinal. Besides, Walsingham, who lived at this time, takes no notice of the promotion of either of these bishops; and he scarce ever passes any thing over in silence that redounds to the honor of his countrymen. The anonymous writer of Bourdeaux, a contemporary historian, says, that both these prelates were nominated to the dignity of cardinal, but that neither would accept of it. What induced them to decline a dignity, by all others so ambitiously sought for, he has not informed us. Be that as it may, Godwin, in his account of the English prelates, has made them both cardinals.

As the late pope and the council of Pisa had ordered a general council to be assembled, in the term of three years, as a continuation of that of Pisa, John, being under no apprehension of any disturbance from king Ladislaus after the late peace, summoned, by his circulatory letters, all the prelates of the church to attend the general council that he had appointed to meet at Rome, in compliance with the order of his predecessor and the general council of Pisa. At this council few bishops were present; and all we know of it is, that it met on the 1st of April, 1412; that it was still sitting in the beginning of February, 1413; that it condemned to the flames the "Dialogue Trialogue," and all the other works of John Wickliffe, as containing many errors and heresies, and summoned those who had any

¹ Poggius, l. 4. Monachus Dionys. ann. 1412.

² Cochleus Hist. Hussit.

¹ Raynald. ad ann. 1412.

Rome taken and ransacked by king Ladislaus. The pope flies to Florence, and from thence retires to Bologna. The pope treats with the emperor about assembling a general council.

thing to offer in defence of his memory, to appear in the term of nine months, at the tribunal of the apostolic see, and offer it freely, lest he should be condemned as a heretic, even after his death. In the mean time all were forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to read, explain, or keep by them any book or books bearing the name of John Wickliffe, or to quote any thing out of them in public or private, but in order to expose and confute the errors and heresies with which they were fraught.¹ This decree is dated at Rome the 6th of January, 1413, and is said to have been issued by the general council assembled in that city, though the number of bishops there present scarce entitled it to the name of a council.

Ladislaus had concluded a peace with the pope, as has been said; but it was only with a design to renew the war when he was no longer on his guard, nor in a condition to oppose him. Finding therefore that he had dismissed his generals, had disbanded his army, and depending upon the late treaty, thought he had no enemy to contend with, he drew his army together in great haste on the borders of the ecclesiastical territories, and reaching Rome by a forced march in the night between the 7th and 8th of June, broke down the wall at an uninhabited part of the city, and entered with his whole army before the citizens knew of his approach. The pope, however, and the cardinals had the good luck to make their escape, first to Sutri, from thence to Viterbo, and lastly to Florence, though closely pursued by the army, with orders to bring them back and deliver them up to the king. The cruelties practised upon such as were known to adhere to the pope, would exceed all belief, were they not attested by the contemporary writers, some of them eye-witnesses of what they relate. Several prelates were, by the king's order, inhumanly massacred in their houses; some of the prime nobility were either publicly executed or condemned to the galleys; the churches, even the Lateran and Vatican, were stripped of all their rich ornaments, and turned into stables. The castle of St. Angelo held out some days, but being vigorously attacked by the king in person, and obliged to submit, the garrison was put to the sword, and all who had served in the late war against the king, and fell into his hands, underwent the same fate. Ladislaus had nothing less in his view than to make himself master of all Italy, and it was, as we are told, to strike terror into the other cities and states, that he treated the Romans with so much severity.² The pope never halted till he reached Viterbo, twenty-five miles distant from Rome; and De Niem, who fled

with him, writes, that several of his retinue, overcome with the heat of the season and the fatigue of so precipitate a flight, died on the road, while others were overtaken by the enemy and most barbarously used. The pope, having rested a few days at Viterbo, continued his flight through the territories of Siena to Florence, and there remained under the protection of that republic till the latter end of the year. In the mean time Ladislaus, having made himself master of most of the cities belonging to the church, encamped with his whole army at Perugia, threatening to invade from thence the neighboring territories of the republic of Florence, if they did not oblige the pope to quit their dominions. The Florentines were not a little at a loss what part to act on so critical an occasion, or what answer to return to the king. But the pope, unwilling to draw his friends into a war with so powerful and victorious an enemy, left their city of his own accord, and went to reside at Bologna. From thence he wrote to all the Christian princes, to acquaint them with the cruel and unjust persecution he suffered from king Ladislaus, and implore their protection against an enemy whom no favor could soften or gain, no treaties could bind, no religion could awe.³

To Sigismund, (whom I shall call emperor, though he received not the imperial crown at Rome till the year 1433) were sent the two cardinals Antony de Chalant, a native of Saxony and cardinal presbyter of St. Cæcilia, and Francis Zabarella of Padua, cardinal deacon of the saints Cosmus and Damianus. To the two cardinals was added Emanuel Chrysolora, a nobleman of the first rank in Constantinople, and one of the first revivers of learning in the west. They were ordered to represent to the emperor the deplorable state of Italy, especially of the dominions of the church, most miserably oppressed by Ladislaus; to engage his protection against that lawless tyrant, aiming at nothing less than the empire of all Italy; and to settle the time and place for assembling of a general council, which alone could put a stop to the reigning evils, and unite the whole church under one head. The pope had resolved at first to leave the naming of the place to the emperor, in the public instructions he was to give to his legates; but at the same time to order them privately to agree to no place, where the emperor had more power or a greater influence than himself—"Ubi imperator plus possit." He had even marked in a paper, to be delivered to them, the names of the places, which alone he allowed them to agree to, thinking that the success of the council in his favor or against him wholly depended upon the place where it should meet—"in loco concilii

¹ Cochleus Hist. Hussit. l. 1. Concil. Labbei, tom. 11. col. 2322.

² Niem in Vita Joan. XXIII.; et apud Bzovium ad ann. 1413.

³ Scipio Amirat. Hist. Flor. i. 18. Poggius Hist. Flor. l. 4; et apud Bzovium ubi supra.

The city of Constance chosen for the place of the council. All invited by the emperor to the council. Conferences between the pope and the emperor. The pope confirms the choice of the emperor with respect to the place and time of the council.

totum est." This his design he communicated to none but his secretary Leonardo of Arezzo, till the day when the legates came to receive their last instructions at their departure. The pope admitted them, holding the above-mentioned paper in his hand, in order to deliver it to them, and confine them to the places named therein. But changing, all on a sudden, his mind, he acquainted them first with the design he had formed, and then tearing the paper in their presence, told them, that as to the place and every thing else, he entirely relied on their discretion and prudence. Thus does Divine Providence, concludes the historian, often defeat the best laid designs of human prudence to secure the success of its own.¹

The legates met with a most favorable reception from the emperor, who was then in Lombardy, and in the several conferences they had with him, the time and the place of the meeting of the council were settled. As they were, pursuant to their instructions, to leave the place to the choice of the emperor, he named the city of Constance, of the province of Mentz, as the most convenient, being, in a manner, situated in the midst of the nations that were to assist at the council, and spacious enough to receive and to lodge great numbers of people. The time was likewise fixed, All Saints day, or the 1st of November of the following year, 1414. The choice of the place, when communicated to the pope, threw him into a kind of despair. He knew that at Constance he should be entirely in the power of the emperor, who would oblige him to acquiesce in the decrees issued by the council, however inconsistent with his dignity or interest; and therefore approving anew his former resolution of confining his legates to certain places, he loudly condemned his own imprudence and want of foresight in departing so inconsiderately from it. However, as he stood at this time in great need of the emperor's protection and favor, he thought it advisable to acquiesce.²

The time and the place of the meeting of the council being thus fixed, the emperor, by an edict, dated the 30th of October, at a place in the diocese of Como which he calls Viglud, acquainted all Christians therewith, promising to all without exception, who should repair to it, a safe conduct in coming to it, during their stay at it, and in their return from it. He wrote soon after from Lodi to pope Gregory, who was still at Rimini under the protection of Charles Malatesta, exhorting him to concur with the other prelates of the church in removing the divisions, that, to the disgrace of the Christian name, had so long reigned amongst Christians, and engaging his royal word

that he should come, remain, and return, when he pleased, with all safety.¹ It does not appear that he wrote to Benedict, who was still acknowledged in most of the kingdoms of Spain.

In the mean time the emperor advanced to Placentia, and the pope, being desirous of conferring with him in person, left Bologna, where he had remained since the beginning of November, and repaired with his whole court to Placentia. He was there received by Sigismund with the greatest marks of respect and esteem; but, after a very short stay in that city, they both removed to Lodi, and there continued conferring frequently together for almost the space of a month.² What was the subject of their conferences history has not informed us. But we may well suppose that they chiefly related to the future council, to the matters that were to be transacted in it, and the ravages committed in the dominions of the church by king Ladislaus.

The pope, during his stay at Lodi, confirmed the choice of the emperor with respect to the time and the place of the meeting of the council, and issued accordingly, on the 9th of December, a bull appointing a general council to meet in the city of Constance by the 1st of November, and requiring all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, &c. to assist at it in person or by deputies, men of learning and probity. The substance of the bull was, that the affair of the intended reformation not being completed by the council of Pisa, as it was not thought expedient to keep the bishops any longer from their sees, his predecessor, Alexander V. had referred it to a council to be assembled in the term of three years; that Alexander dying in the mean time, he, his successor, had convened a council at Rome within the limited time, but the number of bishops that attended it being too small to undertake so great and so important a work, he had resolved, with the advice of the cardinals, to assemble another; that this resolution being approved by his beloved son Sigismund, king of the Romans, they had chosen the city of Constance for the place, and the first of November of the following year for the time of their meeting; he concluded with confirming that choice, and promising to leave nothing in his power unattempted to banish all divisions from the church, and restore the so long wished for peace and tranquillity.³

From Lodi the pope and the emperor removed to Cremona, and there every thing relating to the council being now settled, they took leave of each other till their meeting again at Constance. The pope went to

¹ Leonard. Aretin. de Rebus Ital. p. 288.

² Idem *ibid*.

³ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1413. Num. 22.

Anton. l. 22. c. 6.

³ Concil. Labbei. tom. 12. col. 232.

The pope passes the winter at Mantua. Death of king Ladislaus;—[Year of Christ, 1414.] The pope repents his having consented to the assembling of a council; but is persuaded by the cardinals to stand to his former resolution. Oath taken by the magistrates of Constance.

Mantua to visit his friend and protector, John Gonzaga, lord of that city, and passed with him the whole winter. Early in the spring he returned to Bologna, and on the 1st of April 1414, despatched from thence Bartholomew, bishop of Pesaro, into England, to procure a subsidy for the defence of the church against Ladislaus, who having reduced all St. Peter's patrimony, all Umbria, and great part of Flaminia, was preparing, as the pope was informed, to lay siege to Bologna. What success attended the legate in England we know not. But before his return the pope was delivered from his fears by the unexpected death of king Ladislaus. That prince was taken dangerously ill at Perugia when upon the point of setting out at the head of his victorious army for Bologna, and being conveyed, as his malady daily increased, from Perugia to Ostia, and from thence by sea to Naples, he died there on the 6th of August of the present year 1414. As he died under the sentence of excommunication, his sister Joan II., who succeeded him, ordered him to be privately buried in the church of St. John, but a few years after she caused a stately tomb to be erected in the place where his remains lay interred, which is to be seen to this day.¹ Monstrelet, and after him Mezeray, tell us that the Florentines, apprehending that Ladislaus intended to fall upon them, bribed a physician of Perugia to despatch him with poison; and that the physician, with whose daughter the king had a criminal conversation, first poisoned her, and by her means conveyed the poison to him.² But Poggius, Leonard of Arezzo, and Antonine, all three contemporary authors, take no notice of poison being administered to him, and Collenius, in his History of Naples, speaks of it doubtfully.³

The pope being now delivered from so implacable and powerful an enemy, and standing no longer in need of the emperor's protection, as the cities, most grievously oppressed by the conquerors, were all ready to return under his obedience, he heartily repented his having consented to the assembling of a council, especially at a place where he should be entirely in the power of the emperor, whom he begun to distrust, and indeed not without reason. For Sigismund had declared in some of his letters to the other princes, particularly in his letter to Charles of France, that his intention in assembling a general council was to have it determined by the church, which of the three, styling themselves popes, or whether any of them, had a just title and right to that dignity. John was therefore strongly inclined to return to Rome, not doubting but

the Romans would receive him with open arms, and to send a legate to assist at the council in his room. To this he was advised by many of his friends, says St. Antonine, "eum temporaliter diligentes," who preferred their own interest to the reputation of the pope and the good of the church. But the cardinals representing to him that his honor was at stake; that he was under an engagement with the emperor to meet him at Constance; that by so manifest a breach of his word he would incur his high displeasure, and of a friend make him his sworn enemy; that he had nothing to fear, being lawful successor to Alexander V., whom the council of Pisa had acknowledged for lawful pope; that his failing of his word on so important an occasion would estrange from him the minds of all the Christian princes, and by them all he would be looked upon as one more concerned for his own private interest than for the public welfare of the church, &c. Upon those representations he resolved, at all adventures, to assist at the council in person. However before his departure from Bologna, he insisted upon the magistrates of Constance taking the following oath: that he should be acknowledged by them for the only true and lawful pope, and received with all the honors due to that dignity; that he should be under no kind of restraint, but be allowed full liberty to stay and depart at his pleasure; that during his stay he should be on all occasions treated as true pope; that his jurisdiction should be freely exercised by him and his officers, both in spirituals and temporal; that if any attempt should be made upon his courtiers by any person, belonging to the city of Constance, or upon any come to assist at the council, the magistrates should do immediate justice upon him, as he should do upon his officers, if they should attempt any thing upon any of the citizens; that an inviolable regard should be paid to every safe conduct granted by him or his chamberlain to any person whatever, provided he be not a rebellious subject, or an enemy of the city; that the magistrates should take care that all the places of their territory be free and open, so that all persons may pass and repass unmolested. These articles being, by the emperor's orders, all sworn to by the magistrates of Constance, and a copy of them, signed by them all, sent to the pope, he set out as soon as he received them for Constance, attended by most of the cardinals, and a great number of prelates and other persons of distinction. He left Bologna on the 1st of October, but as he travelled very slow, and in great state, he did not reach Constance till the 29th of that month. On that day he made his public entry in the attire of high pontiff, was received at the gate, and attended by the magistrates and

¹ Leonard. Aretin. Poggius, Antoninus.

² Mezeray abrégé, Chron. tom. 3. p. 328.

³ Hist. Neapol. l. 4. p. 387.

The council meets. First session. John Huss arrives at Constance. Is imprisoned in defiance of his safe conduct.

the clergy in a body to the palace prepared for his reception.¹ It is remarkable, that on this occasion the host was carried before the pope upon a white pad, with a little bell at its neck.

The council was appointed by the pope and the emperor to meet on the 1st of November of the present year 1414. The pope therefore having celebrated mass with great solemnity on that day, ordered the first session to be held on Saturday, the 3d of that month. On that day it was held accordingly, but the number of prelates being yet very small, and the emperor not yet arrived, nothing of moment was transacted; and the second session was put off, first to the 27th of December, and afterwards to the month of March of the following year, 1415. In the mean time arrived John Dominic, cardinal of Ragusa, with the character of legate from pope Gregory XII., who being lodged by the magistrates in the convent of the Augustinians, caused the arms of Gregory to be set up there. But John ordered them to be pulled down the following night; which being looked upon by the legate and the partisans of Gregory as a breach of the peace, a quarrel would have ensued between them and the partisans of pope John, had not the fathers of the council interposed; and by them it was determined, after many long and warm debates, that the arms of Gregory ought not to be set up where John was acknowledged.²

John Huss, of whom I have spoken above, having obtained a safe conduct from the emperor, "commanding all his loving subjects to let him pass, stop, stay, and return freely without any hindrance whatever;" resolved to attend the council, which he thought he might do with all safety, and give them an account of his real doctrine, seeing many tenets were ascribed to him by his enemies which he had never held, but abhorred and detested as much as they. Of this, his resolution, he gave public notice at Prague before he left that city, causing papers to be put up at the doors of all the churches to invite those who charged him with heresy to Constance, to be there witnesses of his innocence or his conviction. The like papers he caused to be fixed up in all the places on the road through which he passed, that they who suspected him of heresy, might repair to Constance, and there make it appear before the pope and the council that he had taught any thing repugnant to the catholic faith. The safe conduct granted to him by the emperor was dated the 18th of October, and he arrived at Constance on the 3d of November.³

But as he continued even at Constance

not only to say mass daily, though he had been excommunicated by the pope, but to maintain his doctrine in private conversation, and exclaim, perhaps with too much acrimony, against the irregularities of the clergy, his two sworn enemies, Stephen Paletz, professor of divinity in Prague, and Michael de Causis, parish priest in that city, took occasion from thence to insinuate to the cardinals that they would do well to confine him, and prevent him by that means from propagating his impious doctrine. A summons was therefore sent him, at their instigation, to appear forth with before the pope and the cardinals, in order to give an account of his faith. When he received the summons, he told those who brought it, with great composure, that he was come to Constance to give an account of his faith in full council, and not barely in a private congregation of the pope and the cardinals, but would, nevertheless, comply with the summons, and retract, if convicted of any the least error. The pope and the cardinals, after a short examination, dismissed him, entirely satisfied, so far as appeared, with his answers. However, in a congregation held the same day in the afternoon, it was resolved that he should be committed to prison; and he was, pursuant to that resolution, carried the same evening, the 28th of November, or as others will have it, the 3d of December, to the house of the chanter of Constance, and there confined under a strong guard. John de Chlum, a Bohemian lord, who had accompanied John Huss, being one of his most zealous friends, from Bohemia to Constance, complained, in the strongest terms, to the pope and the cardinals of his imprisonment as an open violation of the public faith and the emperor's safe conduct. As they gave no ear to his complaints, only alledging that Huss had no safe conduct from the council, he wrote the same day to the emperor, to acquaint him with what had passed, and begged that, his authority as well as his reputation being at stake, he would order his safe conduct to be strictly observed, and the prisoner released. Sigismund, upon the receipt of that letter, dispatched immediately an order to his ambassadors at Constance to cause J. Huss to be set at liberty, and even to employ force, and break open the doors of the prison, if his order was not complied with. But the pope and the cardinals prevailed upon the ambassadors to suspend the execution of that order till the arrival of the emperor, and in the mean time Huss was removed from the chanter's house to a prison in the convent of the preaching friars, and four cardinals, six archbishops, and several bishops, with the generals of the preaching friars and the Minorites, were appointed to examine him concerning his doctrine.¹

¹ Bzovius ad ann. 1714. Naucerus Generatione 28.

² Cerretanus apud Bzovium, ad ann. 1414.

³ Idem, ad hunc ann.; et Cochleus Hist. Hussit. l. 2. 4e.

¹ Cochleus, ubi supra.

The emperor arrives at Constance. Number and quality of the persons present at the council.

The Roman catholic writers, to justify the imprisoning of J. Huss, notwithstanding his safe conduct, pretend, that by maintaining his impious doctrines, as they call them, even at Constance, he rendered himself unworthy of the protection to which his safe conduct would have otherwise justly entitled him. They add, that he attempted to make his escape out of Constance upon the arrival of Paletz and de Causis, who, he knew, could bear witness to the many errors with which he had infected most of the members of the university of Prague. The pope and the cardinals would therefore, say they, have been greatly to blame, had they not confined him for all his safe conduct, and thus prevented his return to Bohemia, where he had many powerful friends, and might, with impunity, have propagated his errors under their protection. Thus Pagi, Maimbourg, and others. But, I. Huss's doctrine, whatever it was, had not yet been condemned by the council, and consequently it could be no crime in him to maintain it at Constance, or any where else; the rather, as he declared himself ready to retract, if convinced of holding any the least error. II. As he came to Constance to give an account of his doctrine to the council, and the emperor had granted him a safe conduct for that purpose, the pope and the cardinals were evidently guilty of a breach of the safe conduct, as well as of the public faith, in committing him to prison before he had an opportunity of giving an account of his doctrine to the council. III. Had his opinions been ever so erroneous, he could not yet be reputed a heretic, nor be imprisoned, or any otherwise treated as such, as he declared himself ready, if convinced of any error, to abjure it without hesitation; and it is not an erroneous opinion, but obstinacy in maintaining it, that makes a heretic. We shall see in the sequel that Huss maintained no opinions that were either impious or heretical, even according to the principles of the church of Rome, but would have triumphed over all his enemies, had the council been disposed to hear him.

As for his attempting to make his escape out of Constance, the two contemporary writers, Riechental canon of Constance, and Dacherius counsellor to the elector of Saxony, both upon the spot at the time, relate it as happening after his imprisonment.¹ Indeed, had it happened before, the pope, we may be sure, would not have failed to alledge it; and he could not have alledged a more plausible reason to justify such a step. Yet when John de Chlum, and other Bohemian lords, urged the safe conduct for the release of the prisoner, the pope, taking no notice of such an attempt, returned no other answer, than that the safe conduct was not

granted by him nor the council, but only by the emperor; who could grant no safe conduct to the prejudice of the faith or the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; that Huss, abusing his safe conduct, had maintained his impious doctrines even at Constance, and thereby rendered himself unworthy of the emperor's protection. Who can suppose, that if Huss had attempted his escape before his imprisonment, the pope would not have urged it to justify what he had done, and at the same time to excuse so bare-faced a violation of the emperor's safe conduct?

Some have pretended, that the emperor granted a safe conduct to Huss, upon condition he submitted his doctrine to the judgment of the council. But the words of the safe conduct were, "You shall let John Huss pass, stop, stay, and return freely, without any hinderance whatever;" where no condition is expressed; and besides, he was arrested and imprisoned before he had an opportunity of submitting his doctrine to the judgment of the council.

During these transactions the emperor, who had gone to Aix-la-Chapelle, to be crowned there with the silver crown, in order to make a more august appearance at the council, arrived on Christmas eve, with the empress, the duke of Saxony, and the queen of Bosnia, at a place on the lake of Constance called Uberlinga, and embarking there, landed a little before midnight at Constance. As the pope was then celebrating his first mass (for all priests are allowed to say three masses on Christmas eve) the emperor hastened from the shore to the cathedral, and there not only assisted at divine service, but sung the Gospel in the habit of a deacon, a privilege enjoyed by no layman but the emperor. When or by whom this privilege was granted, we know not; but Charles IV. the father of the present emperor, is the first whom we find upon record to have used it, and that on occasion of a general diet of the empire, held at Mentz in 1356. The emperor was applied to soon after his arrival by several lords of Bohemia in favor of John Huss, imprisoned in open defiance of his safe conduct. But the pope and the cardinals, pretending that in matters of faith the emperor had no authority to grant a safe conduct, had already obtained leave to proceed, according to the canons, against such as were tainted with heresy, notwithstanding their safe conduct.

Of the number and quality of the persons who assisted at this council, we have lists made at the time, and by persons upon the spot, namely, by Riechental and Dacherius; and according to those lists, there were present about thirty cardinals, three or four patriarchs, twenty archbishops, one hundred and fifty bishops, one hundred abbots, one hundred and fifty other prelates such as priors and generals of religious orders, above two hundred doctors of divinity,

¹ Apud Lenfant. Hist. du Concile de Constance, l. 1. p. 58.

Both Gregory and Benedict send deputies to the council. Some material points settled in private congregations. The method of resignation proposed to the pope;—[Year of Christ, 1415;]—who agrees to it.

as well as of civil and canon law, four electors, namely, the elector Palatine, and the electors of Mentz, Saxony, and Brandenburg, nineteen dukes, eighty-three counts, and prodigious numbers of other persons of rank, of ecclesiastics of all conditions, of ambassadors from princes, and deputies from cities, chapters, and communities, there being scarce any church, city, state, or community in Europe that had not its ambassadors or deputies at this council. As the pope, the emperor, the cardinals, and the other dignified ecclesiastics, as well as the secular princes had all numerous retinues, their number, in all, amounted, if Blondus is to be credited, to forty thousand persons and upwards; and their horses, according to Antonine of Florence, to thirty thousand;¹ insomuch that to prevent the total want of fodder, that soon became very scarce, a decree was issued by the council, allowing to the pope and the sovereign princes twenty horses each, and no more; to the cardinals ten; to the bishops five, and three to the abbots.²

Gregory and Benedict were both invited by the emperor to assist at the council, and both sent deputies to assist in their room.—The deputies or nuncios of Gregory declared upon their arrival, that their master was ready to resign, upon condition that both his competitors resigned; and all of his obedience, among whom was the duke of Bavaria, solemnly engaged to renounce his obedience, if, in that case, he did not resign. At the same time all of Gregory's party joined in petitioning the emperor and the fathers of the council, that Balthasar Cossa, styling himself John XXIII. might not be allowed to preside at the council, nor even be present when the manner of removing the schism came under deliberation, as it was not to be doubted but he would oppose the most effectual of all, the way of cession.—This gave occasion to several private conferences, at which the leading men among the bishops were present, with some of the cardinals; and by them it was agreed that a renunciation was the only method of restoring tranquillity; that it should be proposed to the pope, and all should join in exhorting him to embrace it. In these conferences two other points were settled of no small importance, namely:—I. That not only bishops, abbots, and the deputies of the absent bishops should be allowed the privilege of voting, but that the same privilege should be granted to all doctors, whether in divinity or in civil and canon law, and even to the ambassadors of princes, of states, and communities in what related to the extinguishing of the schism, since by them the decrees relating thereunto were to be carried into execution. II. That all present at the council should be

comprised under the four principal nations, namely, the Italian, the English, the French and the German; that all points under debate should be decided by the majority, not of single votes, but of nations, and that the majority of votes in each nation should be reputed the vote of that nation. As the Italian bishops, depending entirely upon the pope, exceeded in number those of all the other nations together, this method of voting was contrived to prevent the pope from becoming, by their means, absolute master of the council. Each nation had, pursuant to this regulation, a particular assembly to consider of the matters that were to be laid before the council; in these assemblies every member was at full liberty to propose by word of mouth, or in writing, what he thought expedient for the good of the church; they communicated their resolutions to each other, and when they had all agreed upon any article it was carried, signed and sealed, to the next session, to be approved by the council; so that the council only confirmed what had been previously determined first in the particular, and afterwards in the general assemblies of the nations.

These points being settled in private congregations, at which were present most of the leading men of the four nations, it was thought expedient that they should be notified to the pope, and that a general assembly of the nations should be convened for that purpose. A general assembly was accordingly summoned to meet in the pope's palace, and the 1st of March was the day fixed for their meeting, that what was there determined might the next day be laid before the council, which, after several prorogations, was then to meet the second time. As it had been concluded by the nations, in their respective assemblies, that an end could be put to the schism, but by no other means be put to the schism, but by the voluntary resignation of the three competitors, John, patriarch of Antioch, a Frenchman, and President of the French nation, proposed that method to the pope, earnestly entreating him, in the name of the other nations, to agree to it, as the only means of restoring a lasting peace to the church. The pope, to the great surprise of the whole assembly, consented to it at once; nay, he drew up himself a form of resignation, and finding that the members of the assembly were not satisfied with it, he left the affair to their wisdom and discretion, only begging that they would not forget the regard that was due to his rank and dignity. The deputies of the nations, availing themselves of his present disposition, whether real or pretended, drew up and presented to him another form, which he read first to himself, and then publicly, without complaining in the least of, or objecting to, any of the articles it contained. It was drawn up in the following terms: "I, pope John

¹ Blond. Decad. 2. l. 1. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 6.

² Apud Raynald ad ann. 1414. Num. 13.

Form of resignation drawn up by the deputies of the nations. Memorial presented against the pope. The pope escapes from Constance to Schaffhausen. He writes from thence to the emperor. The emperor resolves to support the council.

XXIII., for the peace of the whole Christian world, declare, promise, vow, and swear to God, to his holy church, and to this holy council, to give peace to the church by the way of cession, or resignation of the pontificate, and to execute freely and spontaneously what I now promise, in case Peter de Luna, and Angelus Corarius, called in their obediences, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., in like manner resign their pretended dignity, and also in case either of resignation, of death, or in any other, when my resignation may give peace to the church of God, and extirpate the present schism." This form the pope read the next day in full council, and at these words, "I vow and swear," he rose from his seat, kneeled before the altar, and laying his hand upon his breast, said, "I promise thus to observe it," then sitting down again, he finished the reading of it with the same promise. When he had done, the emperor, laying down his crown, and prostrating himself before him, kissed his foot, and thanked him, in the name of the whole council, for his good resolution. At the same time the council, the princes who were present, and the ambassadors of those who were absent, engaged to support him, to the utmost of their power, against his two competitors, if they followed not his example.¹

The ready compliance of the pope with every thing the council required of him, was chiefly owing to a memorial that had been presented a few days before, to the assembly of the nations, against him, and contained a long list of most atrocious crimes, which the author of the memorial said could be proved by unexceptionable witnesses, if the council would be pleased to hear them. As most of those crimes were notorious, the pope, to prevent a more strict inquiry into his past life, was for pleading guilty before the council, and putting them, at the same time, in mind of the generally received maxim, that "a pope could not be deposed for any crime, except that of heresy." But from that resolution he was diverted by his friends; and the greater part of the deputies of the nations, not thinking it decent that crimes of so heinous a nature should be laid before the public, and narrowly inquired into, they resolved to suppress the memorial, and, taking advantage of the pope's present fright, to extort from him his consent to a resignation; and they succeeded therein, as we have seen. But the council was soon convinced that he never intended to observe what he had so solemnly promised, sworn, and vowed. For, finding that the emperor, as well as the deputies of the nations, insisted upon his actually resigning, he put it off for some

time with fair words and promises, and in the mean while applying to his friend Frederic, duke of Austria, he escaped by his means from Constance, and fled to Schaffhausen, a strong hold belonging to the duke, and distant but four German miles from Constance. As Frederic held many strong places in the neighborhood of Constance, and was besides lord of Tirol, the pope, in passing through that province, in his way to the council, had made a secret treaty with him, and appointed him captain-general of all the troops of the Roman church, with a salary of six thousand florins of gold, to be paid yearly out of the apostolic chamber; and the duke, on his side, had engaged to bring his holiness off, if he liked not the proceedings of the council, and offered him a safe retreat in his dominions. To him, therefore, the pope had recourse, when pressed by the emperor and the deputies of the nations to perform his promise and resign. The duke thereupon immediately repaired to Constance, and in a private conference with the pope by night, it was agreed that the duke should give a tournament, and his holiness should make his escape in disguise while all were at the show. The duke gave accordingly, on the 20th of March, that entertainment then in vogue above all others, and while the whole city was taken up with it, the pope, in the disguise of a groom, rode through the crowd upon a shabby horse in the dusk of the evening, and got undiscovered to Schaffhausen. The same evening he wrote, and sent the next morning the following letter to the emperor to excuse his flight, and at the same time to prevent him from suspecting the duke of Austria of having been privy to it. "My dear son, by the grace of Almighty God, I am arrived at Schaffhausen, where I enjoy my liberty, and air that agrees with my constitution. I came hither, unknown to my son, the duke of Austria, not to be exempted from keeping the promise I have made to abdicate for the peace of the holy church of God, but on the contrary to do it freely and without endangering my health." The direction was, "To my most dear son, Sigismund, king of the Romans."

The pope flattered himself that by his absence the council would be dissolved, and the bishops would all return to their respective sees. But the emperor, riding through the city, attended by the elector Palatine, marshal of the empire, with trumpets sounding before him, declared that the council was not dissolved by the flight of the pope, but that he would defend it to the last drop of his blood; and the celebrated John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, made an oration before the emperor and the deputies of the nations, to prove that a general council was superior to the pope, and that

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1415. Acta Concil. col. 184.

Articles approved by the council in the third session. The pope's letter to the French nation. Flies from Schaffhausen. Articles established by the council in the fourth session. The superiority of a general council to the pope defined. The pope notifies his second flight.

its determinations held good, whether the pope was present or absent, whether he approved or disapproved of them.¹

The third session was held, notwithstanding the absence of the pope, on the 25th of March, at which were present only fifty-six archbishops and bishops, twenty-five abbots, and two cardinals, Peter d'Ailly, cardinal of Cambray, and Francis Zabarella, cardinal of Florence, the rest being gone, or having been sent by the council to persuade the pope to return, or pretending to be indisposed. At this session the cardinal of Cambray presided, and the emperor assisted in person, attended by the princes of the empire, and the ambassadors of all the other princes. In this session the following articles were read by the cardinal of Florence, and approved by all who were present: I. That the council had been lawfully assembled in the city of Constance. II. That it was not dissolved by the withdrawing of the pope and the cardinals. III. That it should not be dissolved till the schism was removed, and the church reformed in its head and members. IV. That the bishops should not depart, without a just cause approved by the deputies of the nations, till the council was ended; and lastly, if they obtained leave of the council to depart, they should appoint others to vote for them as their deputies or proxies.²

In the mean time most of the cardinals, who had been sent to the pope, or had followed him of their own accord, returned to Constance, and with them the archbishop of Rheims, whom the pope had charged with a letter to the French nation, to assure them that it was not out of fear, or any apprehension of danger from his son the king of the Romans, that he had left Constance, but merely for the sake of the air, and that being but a small distance from the council, he would readily concur with them in all their resolutions as soon as communicated to him. But his stay at Schaffhausen was very short; for the emperor, being certainly informed that the duke of Austria had been accessory to his flight, had put that prince under the ban of the empire, and was preparing to invade his dominions. Upon that intelligence the pope, thinking himself no longer safe at Schaffhausen, removed from thence in great haste to Lauffenberg, a strong place on the Rhine belonging likewise to the duke. He had writ, as has been said, but a few days before, that it was not out of fear he had left Constance. But as soon as he got out of Schaffhausen, he sent for a notary and witnesses, and in their presence declared, that every thing he had sworn at Constance was the effect of fear, and that he was not therefore obliged to keep his oath.³

The fourth session was held on Easter-eve, the 30th of March, and the cardinals were all present at it, except those who were indisposed, with about two hundred bishops, a great number of abbots, and the ambassadors of France, England, Poland, Cyprus, and Navarre. The emperor assisted in his royal robes, and the following articles, drawn up the day before in a general assembly of the nations, were read by the cardinal of Florence, and approved by the council: "That the present council lawfully assembled in the city of Constance, and representing the whole church militant, holds its power immediately of Jesus Christ, and all persons of whatever state or dignity (the papal not excepted) are bound to obey it in what concerns the faith, the extirpation of the schism, and the reformation of the church in its head and members." Thus we have the superiority of a general council to the pope, established and defined by a general council lawfully assembled. What Schelstrate says may be true, namely, that the words "concerning the faith" are not to be found in some of the manuscripts of the Vatican library. But he owns that they are to be met with in most other manuscripts as ancient as the council itself, and that in the next session this very article was confirmed with the addition of those words. The other articles, approved and confirmed in this session, were, that none of the officers of the pope's court should withdraw from Constance without the permission of the council, and that his proceedings against them should be all reputed null; that three deputies should be appointed out of each nation to examine the reasons that they, who wanted to leave the council, should alledge for leaving it; that no new cardinals should be created, and that those alone should be reputed true cardinals, who had been publicly owned as such before the pope's flight from Constance.

In the mean time the pope notified his second flight by a bull dated the 4th of April, and addressed to all the faithful; and in that bull, openly contradicting again what he writ upon his first flight to the emperor, he declares, that he had left Schaffhausen from a just apprehension of being put under an arrest, and thus disabled from executing what he had promised, and that the same reason had obliged him to retire from Schaffhausen to Lauffenberg. But the emperor, highly provoked against the duke of Austria for favoring his escape, and affording him an asylum in his dominions, having in the mean time sent an army of forty thousand men to invade his territories, the pope, alarmed at the progress they made, soon left Lauffenberg, and fled first to Friburg, and after a short stay there, to Brisach, a very strong place belonging to the duke his protector, and distant three days journey from

¹ Acta Concil. apud Labbeum. Concil. tom. 12. col. 1364. Naucier. p. 1046; et Thesaur. novus Anecd. col. 1684.

² Acta Concil. ibid.

³ Niem, apud Wender. Hardt. tom. 3. p. 403.

A solemn embassy sent to the pope by the council. His demands. Decrees of the fifth session. The superiority of a general council to the pope defined. The sixth session—the deputies of the nations draw up a form of renunciation to be sent to the pope.

Constance. The council had sent, upon the first notice they had of his flight from Schaffhausen, a solemn embassy, at the head of which were the two cardinals of St. Mark and of Florence, to invite him back to Constance, and assure him, in their name and the emperor's, that no violence should be offered him. If he refused to return, or to appoint deputies to resign, in due form, in his name, they were to let him know that the council would proceed against him as guilty of perjury, and the author of the schism. The ambassadors found him at Brisac; and he promised to grant them an audience the next day. But early in the morning he left the place, and went to Neuenberg, distant two leagues from Brisac. From thence he returned to Friburg, and was met there by the ambassadors, who apprehending that he might escape early from thence the next day, as he had done from Brisac, went to wait upon him while he was yet in bed. He received them in a very indecent posture, "*Scalpendo se inferius invecunde*," heard their message, and returned to it the following answer; that he was ready to perform his promise, though extorted from him by fear, and resign the dignity to which he had an undoubted right, upon the following conditions and no other. I. That the emperor should grant him a safe conduct in due form, such as he himself should dictate. II. That a decree should be issued by the council, granting him entire freedom and security, and exempting him from being molested upon any account whatever. III. That a stop should be put to the war against the duke of Austria. IV. That after his resignation he should be appointed perpetual legate over all Italy, or enjoy, during life, the Bolognese and the county of Avignon, with a yearly pension of thirty thousand florins of gold; and lastly, that he should hold of no person whatever, nor be obliged to give an account to any person of what he had done, or might thenceforth do.¹

In the mean time the fifth session was held at Constance on Saturday, the 6th of April, at which presided cardinal Ursini, bishop of Albano, and the emperor assisted in his imperial robes with the electors and other princes of the empire. In this session the determinations of the fourth were all confirmed, those especially that related to the superiority of the council to the pope; and it was further declared, that the pope was obliged to obey the decrees of the council, and stand to its decisions; that if he refused to resign, the faithful should all withdraw their obedience from him, and he should be looked upon as actually deposed; that his flight from Constance was unlawful, and prejudicial to the

unity of the church; that if he would return, a most ample safe conduct should be granted to him, and if he performed his promise and resigned, he should be provided for, during life, as should be judged proper by four persons named by him, and four named by the council.¹

As it was defined in the preceding and confirmed in the present session, "that persons of what rank and dignity soever (the papal not excepted) are bound to obey the present council in what concerns the faith, the extirpation of the schism, and the reformation of the church in its head and its members," the sticklers for the papal supremacy confine that definition to the present time, the time of schism, when it is not known which of the pretenders to the papal dignity is true and lawful pope. But in answer to that it must be observed, I. That the present council acknowledged John XXIII. for lawful pope; and yet declared him bound to obey the council in what concerned the faith, &c. which was, in effect, declaring every pope, how canonically soever elected, bound to obey a general council. II. That they actually deposed him at the same time that they owned him for true and lawful pope, and consequently believed themselves to be vested with a power superior to that of a true and lawful pope. III. That they claimed that power as representing the whole church militant, which was declaring the same power to be vested in every other general council, as every general council represents the whole church militant. IV. That the decrees and definitions of the present council, and this amongst the rest subjecting the pope to a general council, had such approbation and confirmation as has ever been thought sufficient to make the decrees of a general council of unquestionable authority in the church; and no satisfactory reason can be assigned why the other decrees should be received, if this be rejected. In the same session, Peter d'Ailly, cardinal of Cambray; William Philasterius, cardinal of St. Marks; Stephen Coëvret, bishop of Dol; John de Martiniaco, abbot of Citeaux, and several doctors in divinity and canon law were named by the council to examine the doctrine of John Wickliffe, and John Huss, who was still kept closely confined, and not yet allowed to appear before the council, to which he had appealed.

The sixth session was held on Wednesday, the 17th of April, at which presided John de Brogni, as he did at all the rest till the election of a new pope, being the oldest cardinal and dean of the college; for he had been preferred to that dignity by Clement VII. in 1385. He was at this time bishop of Ostia, and vice chancellor of the holy Roman

¹ Niem, apud Wender. Hardt. tom. 3. p. 403.

¹ Niem, apud Wender. Hardt. tom. 3. p. 403.

Seventh session of the council—the pope summoned to appear. The doctrine of Wickliffe condemned in the eighth session. Chief articles of his doctrine. Some account of John Wickliffe.

church, but from his first bishopric he is commonly called the cardinal of Viviers. In this session the form of renunciation, which the presidents of the four nations had drawn up, in order to its being sent to the pope, was read and approved by the emperor and the whole council; and it was declared that he was bound by his solemn oath and vow to receive it, and that the council would admit of no other form.

In the seventh session, held on Thursday, the 2d of May, the pope was summoned to appear and answer the many accusations brought against him, and a safe conduct was offered him, in the name of the council and likewise of the emperor, "to come, to stay, and to depart with all safety and freedom." The summons was read at the church door, and pope John XXIII. was called upon to justify his flight from Constance, and to clear himself from the crimes of heresy, of schism, of simony, and from many others laid to his charge.

The principal business of the eighth session, held on Saturday, the 4th of May, was the condemning of Wickliffe's doctrine, books, and memory. Three hundred propositions and upwards advanced by him in different books and at different times were read in full council by the archbishop of Genoa, and condemned with one consent. The principal and most offensive articles were: The substance of material bread, and the substance of material wine, remain in the sacrament of the altar; the accidents of the bread do not remain without a subject in the sacrament of the altar; Christ is not himself identically and really in his corporeal presence in the sacrament; a bishop or priest in mortal sin cannot ordain, nor consecrate, nor baptize; it cannot be proved from the Gospel that Christ instituted the mass; God is obliged to obey the devil; if a man be truly contrite, external confession is superfluous; if a pope is a reprobate, and consequently a member of the devil, he has received no power over believers; it is contrary to the Holy Scripture for ecclesiastics to have any temporal possessions; no prelate ought to excommunicate a person, unless he knows him to be excommunicated by God, and whoever excommunicates in any other case, excommunicates himself; he who excommunicates a clergyman because he has appealed to the king, or his council, is guilty of high treason; such as cease to preach or to hear God's word because they are excommunicated by men, are truly excommunicated, and will be looked upon as traitors to Jesus Christ at the day of judgment; all the mendicant friars are heretics, and they who give them alms are excommunicated; during all the time that a temporal lord, or prelate, or bishop, is in mortal sin, he is neither lord, nor prelate, nor bishop; the tithes are mere alms, and it is lawful for the people to retrench them for

the sins of their prelates; the prayers of a reprobate person avail nothing; all things happen from absolute necessity; it is contrary to the institution of Jesus Christ to enrich the clergy; the church of Rome is the synagogue of Satan; it is lawful for a priest or a deacon to preach the word of God without the authority of the apostolic see, or of any bishop; the election of the pope by the cardinals is an invention of the devil; all religious orders were introduced by the devil, &c. As no notice is taken of the shocking blasphemy, "God is obliged to obey the devil," either by Thomas of Walden, or by William Wildford, who made it their study to collect and confute all the "errors, heresies, and blasphemies of the arch-heretic John Wickliffe," we may well suppose with the learned Lenfant, that proposition to have been falsely ascribed to him, or to be but a wretched inference from some of his principles. The above articles, and many others, were all condemned, some of them as notoriously heretical, and others as rash, erroneous, seditious, and offensive to pious ears; John Wickliffe was declared a notorious, obstinate, and impenitent heretic, his books were forbidden, his memory was anathematized, and his bones were ordered to be dug up, if they could be distinguished from the bones of the faithful, and to be thrown upon a dunghill.

John Wickliffe, so called from the place of his nativity, a village of that name near Richmond in Yorkshire, was doctor and professor of divinity in Oxford, and head of a college founded in that university for the education of the youth of Canterbury. But the secular clergy being in 1370 driven from that college by Cardinal de Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, and pope Urban V., and the religious introduced in their room, Wickliffe was obliged to yield his place to one of them. Whether he was prompted by a true Christian zeal and the love of truth, or instigated by the spirit of revenge, as the Roman Catholic writers would make us believe, to advance the above-mentioned opinions, it matters little to know. However that be, his doctrine met with a very uncommon reception, so far, at least, as it tended to confine the power of the pope, and the jurisdiction of the bishops, both become quite insupportable to the people of England. The bishops were for proceeding to the censures of the church against him. But the duke of Lancaster, who governed the kingdom with an absolute sway, the king, Edward III., being very infirm and near his end, having taken Wickliffe into his protection, they were obliged to content themselves with enjoining him silence, in a council held at London in 1377, though they had received letters from the pope, Gregory XI., commanding them privately to inquire into the doctrine said to be

The pope summoned the second time. The emperor reconciled to the duke of Austria; who promises to abandon the protection of the pope.

taught by John Wickliffe, of which he sent them nineteen articles, with a mandate to arrest him and keep him closely confined till further orders, if convicted of holding and teaching such opinions. Wickliffe, depending upon the protection of his powerful friend, paid no regard to the injunction of the bishops, but continued openly to maintain the same opinions both in his sermons and writings. However, finding in 1382 that the bishops were determined to proceed against him as a heretic, and had gained over the young king, Richard II., to their side, he retracted in a council held that year in London, at which presided William de Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, and were present the bishops of Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, Salisbury, Hereford, and London.¹ But soon after he taught the same doctrines again, and retiring, as he could not live peaceably at Oxford, to Lutterworth in Leicestershire, of which place he was rector, he finished there his *Dialogue*, *Triologue*, and some other pieces mostly calculated to confirm the doctrines he had taught. He died at his rectory on the last day of December 1384, and was buried there. As the number of his followers increased daily, even after his death, Thomas Arundel, the successor of William de Courtenay in the see of Canterbury, condemned anew the chief articles of his doctrine in two councils, the one held at London in 1396, and the other at Oxford in 1408. In a general council held at Rome in 1413, under the present pope John XXIII., the *Triologue*, *Dialogue*, and all other books, treatises, and opuscles or small pieces, bearing the name of John Wickliffe, were ordered to be publicly burnt, and nine months were allowed for his followers or disciples to appear at the tribunal of the apostolic see, and freely to offer whatever they could in defence of his memory, lest he should be condemned as a heretic after his death.² But all the endeavors of the popes, bishops, and councils, to suppress the new doctrine proved ineffectual in this, as well as in the kingdom of Bohemia, where it took soon deep root, till recourse was had to the unanswerable argument of fire and faggot. To return now to the council.

In the same eighth session the pope was summoned a second time to appear; and the summons was set up at all the gates and churches of Constance. At the same time his flight from Constance was again declared prejudicial to the peace and unity of the church, shameful, scandalous, tending to keep up the schism, and contrary to his oath and promise.

The day after this session, Sunday the 5th of May, a general congregation of the

nations was held, at which the emperor assisted in order to acquaint them with the submission of the duke of Austria. For the imperial troops, and at the same time the Swiss having invaded his dominions, and made themselves masters of many of his strong holds, he had no other resource to save the rest, but to recur to the emperor, and throw himself upon his mercy. Accordingly he came to Constance, having first obtained a safe conduct from the emperor. But Sigismund would not see him till he had consulted the nations about the manner in which he should treat him. The four nations being therefore assembled, at his request, in the place where the German nation usually met, he laid before them the past conduct of the duke, who, he said, had contrived the manner of the pope's flight, had encouraged him to it, had assisted him in it, and in open defiance both of the church and the empire, taken him into his protection. He added, that the said duke, a rebel to God as well as to the empire, had driven out several bishops and abbots, had seized on their temporalities, had oppressed the widows and orphans: that for these reasons he had not only made war upon him, but sworn that he would never make peace with him, and he therefore desired to know of them whether he might grant him the peace he now sued for, and receive him into favor without a breach of his oath. They answered all with one voice, that he might; and four bishops, with the duke of Bavaria and the burgrave of Nuremberg, being thereupon sent to bring him to the assembly, he threw himself at the emperor's feet as soon as he entered the room, and so did the duke of Bavaria, and the burgrave, begging forgiveness for him in the same humble posture as he begged it himself. He promised to put the emperor in the immediate possession of all his dominions, and not only to abandon the protection of the pope, but to deliver him up into his hands, provided no violence was offered to him, or to any belonging to him, either in their goods or their persons. He added, that to convince the emperor of his sincerity, he would remain at Constance as an hostage till he had performed what he had promised. Sigismund forgave him his past conduct, received him into favor, and ordered some of the places he had taken to be immediately restored to him. The Swiss had invaded, as has been said, the dominions of the duke jointly with the emperor; and that as we are told by Joannes Swizerus, in obedience to the council commanding them to make war upon the duke, notwithstanding a fifty years truce concluded between him and them not long before. Felix Faber, who lived nearer these times, says, that the council commanded the Switenses, or Swiss, to declare war against Frederic duke of Aus-

¹ Concil. Labbei, tom. 11; et Walsingham in Richard II. ² Ibid, col. 2322. Cochleus Hist. Hussit. l. 1

Ninth session of the council. The pope arrested and imprisoned. Tenth session. List of accusations against the pope read.

tria, and granted to them for ever all the places they should reduce.¹ Thus did the council assume, as well as the pope, the power of annulling the most solemn treaties, of absolving those who made them from the obligation of observing them, and transferring principalities and dominions from one to another at their pleasure. In this war the Swiss made themselves masters of Schaffhausen, of the county of Harbspurg, the native country of the dukes of Austria, and all other places belonging to that family in the diocese of Constance. When the emperor was reconciled with the duke, he ordered the Swiss to restore to him the places they had taken. But they, pleading the grant of the council, paid no regard to that command, but continued to keep possession of these places; and so they do to this day. Thus did the house of Austria lose, and have never since been able to recover the place of their nativity. For they were originally only counts of Harbspurg, or Habsburg, and had no other title till Rudolph, one of that family, elected king of the Romans in 1273, having taken Austria from Othocarus, king of Bohemia, gave it to his son Albert, who being raised to the empire in 1298, exchanged the title of Count of Harbspurg for that of duke of Austria. From Rudolph, the present family derive their origin, and not from the kings of Austria, as some have dreamed.

The duke of Austria having abandoned the protection of the pope, as has been said, he was summoned anew at the church door in the ninth session, held on Monday the 13th of May; and as neither he appeared, nor any body for him, the two archbishops of Besançon and Riga were sent by the council with the burgrave of Nuremberg at the head of three hundred men to arrest him at Friburg where he still was, and carry him strictly guarded to Ratolfell, a fortress about two German leagues distance from Constance. He was there kept closely confined, and none were admitted to him but those who were sent by the council. His own servants were all discharged except his cook, and others were named by the council, or the deputies of the nations, to their respective offices. Vitalis bishop of Toulouse, and eight other persons of some note, two out of each of the four nations, were appointed to keep him company in his confinement, or rather as so many spies to observe all his actions. To the bishop of Toulouse the pope delivered, no doubt by order of the council, the bull, or great seal, with which the popes sealed their public letters, mandates, and constitutions, and the privy seal, called the fisher's ring, which they used in their private letters; and both were sent by

the bishop to the council. At this session Benedictus Gratianus, a Benedictine monk and professor of divinity in the university of Paris, presented a letter to the fathers from that university, to thank them for their steadiness in pursuing the great work of the union, notwithstanding the absence of the pope, and to exhort them not to separate till they had brought it, in spite of all opposition, to a happy issue.¹

In the tenth session, held on Tuesday the 14th of May, the list of accusations against the pope, of which I have spoken above, was read. It contained in all seventy articles.² But twenty of them appearing to the fathers too scandalous and too shocking to be publicly inquired into, they were suppressed by their order for the honor of the apostolic see, and fifty only were read. However, of the articles that were suppressed and are not to be met with in the acts of the council, we have a catalogue in the very curious collection of Von der Hardt, professor of divinity in the university of Helmstadt, employed by the duke of Wolfenbüttele, at a vast expense, to procure from all places all papers that could give any light to the proceedings of the present council. In that collection, consisting of six volumes in folio, is exhibited the list of the suppressed accusations from several manuscripts of the same date with the council itself; and they may be reduced to the following heads: That pope John XXIII. had been of a wicked disposition from his childhood; lewd, dissolute, a liar, disobedient to his father and mother, and addicted to almost every vice; that he had raised himself to the pontificate by causing his predecessor to be poisoned; that he had committed fornication with maids, adultery with wives, incest with his brother's wife, and with nuns (in some manuscripts with three hundred nuns) and had been guilty of those abominations, that drew down the indignation of heaven upon the children of rebellion; that he had agreed to sell the head of St. John Baptist to the Florentines for fifty thousand ducats; that he had absolutely maintained that there is no life after this, and that the soul dies with the body.² The articles, that were read and have been inserted in the acts of the council relate to his simony, his tyranny, his amassing immense wealth not only by sale of the benefices, bishoprics, indulgences, and every thing that was sacred, but by openly selling and mortgaging the lands and estates of the Roman church, and most other churches, leaving scarce any thing for those who served them, to subsist upon. Some very notorious instances of his simony both before and after his promotion to the papacy, of his tyranny, extortions, and oppression of

¹ Joan. Suiz. in Chin. ad hunc ann.; et Faber in Hist. Suevor. l. 1. c. 15.

² Acta Concil. apud Spondan. Num. 30.

² Von der Hardt. l. 4. p. 230.

Eleventh session of the council. The pope suspended. Submits to the sentence. Twelfth session. The sentence of deposition pronounced against the pope.

all under him, especially of the poor, while he was legate of Bologna, would scarce have been credited, had they not been attested and sworn to, as indeed were all the other accusations, by the most unexceptionable witnesses, by cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and some of John's own secretaries. The author of the memorial, containing those accusations, closed it with the following words: "He is universally looked upon, as will be found upon the slightest inquiry, as the sink of vice, the enemy of all virtue, the mirror of infamy, and all who know him, speak of him as a devil incarnate."

In the eleventh session, held on Saturday, the 25th of May, the articles not suppressed were read again by the bishop of Posen, and when he had read one article, another read the depositions of the witnesses, and their characters, without naming them. When they had been thus all read, the council declared them to be fully proved, and then unanimously proceeded to the following sentence: "Whereas to us it has been made manifestly to appear, that our lord, pope John XXIII., has, ever since his promotion to the papacy, ill administered that office; that by his damnable life and execrable manners he has set a bad example to the people; that he has, with the most notorious simony, disposed of cathedral churches, monasteries, priories, and other ecclesiastical benefices; and that being charitably admonished to desist from such practices, and reform his life, he has persevered and still perseveres in his wicked courses, notoriously scandalizing the church of God; for these reasons we pronounce, decree, and declare by this our present sentence, that the said lord pope John ought to be suspended from all administration, in spirituals as well as in temporals, belonging to him as pope, and we declare him accordingly actually suspended for his notorious simony and wicked life; that he has given great offence to the whole church, and forbid him henceforth any ways to concern himself with the administration or the government of the church." This sentence was communicated to the pope by the bishop of Lavaur and other bishops, whom the council sent to him for that purpose, and to know whether he had any thing to offer in his own defence, that might stop any further proceedings against him. John returned answer, that he entirely acquiesced in the sentence they had already pronounced, and was ready to submit to any sentence they should pronounce, as he knew that the council could not err. In some manuscript accounts of the acts of the council, quoted by Spondanus, it is said that five cardinals were sent to the pope on this occasion, namely, the cardinals Ursini, de Chalant, and those of Saluzzo, of Cambray, and of Florence, and that the guards would not permit them, as he had been suspended, to kiss his foot, but

only his hands and his mouth.¹ By those who were sent the pope wrote a letter to the emperor, to put him in mind of the endeavors he had used with the electors to get him elected king of the Romans; of his readily concurring with him in the assembling of a general council, and leaving to him the choice of the place; of the many proofs he had given of an inviolable attachment to his person and his interest, &c. He closed his letter with earnestly entreating him to interpose in his behalf with the council, and get them to provide for his future maintenance as well as safety, in case they should deprive him of his dignity.

Upon the return of the deputies with the pope's answer, the twelfth session was held on Wednesday, the 29th of May, and the definitive sentence of his deposition was read in full council by the bishop of Arras. It was drawn up in the following terms: "The general council of Constance having invoked the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and examined, in the fear of God, the articles exhibited and proved against John XXIII. and his voluntary submission to the proceedings of the council, does pronounce, decree, and declare by the present sentence, that the nocturnal escape of the said John XXIII. in disguise and in an indecent habit, was scandalous; that it was prejudicial to the unity of the church, and contrary to his vows and oaths; that the same John XXIII. is a notorious simonist; that he has wasted and squandered away the revenues of the Roman church and other churches; that he has been guilty in the highest degree of mal-administration, both in spirituals and temporals; that by his detestable behavior he has given offence to the whole Christian people; that by persevering in so scandalous a conduct to the last in spite of repeated admonitions, he has shown himself incorrigible; that as such, and for other crimes set forth in his process, the council does declare him deposed and absolutely deprived of the pontificate, absolves all Christians from their oath of allegiance to him, and forbids them for the future to own him for pope, or to name him as such. And that this sentence may be irrevocable, the council does from this time, with their full power, supply all the defects that may afterwards be found in the process; and does further condemn the said John XXIII. to be committed, in the name of the council, to some place where he may be kept in the custody of the emperor, as protector of the catholic church, so long as the council shall judge necessary for the unity of the church, the said council reserving a power to themselves to punish him for his crimes and irregularities according to the canons, and as the law of justice or mercy shall require." This sentence being read

¹ Acta Victorina apud Spon. Num. 24.

Decrees issued in this session. The sentence; how received by the pope. The decree concerning the communion in one kind. Owned by the council itself to be contrary to Christ's institution, and the practice of the primitive church.

and approved by all who were present, the council ordered the seals of Balthasar Cossa, presented to them by the archbishop of Riga, to be broken.

In this session two decrees were issued; the one forbidding a new pope to be elected without the consent and approbation of the council, and declaring such an election to be "ipso facto" null; the other excluding forever Balthasar Cossa, Angelus de Corario, and Peter de Luna, called in their respective obediences John XXIII, Gregory XII., and Benedict XIII., from being ever re-elected. The bishop of Lavaur was sent to the pope at Ratolfcell to notify to him his deposition, and deliver into his hands a copy of the sentence. He received the bishop with the greatest marks of respect, and having read part of the sentence to himself with great composure, he begged leave to peruse at his leisure, and dismissed the bishop. But in the space of about two hours he recalled him, and, expressing great contrition for his past conduct, told him that he had perused the sentence with due attention; that he approved and confirmed it; and laying his hand upon his breast, swore that he should never act contrary to it, but renounced that moment the pontificate of his own free will, and gave up all right or claim he had to that dignity. He added, that he had already caused the pontifical cross to be removed out of his chamber, and that, if he had any change of raiment, "*si mutatorias vestes habuisset*," he would immediately quit the pontifical robes, and every badge of the pontifical dignity. However the council, knowing by experience that his promises, vows, and oaths were not to be relied on, ordered him to be removed from Ratolfcell to the castle of Gottleben, within half a league of Constance, where he had John Huss for his fellow-prisoner. For the pope's domestics, who guarded Huss, and treated him, as he himself owns, with the greatest kindness, being, upon the flight of their master, gone after him to Schaffausen, he was delivered up to the bishop of Constance, who caused him to be conveyed to Gottleben, as a place from which he could not, without great difficulty, make his escape. When the pope, styled henceforth, in the acts of the council, Balthasar Cossa, had been kept but a few days at Gottleben, he was committed by the council to the custody of Lewis, duke of Bavaria, and Count Palatine of the Rhine, who treated him with great civility and respect, appointed two chaplains to perform daily divine service in his presence, and gentlemen "*honestos nobiles*" to attend him at his meals, using him rather as his guest than his prisoner. Thus de Niem. But Platina and Nauclerus tell us that he was kept confined and narrowly watched by the duke, who was of Gregory's party; that his Italian servants were all dis-

missed; and that none but Germans were allowed to come near him, with whom he could only speak by nods and gestures, as he understood not the German language, nor they the Italian. He was thus kept, according to Platina, at Heidelberg, or, as we read in Nauclerus, at Manheim, for the space of about four years, that is, till the year 1419, when we shall have occasion to bring him again upon the stage. He had held the pontificate five years and four days, reckoning from his coronation on the 25th of May 1410, and from his election on the 17th of May, five years and thirteen days.

One pope being thus deposed and secured, the council thought it necessary, before they proceeded against the other two, to obviate a custom, that prevailed at this time, almost universally, in the kingdom of Bohemia, the custom of administering the eucharist in both kinds to the laity. That point was therefore discussed in the thirteenth session, held on the 15th of June, and it was decreed that thenceforth the laity should receive this venerable sacrament under one kind only, that of bread. The words of the decree are worthy of notice. "Though Christ instituted," says the council, "and administered to his disciples this venerable sacrament under both kinds of bread and wine; and though it was received by the faithful in the primitive church under both kinds; yet for the avoiding of some scandals and dangers the custom has been introduced, upon reasonable grounds, that it be received by the laity under the kind of bread only; as it is most firmly to be believed that the entire body and blood of Christ are contained under the species of bread, as well as under the species of wine. As this custom therefore has, upon just grounds, been introduced by the church and the holy fathers, and observed for a very long time, "*diutissime*," it ought to be deemed a law, that is not to be set aside without the authority of the church, nor changed at pleasure. Hence to say, that it is sacrilegious or unlawful to observe such a custom ought to be reputed erroneous, and they who obstinately maintain it, or administer the sacrament to the people in both kinds, ought to be excluded from it as heretics, and severely punished by the ordinaries, or the inquisitors against heretical pravity.

I cannot dismiss this very remarkable decree without some observations. And, I. It is to be observed, that the council itself owns, that "Christ instituted and administered this venerable sacrament under both kinds, and that, in the primitive church, it was received by the faithful under both kinds." And did they not, by owning so much, fully justify those, who then refused, and those, who still do refuse to comply with such a decree? a decree, made, by their own confession, in open defiance of Christ's institution, and the

Upon what grounds communion in one kind introduced. A modern practice at the time of the council. Condemned by both popes and councils.

practice of the whole primitive church! II. The council did not think fit to specify in their decree, the scandals and dangers attending communion in both kinds, or the institution of Christ and the ancient practice of the church. But the celebrated John Gerson, who was present at the council, and wrote a treatise in defence of this decree, tells us that they were, the danger of spilling the wine, in carrying it from place to place, of defiling the vessels by their being touched and handled by laymen; of laymen dipping their long beards in the wine; of keeping the consecrated wine for the use of the sick, as it might be changed into vinegar, and so the blood of Christ would cease to be there; the danger of its becoming loathsome, as many others had drunk of it before; and the danger of its freezing in winter.¹ These were the frightful dangers, these the horrible scandals that induced the council to set aside Christ's institution, to abrogate his express command, "drink ye all of it," and depart from the practice of the primitive church; scandals and dangers that the church either never thought of in those early times, though men had long beards then as well as at the time of the council of Constance, or took care, if she thought of them, to avoid them by some other means than by breaking in upon Christ's institution. As at the time of the institution our Saviour certainly foresaw all the scandals and dangers, that could possibly attend the drinking of the cup, and yet commanded "all to drink of it," no scandals nor dangers can excuse all from drinking of it, nor justify those, who confine the drinking of it to one set of men, to the priesthood alone. III. The custom introduced upon "the reasonable grounds" we have seen, "has been observed," says the council, "for a very long time, and therefore ought to be deemed a law," or have the force of a law. But that custom was contrary to the custom introduced and established by Christ himself, as the council owns, and therefore could not be deemed a law, nor have the force of a law, had it been observed for ever so long a time. Besides, the custom in question had not "been observed for a very long time," but, on the contrary, was of a very late date at the time of this very council. For the learned cardinal Bona has shown, that the whole church, the laity as well as the clergy, received in both kinds, even in the Roman church itself, for the space of one thousand two hundred years;² and the Jesuit Gregory de Valentia owns, that the custom of communicating in one kind did not begin to be generally received in the Latin church, till a little before the present council, held in the fifteenth century.³ So that a custom which had obtained

for, at least, twelve hundred years, was made to give way to one that had obtained for two hundred years only, "because it had been observed for a very long time." Add to this, that the custom of administering the eucharist to the laity in one kind had been observed, at the time of the council of Constance, for two hundred years by the Latin church alone. Whereas the contrary custom had been most religiously observed by all other churches throughout the world, was still so observed at the time of that council, and is so observed to this day. For though they disagree in the manner, the Greeks and Muscovites taking the species mingled together in a spoon, the Armenians dipping the bread in the wine, and some other oriental nations sucking through pipes and quills the consecrated wine out of the chalice; yet they all agree, and have all agreed ever since the institution of this venerable sacrament, in receiving it in both kinds. And was the avoiding of the above-mentioned "dangers and scandals" a sufficient reason for abrogating a custom, that had been observed by the church universal ever since the foundation of the Christian religion, and establishing one in its room, that had been observed for two hundred years only, and in the Latin church alone? IV. When, where, or by whom, the custom of administering the eucharist to the laity in one kind was first countenanced is altogether uncertain. But certain it is, and can be proved by unquestionable authorities, that for the space of eleven hundred years, it was condemned both by the popes and the councils as contrary to Christ's institution, as well as his express command. Thus pope Julius, raised to the see in 336, in forbidding "intinction," or the dipping of the bread into the wine, says, "the giving of the bread and the wine, each distinctly by themselves, is a divine order and apostolic institution." Pope Leo the Great, in 440, ordered "those who received the body of Christ, but refused to drink the blood of our redemption, to be, by sacerdotal authority, cast out of the society of saints," that is, out of the church.⁴ Pope Gelasius, in 492, condemned "those who received the bread but abstained from the cup, as guilty of superstition, and ordered them, either to receive both, or to be excluded from both; *because one and the same mystery cannot be divided without sacrilege*."⁵ By the first canon of the third council of Braga, held in 675, all were ordered "to receive the bread apart, and the cup apart, because Christ, when he commended his body and blood to his disciples, spoke of them as being apart."⁶ Lastly the council of Clermont, held under pope Urban II. in

¹ Gerson tract. contra heres. de comm. sub utraque specie.

² Bona de rebus Liturgicis, l. 2. c. 18.

³ Greg. de Valen. de legitimo usu Eucharist. c. 10.

¹ Julius apud Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. 2. c. 7.

² Leo, sermon. 4. de quadragesima.

³ Apud Gratian. ubi sup. dist. 2. c. 12.

⁴ Concil. Bracaren. can. 1.

All commanded to drink of the wine, as well as to eat of the bread. Fourteenth session of the council.

1094, any forbade "to communicate at the altar, unless they received separately the body, and in like manner the blood, except in case of necessity," namely, when it was to be administered to the sick; and the pope then allowed the bread to be dipped in the wine; which plainly shows, that so late as the latter end of the eleventh century it was not yet thought lawful to administer the eucharist even to the sick, in one kind only. The preceding popes had all condemned, as we have seen, the custom of giving the bread dipped in, or mixed with the wine. But nevertheless Gelasius chose rather to adopt that custom in the communion of the sick, than allow it to be administered to them under one species only, that of wine, as was suggested by some of the council, because it could be swallowed with more ease by the sick person. It is true, the above passages from the popes and the councils were chiefly levelled against the custom of mixing the species together. But the reason they alledged for condemning that custom as "sacrilegious" and "unlawful," namely, "because it was contrary to the primitive institution," equally affects the custom in question, owned by the very council that established it, "to be contrary to the primitive institution." V. The council approves and commands the custom of administering the eucharist to the laity in one kind only, as "it is most firmly to be believed that the entire body and blood of Christ are contained under the species of bread as well as under the species of wine." But though the entire body and blood of Christ be contained, according to the council, under the species of bread as well as under the species of wine, though the disciples in receiving the body, received, according to their doctrine, the blood, yet Christ commanded all to drink of the cup as well as to eat of the bread, and the popes and councils, quoted above, though they held the same doctrine as the Roman catholics all tell us, they nevertheless looked upon the receiving in one kind only as the dividing of a mystery that "cannot be divided without great sacrilege," and ordered those who did not receive both, to be excluded from both. Eating the bread, or the body of Christ, and drinking the wine, or the blood of Christ, are always joined in Scripture when mention is made of this divine sacrament; and as we are commanded to eat his body, so are we commanded to drink his blood. These are two distinct commands, and we can no otherwise comply with them but by eating the consecrated bread, and drinking the consecrated wine. For though we should allow those who receive only the species of bread, to receive, by the doctrine of "concomitancy," not only the body, but with it the blood, as a living body cannot be without blood, yet they could not be said to drink the blood, unless eating

and drinking be the same thing, and by eating the body we drink the blood; which is both absurd in itself, and contrary to the express doctrine of pope Innocent III. declaring, as quoted by Durandus, that "neither is the blood drunk under the species of bread, nor the body eaten under the species of wine; for as the blood is not eaten," says he, "nor the body drunk, so neither is drunk under the species of bread, nor eaten under the species of wine."¹

Thus have I made it undeniably appear, that, for the space of eleven hundred years, it was by all Christian churches throughout the whole world, thought necessary from the institution, the example, and the command of Christ, for all who received the eucharist to receive it in both kinds; and that in this they all agreed, though they disagreed in the manner. But in the twelfth century, and not earlier, the use of the cup began by degrees to be laid aside, some bishops forbidding it, to avoid the above-mentioned scandals and dangers in administering the sacrament to the people. By what bishops, or into what churches this practice was first introduced, history has not informed us. But from the famous Thomas Aquinas it appears that in his time, that is, about a century and a half before the present council, it was yet only observed by a few particular churches. "In some churches," says he, "it is wisely observed that the blood is not administered to the people."² That practice he approved and recommended to all other churches; and, as he was held by all in the highest esteem for his piety and learning, it was, in process of time, adopted by all upon his recommendation; and being thus become, at the time of the council, a general custom in the western or Latin church, the said council, interposing their paramount authority, ordered it to be thenceforth observed as a law, at the same time that they owned it to be contrary to Christ's institution and example, as well as to the ancient practice of the whole catholic church; which was, in effect, assuming to themselves, openly and without disguise, an authority not only superior to the authority of all preceding popes and councils, but to that of Christ himself. If they had no such authority, and who will say that they had? their decree, setting aside, with a "non obstante," Christ's institution, and the ancient practice of the church universal, carries evidently along with it its own confutation.

And now to return to the history of the council. John XXIII. now Balthasar Cossa, being deposed and secured, the council resolved to proceed in like manner against the other two, if they resigned not, of their own accord, in a limited time. But in the mean while arrived at Constance, Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini, where Gregory

¹ Durand. Rational. l. 4. c. 42.

² Aquin. 3 part, quest. 80. art. 12.

The council convoked in Gregory's name, who resigns. The act of resignation. Favors bestowed upon Gregory by the council.

still continued to reside, having been sent by him to resign the pontificate, in his name, and all right and title to that dignity. He entered Constance on the 15th of June, with a very numerous and splendid retinue, and went the next day, attended by John Dominici, cardinal of Ragusa, and John, patriarch elect of Constantinople, Gregory's nuncios, to wait on the emperor and acquaint him with his commission, which, he said, was to treat only with him about the means of restoring peace to the church, and not with the council, as Gregory did not acknowledge the authority of a council convened by Balthasar Cossa, styling himself John XXIII. who had no power to convene one. He added, that if the emperor and the nations consented to its being convoked anew by his master, he would in that case, but could in no other, own it for a lawful council. This the emperor readily agreed to, as well as the deputies of the nations; and the fourteenth session being thereupon held on the 4th of July, the cardinal of Ragusa and the patriarch of Constantinople assisted at it as nuncios of pope Gregory, and Charles Malatesta in the character of his proxy, to resign in his name.—At this session cardinal De Viviers took the place of president, as he had presided at most other sessions. But Charles Malatesta declaring, that he was ordered by Gregory to resign his dignity into the hands of the emperor; Sigismund, quitting his usual seat with the approbation of the council, placed himself as president in a chair before the altar; and then, as president, ordered two bulls of Gregory to be read, both dated at Rimini, the 13th of March, in the ninth year of his pontificate. The one was directed to John, cardinal of St. Sixtus, commonly called cardinal of Ragusa; to John, patriarch of Constantinople; to Werner, archbishop of Treves; to Lewis, count Palatine of the Rhine, and to Charles Malatesta. By that bull, power was given them by Gregory to convoke, in his name, the council of Constance, and after convoking it to own it for a lawful council. The other bull was addressed to Charles Malatesta alone, empowering him to act as his proxy, and submit, in that character, to the decisions of the council when lawfully assembled. These bulls being read, the cardinal of Ragusa convoked the council in the name of his lord pope Gregory XII. and then, owning the assembly of bishops met at Constance for a general council, declared that his holiness was ready to sacrifice his dignity to the peace of the church, and left them to dispose of him as they should think fit. When he had done, all the cardinals gave him the kiss of peace, and the emperor resuming his place, cardinal De Viviers took the president's seat. A third bull was then read from Gregory, giving Charles Malatesta full power to resign the papal dignity in his name. When that

was done, Charles, rising up, read, after a short preamble in commendation of Gregory, the act of resignation drawn up in the following terms: "I, Charles Malatesta, vicar of Rimini, governor of Romagna for our most holy father in Christ lord pope Gregory XII. and general of the holy Roman church, being authorised by the full power that has just now been read, and has been received by me from our said lord pope Gregory, compelled by no violence, but only animated with an ardent desire of procuring the peace and union of the church, do, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, effectually and really renounce for my master pope Gregory XII. the possession of, and all right and title to, the papacy which he legally enjoys, and do actually resign it in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of this general council, which represents the Roman church and the church universal." This act of resignation was approved and received with great applause by the council, the "Te Deum" was sung, mighty commendations were bestowed upon Gregory, and it was decreed, that Peter de Luna should be required in like manner to resign, in the term of ten days, from the time the request of the council should be notified to him, and that, if he did not, within that term, comply with their request, he should be declared a notorious schismatic, an obstinate and incorrigible heretic, and as such be deprived of all honor and dignity, and cast out of the church.¹

The council, fully satisfied with the submission and resignation of Gregory, and at the same time flattering themselves, that their kindness to him might encourage Peter de Luna to follow his example, decreed that Angelus Corarius should retain the dignity of cardinal bishop so long as he lived; that he should be the first in rank after the pope, unless some alteration should be judged expedient, with respect to this article, upon the resignation of Peter de Luna; and that he should be perpetual legate of the March of Ancona, and enjoy undisturbed all the honors, privileges, and emoluments annexed to that dignity. The council granted him besides a full and unlimited absolution from all the irregularities he might have been guilty of during his pontificate, exempted him from giving an account of his past conduct, or any part of it, to any person whatever; and forbade any to be raised to the pontificate till they had promised upon oath to observe this decree, notwithstanding all the canons, constitutions, and decrees of general councils to the contrary.² Gregory, or rather Angelus Corarius, no sooner heard of his resignation being approved and received by the council, than assembling all the bishops and clergy who still adhered to him, and were then with him at Rimini, he

¹ Acta Concil. apud Spondan. et Lenfant.

² Vander Hardt. tom. 4. p. 473.

Gregory's death. Fifteenth session of the council. John Huss, when first heard by the council, accused of holding doctrines that he never held.

divested himself, in their presence, of the pontifical robes, declaring that he never would resume them, but laid them down with greater joy than he ever wore them.¹ He wrote to the council a most submissive letter, declaring that he entirely acquiesced in their decision, and returning them his most sincere thanks for their generosity in providing, beyond what he could have expected, for his future support as well as his dignity; which, he said, could only be owing to the regard they had for the dignity with which he had once been distinguished. This letter is dated at Recanati the 7th of October, and subscribed, "your humble and devoted Angelus, bishop and cardinal of the holy Roman church."² He died at Recanati, about two years afterwards, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, and was buried in the cathedral of that city, and not at Rimini, as we read in St. Antonine. Oldoinus tells us, that his tomb being opened in 1623, his body was found entire, adorned with the pontifical robes, all likewise entire, and adds, that he had this information from one who was present at the opening of the tomb. This we find frequently alledged as a proof of an extraordinary sanctity. But who does not know that instances are not wanting of the bodies of great sinners being preserved free from corruption, as well as the bodies of great saints? The author of *Roma Subterranea*, who lived in Rome more under than above ground, tells us, that he discovered several bodies of the old pagan Romans as fresh and entire as they were when put into their coffins many ages before. Gregory was guilty, during the whole time of his pontificate, of a breach of the oath, which he took before and confirmed after his election, to embrace "the way of cession," if judged necessary to procure the unity and peace of the church. He embraced it indeed at last, and resigned his dignity, but it was when he could no longer hold it, being forsaken by all who were able to support and protect him.

The chief business of the next session, the fifteenth, held on Saturday, the 6th of July, was the condemnation of John Huss, who had been kept prisoner in the castle of Gottleben ever since the flight of pope John to Schaffhausen, and had been there frequently examined by the divines, whom the council had appointed to inquire into his doctrine. On the 30th of May he was heard in the assembly of the nations, and upon his declaring that he was ready to retract, if convinced of having advanced any thing contrary to the catholic faith, he was by them referred to the council, and, on the 6th of June brought by their order to Constance, and lodged, under a strong guard, in the convent of the Minorites. The next day he had a

public hearing, and his accusers being required to make good the charge of heresy which they had brought against him, and specify the articles he held and had taught contrary to the received doctrine of the church, Michael de Causis accused him of having taught, after Wickliffe, that "the substance of the bread and wine remains in the sacrament of the altar after consecration." That accusation Huss answered by calling God to witness that he never had advanced that proposition, nor did he believe it, but, on the contrary, had always taught and firmly believed, "that the true body of Jesus Christ, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, which was born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered upon the cross, lay three days in the grave, ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father, is present in the eucharist, and received by the faithful." These are Huss's own words in his "Treatise on the Body and Blood of Christ."³ The next charge brought against him was, that he had taught that a priest in mortal sin neither consecrates nor baptizes, being no minister of Christ, but a member of the devil. Huss denied his having ever held such a doctrine; and, to show how unjustly he was accused, referred his accusers to the treatise I have just quoted, where he said, they would find the contrary doctrine asserted in the plainest terms. His words in that treatise are: "A wicked priest, provided he has an intention to do what Christ has commanded, and says the words according to the institution of the church, such a priest, by virtue of the sacramental words, causes ministerially the body and blood of Christ to be under the species of bread and wine; I say," he adds, "ministerially, because such a priest, as a minister of Jesus Christ, does by his power and words what Jesus Christ does by his own power, transubstantiating the bread into his body, and the wine into his blood."⁴ From these words it is manifest that Huss held transubstantiation, nay, and believed the intention of the priest to be necessary in the administration of the sacraments. The other articles of his indictment were; that he had found fault with the emperor Constantine and pope Sylvester, for endowing and enriching the church; that he had maintained tithes to be mere alms, and to have been originally free; that he had wished his soul were in the same place with Wickliffe's; that when the errors of that heretic were condemned at Prague, he openly espoused his cause, declaring that he was condemned unjustly; that he had preached against indulgences, and that being summoned by the pope to Rome, he had appealed from him to Jesus Christ. To these different charges Huss returned the follow-

¹ Niem, in Vit. Joan. XXIII.

² Thesaur. Anecd. tom. 2. col. 1645.

³ Opera Huss. tom. 1. fol. 38.

⁴ Idem ibid.

Huss not allowed to explain his doctrine. Is condemned to be degraded. Is degraded, delivered over to the secular power, and burnt alive.

ing answers: that riches served rather to corrupt than to improve the manners of the clergy, and therefore, in his opinion, Constantine and pope Sylvester had better left the church as they found it; he owned his having taught tithes to be mere alms, but had, he said, recommended to all the payment of them as a duty; he did not deny his having wished that his soul were in the same place with Wickliffe's, but had wished so, he said, before his doctrine was condemned in Bohemia; he ingenuously confessed that, in his opinion, some of Wickliffe's propositions did not deserve the censures with which they were stigmatized by the archbishop of Prague, and he left the council to judge whether he could, on that account, be said to have espoused his cause, or could be arraigned as a Wickliffeist; he owned that he had preached against the abuse of indulgences, against their being employed to encourage Christians to cut one another's throats, but defied his accusers to prove that he had ever preached against indulgences themselves; as to his appeal from the pope, he had, he said, been summoned to Rome upon a false accusation, had sent proper persons to plead his cause, and convince the pope of his innocence, but they were thrown, unheard, into prison, which he hoped would justify his not appearing personally, but appealing to his only refuge, Jesus Christ.

Huss was, a few days afterwards, heard again by the council, when his books were put into his hands, and upon his owning them, twenty-six articles, taken out of his book "of the church," and his other works, were read. He owned that those propositions were all to be met with in his books, but added, that they had a very different meaning when joined with the preceding and the subsequent words, from that which they had when taken by themselves; that by thus curtailing and disjoining propositions, the most orthodox writers might be made to write rank heresy, nay, and to impugn the very doctrine which they had undertaken to maintain; he therefore begged that he might be allowed to explain his doctrine, promising to retract what he could not support with solid arguments. But the council, instead of complying with so reasonable a request, insisted upon his pleading guilty, and retracting those errors as they were laid to his charge. Huss answered, that some of those propositions were falsely and maliciously charged upon him by those who sought his destruction, and therefore desired they would excuse him from retracting them, since that would be owning he had held them. As for those which he had really held and taught, he was ready, he said, to retract and abjure them the moment he was convinced of their being erroneous, or contrary to any article of the catholic

faith. As he persisted in that answer, he was sent back to prison. The council sent several bishops and divines to persuade him to own his errors, and retract them: but to all he returned the same answer, namely, that he would neither retract opinions that he had never held, nor those that he had really held, till he was convinced that they were erroneous. It was therefore determined, after much altercation, in an assembly of the nations, that the council should proceed, without further delay, against John Huss, as an obstinate and incorrigible heretic. He was, accordingly, carried the next day from his prison before the council by the archbishop of Riga, and being placed upon a high stool, that all might see him, the bishop of Lodi preached a sermon upon the words of St. Paul, "that the body of sin might be destroyed." When he had done, the bishop of Concordia read a decree of the council, enjoining all persons of what rank or dignity soever, whether emperors, kings, cardinals, or archbishops, to keep silence on pain of excommunication and two months imprisonment. A very extraordinary decree indeed! In the next place sixty articles were read, extracted, or pretended to be extracted, out of Wickliffe's works, and thirty out of John Huss's book "of the church," and other books, which he owned to be his. These articles were all condemned as "rash, seditious, erroneous, offensive to pious ears," and "contrary to the received doctrine of the catholic church;" the books, from which they were taken, were ordered to be publicly burnt; and John Huss, who had taught and refused to retract them, was condemned, as an obstinate and incorrigible heretic, to be degraded from the order of priesthood. This sentence Huss received on his knees without uttering a single word, or betraying the least concern. The ceremony of degradation was immediately performed by the archbishop of Milan, and the bishops of Feltri, Asti, Alexandria della Paglia, Bangor, and Lavour, who ordered him to apparel himself with the vestments as if he were going to celebrate mass, and strip him of them all, one by one, with a curse at the taking off of each of them. They then put a paper mitre upon his head, on which were painted three devils, with this inscription, "heresiarch," and being thus declared a layman, he was delivered over to the secular power. The emperor, in defiance of whose safe conduct he was condemned, ordered the elector Palatine, as vicar of the empire, to receive him, and consign him up to justice. The elector put him into the hands of the magistrates of Constance, who immediately delivered him to the executioner, with orders to burn him alive with his clothes and every thing about him, even his purse and the money in it. The executioner, having tied his hands behind his back, carried him,

Huss dies with great firmness and constancy. Differed in no material point from the church of Rome. The true cause of the persecution raised against him.

under a strong guard, to the suburbs of Constance, the place appointed by the magistrates for his execution. When he was fastened to the stake, and the executioner was upon the point of setting fire to the wood piled about him, the elector Palatine, and the count of Oppenheim, marshal of the empire, riding up to him, exhorted him once more to retract and save his life. He answered that he had rather suffer the cruellest death than retract doctrines that he had never held, or those that he really held, but was not convinced of their being erroneous. The two princes, finding him unalterable in that resolution, withdrew, not without great concern, and fire being set to the pile upon their withdrawing, his body, with every thing belonging to him, was burnt to ashes, and the ashes were, by the order of the council, thrown into the Rhine, lest his followers should honor them as relics.¹

That John Huss died with a firmness and constancy truly heroic, without ever betraying the least fear or concern, and would, on that account, have deserved a place amongst the most renowned martyrs of the church, had he suffered in a better cause, is allowed by all, without exception, who have spoken of him. "His life was entirely blameless," as we have seen owned above by one, whom we cannot suspect of bestowing praises upon him that he did not deserve.² As to his doctrine, Florimund de Raymund and Herebert Resweide both declared, after perusing his works with the greatest attention, that he did not deviate, in any material point, from the sentiments of the church of Rome.³ He held the real presence, and believed transubstantiation, as has been observed above: he allowed the invocation of saints, especially the Virgin Mary; for he says, in express terms, that "a sinner cannot possibly be saved without the intercession of the Virgin Mary;"⁴ he held the doctrine of purgatory; "in praying for the dead, we procure relief," says he, "for the sleeping church."⁵ Of image worship he expresses himself thus, "the knee may be bent, prayers addressed, offerings made, and wax-tapers lighted up to the image of Jesus Christ, or of any saint whatever, provided it be not done for the sake of the image itself, but of him whose image it is:"⁶ he admitted the seven sacraments;⁷ and was, it seems, persuaded of the necessity of confession; for upon his condemnation he demanded a confessor, but the council would not allow him one, unless he retracted.⁸ Add to these indisputable proofs of Huss's orthodoxy (out of his own

works) the unquestionable testimony of Conrad, archbishop of Prague, protesting, in an assembly of the lords of Bohemia, that "he had never met with one single error in the writings of John Huss,"⁹ and that of Nicholas, archbishop of Nazareth, and inquisitor for the kingdom of Bohemia, declaring that, "in the many conferences he had with John Huss, he had always found him a sound member of the catholic church."¹⁰ He was therefore guilty of no heresy; but, what was no less unpardonable, being himself a man of a "most austere and blameless life," and not able to bear with the irregular and debauched lives of the clergy, he inveighed, perhaps, with too much boldness and acrimony against their vices, reproaching them with pride, avarice, ambition, ignorance, incontinence, &c., sparing neither bishops, nor cardinals, nor the pope himself. Besides, he talked too freely of the corruptions of the church, and demanded its reformation with too much boldness. "Hinc illæ lacrymæ." "While John Huss declaimed against the vices of the laity, every body said that he had the spirit of God, but he became odious as soon as he fell upon the clergy, because that was like touching a galled horse." Thus the author of an ancient manuscript preface to the works of John Huss, as quoted by Lenfant in his admirable history of the present council; and to him I am chiefly indebted for the account I have given of John Huss and his doctrine. Indeed, no man can suppose that, had Huss been conscious to himself of having taught any doctrine or doctrines condemned by the church, and manifestly heretical, he would have come to Constance, and much less that he would, by papers set up in Prague, and in all places on the road, have invited those who suspected him of heresy, to repair thither, and convince him, before the pope and the council, of having ever preached or maintained any doctrine contrary to the received faith of the church. To conclude, "John Huss was a sound member of the catholic church," as sound a member as any of the bishops who sat in the council; and it was not any heresy, or error in point of faith, obstinately maintained by him, that brought him to the stake, but his having disobliged the whole body of the clergy by exposing their vices, and thus striving to reform their manners, and banish the abuses they had introduced into the church. Martinus Crusius tells us, in his Suevian annals, that John Huss should have said, when sentence was pronounced against him, "an hundred years hence you shall answer to God and to me."¹¹ That he had really said so was believed, and money was coined in Bohemia with these two Latin inscrip-

¹ Acta Concil. Cochleus, l. 2; et Vander Hardt, apud Lenfant Hist. du Concile de Constance.

² See p. 170.

³ Florimund. de ortu hæres. l. 4. p. 400; et Resweide de fide hereticis servanda, c. 18. p. 196.

⁴ Opera Huss. l. 1. fol. 147, 148.

⁵ Ibid., l. 2. fol. 49 et 183.

⁷ Ibid., l. 1. fol. 37.

⁶ Ibid., l. 11. fol. 343.

⁸ Idem ibid.

⁹ Opera Huss. l. 1. fol. 10.

¹⁰ Ibid., fol. 11.

¹¹ Crusius. Annal. Suevic. l. 6. c. 10.

The doctrine concerning the killing of a tyrant condemned by the council. Sixteenth session of the council. The emperor proposes to meet Benedict at Perpignan. Seventeenth session. The emperor sets out for Perpignan.

tions, on the one side, "centum revolutis annis Deo respondebitis et mihi;" and on the other, "credo in unam ecclesiam catholicam, I believe in one catholic church." That prophecy was afterwards improved by others, pretending that Huss should have added, "You now burn a goose (the import of the word Huss in the Bohemian language), but an hundred years hence a swan will come, whom you shall not burn;" alluding to Luther, who came about one hundred years after Huss. But these prophecies were never heard of till after the swan was come.¹

In the same fifteenth session was condemned the following proposition:—"It is lawful, and even meritorious, for any private man, subject, or vassal, to kill a tyrant by lying in ambush for him, or by any other method whatsoever, without order from any one whomsoever, or any form of law, and notwithstanding any preceding reconciliation or oath to the contrary." This assertion was maintained by John Petit, a Franciscan friar, and doctor of divinity in the university of Paris, in a piece he published under the title of "a Justification of the duke of Burgundy." For the duke, who was uncle to the French king, Charles VI., had caused the duke of Orleans, the king's only brother, to be basely murdered, when they had been reconciled but two days before; and, in token of an entire reconciliation, had assisted at mass, and received the sacrament together. This treacherous and horrid murder the abandoned and venal friar, who was privy counsellor to the duke of Burgundy, undertook to defend, nay, and to prove that it was meritorious; and that the duke deserved not to be punished, but ought to be thanked by the whole kingdom, and amply rewarded. For in the piece I have mentioned, the friar painted the deceased duke as a lawless tyrant—a character which he did not at all deserve—charged him with aspiring to the crown, with recurring to magic and magicians in order to procure the death of the king, &c.; blackening his memory with a thousand groundless calumnies, and stabbing his reputation more barbarously than the assassins had done his body. Petit's book was condemned in 1414 by Gerard de Montaigu, bishop of Paris, and John Polet, inquisitor. But the duke of Burgundy appealing from them to pope John XXIII. their sentence was reversed by that pope, who then stood in great need of the duke's protection. However, the above proposition being examined, at the request of John Gerson, by the present council, it was condemned as erroneous, scandalous, and heretical; and all, who obstinately maintained so pernicious and dangerous a doctrine, were ordered to be punished as guilty of heresy. But out of respect to the duke of Burgundy, no mention was

made in the sentence either of the book or the author.¹

In the next session, the sixteenth, held on Thursday, the 11th of July, the emperor acquainted the council with his design of setting out in a few days for Perpignan, in order to meet there Peter de Luna, called in his obedience Benedict XIII., and Ferdinand, king of Arragon, who still adhered to him, but expressed a great desire to see the church settled in peace, and had promised to contribute all in his power towards it. This interview had been long before agreed upon. For Benedict, soon after the opening of the council, had sent nuncios to Sigismund, to excuse his not assisting at a council, which he could not look upon as lawfully convened, since it had not been convened by him, and at the same time to propose a congress to be held at Nizza or Villafranca, at which his holiness, said the nuncios, would assist in person with his beloved son king Ferdinand, no less desirous than himself of putting an end to the present troubles. When the time of the congress drew near, Benedict sent other nuncios to Sigismund to beg he would excuse him from repairing to the place appointed, on account of the great distance, for he was then in Arragon, and invite him to Perpignan, where he promised to meet him. The emperor plainly saw that Benedict only wanted to gain time; but nevertheless resolved to undertake that journey, being determined to spare no pains nor fatigue to complete the work he had begun; and flattering himself that he should be able to prevail upon the king of Arragon, and the other Spanish princes to abandon their pope, if he continued to keep up the schism by obstinately refusing to part with the dignity, which he had so often promised and sworn to resign. The emperor having imparted this resolution, in the present session, to the council, the archbishop of Tours, with other bishops, abbots, and doctors, in all twelve, were appointed to attend him, and assist with him at the congress. On this occasion John Gerson, in wishing with the rest that Peter de Luna might be prevailed upon to resign, and peace be again restored to the church, added, pleasantly, with the words of the seventy-second Psalm, "But I fear we shall have no peace so long as the moon endureth."²

In the seventeenth session, held on the 15th of July, cardinal de Viviers, president of the council, wished the emperor, who was upon the point of setting out for Spain, a good journey and a safe return in the name of the whole assembly; and it was decreed, that, during his absence, general processions should be made every Sunday, and masses celebrated for his safety; that all who assisted at those masses or processions, should gain a hundred days indulgence, and

¹ See Gretzerus de Numis. cuso in laudem Hussi, &c.

¹ Acta Concil. Sess. 15.

² Ibid, Sess. 16.

Congress of Perpignan, and Benedict's proposals. Congress of Narbonne. All agree to withdraw their obedience to Benedict if he does not resign. Benedict's obstinacy.

all a forty days indulgence who should say devoutly one "Pater Noster," and one "Ave Mary" a day for the health and preservation of so religious a prince. At the same time dreadful excommunications were thundered out against any who should stop or any ways molest him on his journey, or those who attended him. He set out from Constance on the 19th of July; but finding, upon his arrival at Narbonne, that king Ferdinand was indisposed, and not in a condition to assist at the congress, he remained in that city till the 19th of September. On that day he made his public entry into Perpignan with the deputies of the council, and found there king Ferdinand with the ambassadors of all the princes of Benedict's obedience, whom Ferdinand had invited to the congress. But Benedict himself refused to come, unless the emperor sent him a safe conduct, and promised to receive and treat him as pope. Sigismund answered, that it did not belong to him to give a safe conduct in the dominions of another prince; and that he could not receive him as pope, but would receive him as cardinal of the holy Roman church, and treat him with all the respect due to that dignity.

As the congress was of Benedict's own appointing, and the place of his own choosing, the ambassadors of the princes of his obedience all joined in pressing him to repair to it, and even threatened to withdraw, in their master's name, their obedience from him if he declined it; the rather, as the emperor had undertaken so long a journey on purpose to meet him. Thus he was at last prevailed upon to yield; and he made his entry into Perpignan, attended by his five cardinals, in the latter end of October. But when the emperor and deputies of the council put him in mind of his oath, and exhorted him to follow the example of his two competitors, the terms he proposed were such as plainly showed that he was determined to resign upon no terms whatever.—These were, that all the decrees, published to that time against him, or those who adhered to him, should be declared null; that the assembly at Constance, calling itself a general council, should be dissolved; that a lawful general council should be convened by him at Lyons, or Avignon, or at some other place that suited his convenience; that he alone should elect the new pope; that after his resignation he should retain the dignity of cardinal and perpetual legate *a Latere*, with an unlimited power, both in spirituals and temporals, in all the countries then under his obedience; that he should be first in rank and dignity after the pope, and it should not be lawful to appeal from him. Upon these subjects Benedict, though then in the seventy-seventh year of his age, harangued for the space of seven hours without the least alteration in his voice or countenance, striving to

prove that he alone was lawful pope, and that if the good of the church required him to resign, he alone had a right to elect the new pope, being the only undoubted cardinal then alive, as having been created before the schism, and consequently by an undoubted pope, namely, Gregory XI. in 1375; whereas the rest had been all created in the time of schism, and it might, therefore, be doubted whether the popes, who created them, were true popes, and consequently whether they be true cardinals, and have a right to vote in the election of a pope.¹

As Benedict obstinately insisted upon these terms, the emperor, despairing of being able to overcome his obstinacy, left Perpignan, and retired to Narbonne, in order to return to Germany. But king Ferdinand, his son Alphonso, and the ambassador of the princes in the obedience of Benedict, promising to abandon him if he did not resign, Sigismund was prevailed upon to suspend his journey, and remain at Narbonne. There a second congress was held, at which were present the emperor, with the deputies of the council, and the ambassadors of all the princes, who still acknowledged Benedict; that is, of the kings of Arragon, Navarre, and Castile, and the counts de Foix and Armagnac. At this congress several articles were agreed and sworn to by all, and this among the rest by the ambassadors of the princes in Benedict's obedience in their master's names, that if he did not voluntarily resign agreeably to his oath and repeated declarations, they would withdraw their obedience from him, would send ambassadors to the council, and join in all their proceedings against him. Benedict no sooner heard of what had passed at Narbonne, than, apprehending that the emperor or the king might cause him to be arrested, he left Perpignan in great haste, and retired with four of his cardinals, the fifth being indisposed, to Colliour; but not thinking himself safe there, he soon withdrew from thence to Peniscola, a very strong place, situated on a rock in a peninsula of the kingdom of Valentia, not far from Tortosa, now known by the name of Roccha de Truena.

King Ferdinand, being informed of his flight, sent a solemn embassy to acquaint him with the result of the congress of Narbonne, and exhort him to resign, of his own accord, a dignity which he himself could not but know it was impossible for him to hold, as all who had hitherto obeyed him had sworn to renounce his obedience, if he renounced not the pontificate. Benedict answered, that his two competitors having resigned, and renounced all right and claim to the pontifical dignity, the contest was ended,

¹ Valla in Vit. Ferdinandis Regis Arragon.; et Mariana, l. 10. c. 7.

Ferdinand of Arragon renounces his obedience. Benedict excommunicates him. The eighteenth and nineteenth sessions of the council. All safe conducts granted to heretics by secular princes declared null. Another decree relating to safe conducts. Whether genuine.

that he alone was now pope, and that they could by no other means restore peace to the church more effectually, than by acknowledging and obeying him as such. He added, that he never would abandon the church, which it had pleased the Almighty to commit to his care, and at the same time declared all excommunicated who did not acknowledge him, whether emperors, kings, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, or bishops, as rebels to St. Peter and his church. Ferdinand, provoked beyond measure at Benedict's obstinacy and presumption, publicly renounced his obedience, and on the 6th of January, 1416, an edict was published by his order, requiring all his subjects in general, of whatever rank or dignity, to withdraw from the obedience of Peter de Luna, styling himself Benedict XIII., and the ecclesiastics in particular, on pain of forfeiting their benefices and preferments.¹ In answer to this edict, Benedict, after reproaching the king with ingratitude, thundered out, undaunted, the sentence of excommunication against him, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and declared the throne vacant.

While these things passed in Spain, the sessions of the council were continued at Constance. In the eighteenth, held on Saturday the 17th of August, nothing was transacted worthy of notice. But in the nineteenth, held on Monday the 23d of September, passed the famous decree relating to safe conducts, granted by temporal princes to heretics, or to persons suspected of heresy. The decree was drawn up and published in the following words: "The holy synod declares, that no safe conduct, granted by the emperor, kings, and other secular princes, to heretics, or persons accused of heresy, in hopes of reclaiming them from their errors, by what tie soever they may have bound themselves, ought to be of any prejudice to the catholic faith, or to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, nor be any hindrance that such persons may and ought to be examined, judged, and punished by a competent and ecclesiastical judge, as justice shall require, if those heretics obstinately refuse to renounce their errors; and that, though they should have come to the place of judgment relying upon a safe conduct, and would not have come without one; and the person who shall have promised them security, shall be under no obligation, when he shall have done all that it was in his power to do." By this decree all safe conducts, granted by secular princes to obstinate and unrepenting heretics, are declared null. But it is to be observed, that the council does not here decree, in general, "no faith to be kept with heretics;" nay, on the contrary, by these words: "Nec sic promittentem, cum fecerit

quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum," the council tacitly declares the person who has promised safety, or given a safe conduct, to be bound, in virtue thereof, to do all in his power that his safe conduct take place, and his promise be made good.

Vander Hardt has produced from the library of Vienna another decree, in a manuscript, bearing the name of John Dorre, canon of Worms, who was present at the council, and speaks of this decree as having been issued in the same nineteenth session.¹ It is there declared, that, "according to the natural, divine, and human laws, no faith ought to have been kept with John Huss." Now, unless it can be proved, says Lenfant, and very justly, that the case of J. Huss was different from that of all other heretics, it follows evidently from thence, that, according to the council, no faith is to be kept with any heretic whatever. But as this decree is not to be met with in any of the printed copies of the council, nor in any manuscript, except that in the library of Vienna, occasion has been taken from thence to question its authenticity; and it was rejected as spurious by the Roman catholic writers, as soon as brought to light. Father Pagi, among the rest, looks upon it as a mere forgery, and argues thus; to declare, that according to the natural, divine, and human laws, no faith ought to have been kept with J. Huss, was evidently to declare, that, according to the same laws, no faith ought to be kept with any heretic whatever, should he have a safe conduct even from a general council, as no council can have a power to act contrary to those laws. Now the Hussites of Bohemia, says Pagi, came to the council of Basil, held fourteen years after that of Constance, with safe conducts from the emperor and the council, and consequently must either have been then ignorant of that decree, which is altogether incredible, had such a decree been published; or must have come relying upon safe conducts, which they knew to have been declared "contrary to the natural, divine, and human laws;" which is still, if possible, more incredible. That writer adds, that the decree in question was unknown to the protestants both in France and Germany at the time of the council of Trent. For Catherine de Medicis, queen of France, told the cardinal of Ferrara, the pope's legate, that the protestants demanded, before they came to the council, a revocation of the decree of the council of Constance, declaring "that an ecclesiastical judge may proceed against heretics notwithstanding the safe conducts of secular princes;" and the ambassador of the duke of Saxony told the council, that "the protestants of Germany were not yet

¹ Concil. Labbei, tom. 12. col. 1532.

¹ Vander Hardt. l. 4. p. 521, 522.

Twentieth session of the council. Twenty-first session;—[Year of Christ, 1416.] Some account of Jerom of Prague, condemned in this session. Jerom is arrested and sent to the council. Makes a solemn retraction.

come on account of a certain decree of the council of Constance, declaring that no faith ought to be kept with heretics, nor with persons suspected of heresy, though they should come with safe conducts from the emperor, or from kings." Had the protestants known of the other decree, they would have certainly taken notice of it, and insisted upon its revocation. As that decree, therefore, is to be met with in no printed copies of the acts of the council, and in one manuscript copy only; as it was unknown to the Hussites in Bohemia fourteen years after the council that is supposed to have issued it, and still unknown to the protestants of France and Germany one hundred and thirty years after that council, father Pagi concludes, and I cannot help concluding with him, the decree of John Dorre to be a posthumous one.¹

In the twentieth session, held on the 21st of November, a monitory was published against Frederic, duke of Austria, who had seized on the temporalities of the bishop of Trent. From this time no session was held till the 30th of May 1416, the emperor being absent, and many of the bishops having laid hold of that opportunity to visit their sees. However, on the 30th of January, a general congregation of the nations was convened to hear the articles agreed upon at the congress of Narbonne, the deputies of the council, who had attended the emperor into Spain, being returned to Constance. Those articles were all approved in this assembly, and sworn to in another, on the 4th of February, by all who were present. It is on this occasion observed in the acts of the council, that the cardinals and bishops in swearing laid their hands on their breasts, and the others touched the Gospels.

In this session, held on the 30th of May, the famous Jerom of Prague, so called because a native of that city, was condemned by the council and delivered over, as an obstinate and incorrigible heretic, to the secular power. He was, according to all the accounts we have of him, a man of most extraordinary parts, of great eloquence, and universal knowledge; entertained the same sentiments as John Huss, with whom he lived in the greatest friendship and intimacy, and, though a layman, was no less zealous than he for a reformation. When he heard of the imprisonment of his friend, he hastened to Constance to support him; but being told by some of his friends that an information was lodged against himself, he withdrew in such haste that he left his sword at the inn behind him. Cochläus writes, that he caused a paper in defence of John Huss to be set up at the door of the cathedral, where the council met, and fled imme-

diately with a design to return to Bohemia. Upon his flight the council summoned him to appear in the term of fifteen days, in order to answer what should be objected to him concerning his doctrine, or in matters of faith, and a safe conduct was sent to him in the name of the council. The words of the safe conduct were: "For this, and that no violence may be offered you, we give you, by these presents, a plenary safe conduct, saving, nevertheless, justice, so far as it is incumbent upon us, and the orthodox faith requires." As this was a safe conduct to come to, but not to return from, Constance, Jerom, paying no regard to it, pursued his journey back to Bohemia. Some authors tell us, that he wrote to the emperor for a safe conduct, but that the emperor flatly refused him one, lest he should have the mortification of seeing his authority again trampled upon by the council. Others say, that the emperor granted him one, but with this declaration, "so far as he had a right to do it."²

Be that as it may, Jerom continued his journey, and got safe to a town in the Black Forest. But being there invited by the parson of the place to an entertainment that he made for his brethren, Jerom (having drunk, as Maimburg supposes, too freely) broke out into most furious invectives against the council, calling it the "school of the devil," and "the synagogue of satan." Of this notice was immediately given to the governor of the place, who thereupon arrested him, and delivered him up to the Duke of Saltzbak, by whom he was sent, under a strong guard, to Constance. The council ordered him to be imprisoned in a neighboring castle, probably of Gottleben; and a few days afterwards he was examined in a general congregation, held in the convent of the Minorites, and after examination sent back to his prison, though no error in point of faith had been proved upon him. But John Huss being in the meantime condemned and executed, in the manner we have seen, and Jerom threatened, as a disciple of his, with the like treatment, if he did not acknowledge the justice of his sentence, and publicly abjure the errors that Huss had held, he yielded, being overcome with fear, owned Huss to have been justly condemned, retracted all the errors they were pleased to charge him with, and declared himself willing to undergo all the penalties inflicted by the canons upon heretics, if he ever relapsed into the same errors. This solemn profession and recantation Jerom delivered to the council, written with his own hand. However, he was remanded to prison, and only allowed a little more liberty than before. He there began seriously to reflect on the baseness of

¹ Pagi Breviar. Pontific. Roman. tom. 4. p. 423, 424, 425.

² Opera Huss, l. 2. fol. 343. 354. apud De Hardt et Lenfant.

Jerom repents and retracts his retraction. Is condemned and burnt alive. Dies with great firmness and constancy.

his conduct, and, sincerely repenting it, he declared, in a general congregation, held on occasion of some new articles being exhibited against him, that he honored the memory of John Huss, and ever should, who, he said, had led a most blameless life, had never deviated from the truth, but had been accused of many things of which he was innocent. At two other congregations, the one held on the 23d, and the other on the 26th of May of the present year, 1416, he declared that John Huss, of blessed memory, had neither held nor taught any doctrines contrary to, or inconsistent with the received doctrines of the catholic church; that nothing but the fear of being burnt alive had made him own, basely and against his conscience, the justice of the sentence pronounced against that holy man, and condemn his doctrines; and that he now retracted his retraction, as the greatest crime he had ever been guilty of.

Upon this change, quite unexpected, the assembly ordered him to be more strictly confined than ever, and some of the ablest divines of the council were sent to satisfy him that John Huss had been justly condemned; to represent to him the fatal consequences of his departing from his late declaration, and exhort him to adhere to it. But their endeavors proving all ineffectual, he was on the 30th of May brought before the council, when he declared anew that he had done nothing in the whole course of his life, which he repented of so much as his having revoked doctrines which he believed to be true, and he therefore now revoked, with all his soul, his former revocation. The bishop of Lodi then charged him, in a speech, related at length by Cochleus,¹ with all the errors imputed to John Huss, and warmly exhorted him to repent, as it was not yet too late, and save his soul by saving his body. When the orator had done, Jerom, after expatiating in praise of John Huss, who, he said, had been most unjustly condemned, solemnly renewed his last retraction, protesting at the same time, that he would never depart from it, but would rather suffer the most cruel death than save his life at the expense of his conscience.

And now, the council despairing of being ever able to overcome his obstinacy, as they called it, the final sentence was drawn up by their advocate, and pronounced in their name against him, declaring him a relapsed, impenitent, and incorrigible heretic, and ordering him to be delivered over, as such, to the secular arm. The sentence was no sooner pronounced than the magistrates of Constance, receiving him, consigned him to the executioner, by whom he was carried that moment to the place of execution, with the same kind of mitre on his head as was given

to John Huss, and is still given in Spain and Portugal to condemned Jews and heretics. He sung psalms the whole way, without the least alteration in his voice or countenance, and when the executioner, after tying him to the stake, approached the pile behind his back, in order to set fire to it without being seen by him, "Come forward," said he, "and put fire to it before my face; for had I been afraid, I should not have come to this place, as I might have easily avoided it." When the pile was fired, he sung aloud, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and continued repeating these words till the flame stopt his mouth.¹ The contemporary writers, namely, Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II., Theodoric de Niem, then at the council, Theodoric Urie, and Poggius, the Florentine, who was an eye-witness of Jerom's end, all agree in extolling the heroic firmness and invincible constancy with which he suffered so cruel a death. Poggius, after giving an account of his death, in a letter to Leonardo of Arezzo, "thus died," he added, in a kind of rapture, "this man, eminent beyond all belief.—Oh glorious man, truly worthy of immortal memory! If he entertained sentiments contrary to those of the church, I do not commend him on that account; but I admire his prodigious knowledge and eloquence, which, I fear, nature gifted him with only for his ruin. I was an eye-witness of his end: whether he was guilty of insincerity or obstinacy, I know not; but no death was ever more philosophical. Mutius did not, with so constant a resolution, endure the burning of one member, as he did the burning of his whole body, nor did Socrates more cheerfully drink off the poisonous draught, than he embraced the stake. What a pity that so fine a genius should go astray from the faith! allowing however what is said of him to be true. For it does not belong to me to judge of an affair of such great importance, and I refer it to those who know more of it than I do."² Poggius durst not call Jerom's death a Christian death; but, if it was not truly Christian, I should be glad to know what martyr's was; neither was he convinced, as appears plain enough from his words, of Jerom's having entertained sentiments contrary to those of the church, but he thought it not safe to speak out. As he was a man of note and of learning, for he had been secretary to the deposed pope, John XXIII., and had spent the greatest part of his life at the court of Rome, he was, no doubt, present at all the examinations of the pretended heretic, and his speaking so doubtfully of his guilt, is a strong argument, at least, of its not being sufficiently proved. Indeed,

¹ Opera Huss, l. 2. fol. 354; et De Hardt, l. 4. p. 772. apud Lenfant.

² Poggius Epist. 3, ad Leonard Aretin. apud Lenfant.

¹ Cochleus Hist. Hussit. l. 3.

The ambassadors of the princes in the obedience of Benedict join the council. Benedict summoned by the council;—[Year of Christ, 1417.] He is deposed. The sentence. Decree concerning the assembling of general councils.

Jerom agreed entirely in his sentiments with John Huss, and Huss differed, as has been shown, in no material point from the church. But the clergy, alarmed at the spirit of reformation which they discovered in both, and looking upon both as dangerous men, perhaps upon Jerom as the more dangerous of the two, as he was a man of quicker parts than the other, and much greater eloquence, they determined to remove both out of the way.

To return now to the council. In the six following sessions, held in the present year, 1416, the chief business of the fathers was to receive, and admit to the council, the ambassadors of the kings of Arragon, Navarre, and Castile, and those of the count de Foix, sent by their respective masters to acknowledge the council, and join in the resolutions that should be taken by that assembly against Benedict, if he refused to resign. On the 27th of January of the following year, 1417, the emperor returned to Constance, when he had been absent a year and a half. From Spain he went to France, and from France to England, to negotiate a peace between the two kings, Charles VI., of France, and Henry V., of England. He was received with all possible marks of joy by the council, and thenceforth assisted, as he had done before, at all the sessions. In the thirteenth session, held on Wednesday, the 10th of March, Bernardus de Planchea and Lambertus de Stipite, two Benedictine monks, who had been sent by the council to summon Benedict to appear in two months and ten days, gave an account to the council of what had passed between him and them at Peniscola. They delivered, they said, the summons into his own hands, in the presence of three of his cardinals, of a great number of bishops, who still adhered to him, and of three notaries, whom he had ordered to attend on the occasion. When he had perused it, he returned answer, that no council had any power over him who was lawful pope; that as for the assembly at Constance, it was entirely composed of men, who had been excommunicated for their disobedience to their lawful lord, and could not therefore represent the church; that nevertheless for the good and safety of the church, he was willing to resign, provided they allowed him, as the only undoubted cardinal, to name his successor. Poggius tells us that Benedict, turning to those about him when the two monks were introduced to him, "let us hear," he said, alluding to the color of their habit, "the ravens of the council;" and that one of them returned answer, "no wonder that ravens should flock to a carcass."

In the following session several regulations were made concerning the order that should be observed by the nations when they gave

their votes; the articles of Narbonne were approved by the ambassadors of all the princes in Benedict's obedience; Peter de Luna was summoned over and over again at the church door; and, as he did not appear, nor any body for him, the council proceeded, at last, to the final sentence, which was read by William Filastre, cardinal of St. Mark, in the thirty-seventh session, held on Thursday the 26th of July. By that sentence Peter de Luna, called in his obedience Benedict XIII., was declared a disturber of the peace of the church, an abetter of the schism, that had so long kept the whole body of the faithful divided among themselves; notoriously guilty of perjury in breaking the oath that he had solemnly taken before his election, and had solemnly confirmed after it; a manifest, obstinate, and incorrigible heretic, standing up against the article "one holy catholic church," and as such deprived of all honor, title and dignity, and cut off, as a rotten member, from the body of the church. By the same sentence all were absolved from the oaths they might have taken to him, and forbidden to obey him, or afford him any relief, or retreat in their territories or dominions, under any pretence whatever. However, Peter continued to thunder out, undauntedly, from his inaccessible rock, excommunications and anathemas against the schismatic assembly at Constance, and all the princes and bishops who assisted at it, or received its definitions or decrees, "calculated to foment and perpetuate so dangerous a schism in the one holy catholic and apostolic church;" so that "the one holy catholic and apostolic church" was now to be found only at Peniscola, and all but Peter de Luna and the few clerks there with him, were schismatics.¹

In the thirty-ninth session, held on Saturday the 9th of October, it was decreed, that five years after the conclusion of the present general council another should be held; that a second should be convoked within the term of seven years after the breaking up of that, and thenceforth one should be assembled every tenth year, reckoning from the time when the preceding council ended. The pope for the time being was to name the places, with the approbation of the council, where these councils should meet; and that a month before the end of each council. In the absence of the pope the appointing of the place was left to the council. The pope was allowed, upon any emergent occasion, to shorten the time between the councils, with the advice of his cardinals; but he was, on no account, to prorogue any of them, nor to change the appointed place without apparent necessity. Should a schism happen, and two popes be elected, a council was ordered to meet the very next year; and

¹ Acta Concil. Sess. 37.

Confession of faith to be made by every new pope. Decree concerning the manner of electing a new pope. Martin V. elected and enthroned.

all bishops, as well as the emperor, and other kings and princes, were enjoined, on pain of excommunication, to repair to it, or to send their ambassadors, to extinguish, as it were, a general conflagration. It was further ordained, that if he who was first elected, should hear of another election after his, he should, on pain of an eternal curse, "meledictionis æternæ," and of forfeiting all the right he had, in the term of a month, convene the council in the place appointed before; that neither he nor his competitor should preside at it, but should be both actually suspended from the administration the very moment the council met. By the same decree every election, not quite free, was declared null, nor was it to be deemed valid, should they, with whom violence had been used, concur freely in it afterwards; and the cardinals were forbidden to proceed to a new election till the affair was determined by a general council, unless the elect should in the mean time die or resign.¹

In the same session a confession of faith was drawn up to be made by every new pope before his election was made public. It was as follows: "In the year of our Lord one thousand, &c., I, N. elected pope, do confess and profess with my heart and my mouth before Almighty God, who has committed the government of his church to me, and before St. Peter, prince of the apostles, that as long as I live I shall inviolably hold, to the minutest article, the holy catholic faith, according to the tradition of the apostles, of the general councils, and of the other holy fathers, particularly of the eight general councils, namely, of the first council of Nice, the second of Constantinople, the third of Ephesus, the fourth of Chalcedon, the fifth and sixth of Constantinople, the seventh of Nice, the eighth of Constantinople, and likewise

of the general councils of the Lateran, of Lyons, of Vienne; and that I will preach, maintain, and defend the faith at the hazard of my life, and to the effusion of my blood. I will likewise unalterably observe the rite of the sacraments of the catholic church, as it is prescribed. I have signed this confession, written in compliance with my order, by a notary and register of the holy Roman church; and I offer it to thee, Almighty God, with a pure heart, and a devout conscience, upon such an altar, in the presence of such and such persons."¹

The apostolic see being now vacant by the deposition of the two surviving pretenders to it, the council decreed, in the fortieth session, held on Saturday the 30th of October, that a new pope should be forthwith elected, notwithstanding the absence of Peter de Luna's cardinals, who, nevertheless, should be admitted, if they came before the election was made, and adhered to the council. It was at the same time ordained, that, for this time only, six prelates, or ecclesiastical persons in holy orders, out of each of the five nations then present at the council, should be added to the cardinals, and that he who should be elected by two parts in three of the cardinals and the deputies of the nations, should by all be received for lawful and undoubted pope. The nations were originally only four, as has been said; namely, the Italian, the German, the French, and the English. But the Spaniards, upon their joining the council, were allowed the privilege of forming a fifth nation. By this regulation each nation was to have a share in the election of the new pope, which would induce each of them, as was wisely judged by the fathers, to look upon him as its own pope, and adhere to him as such.

MARTIN V., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[MANUEL PALÆOLOGUS, JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperors of the East*.—SIGISMUND, *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1417.] The apostolic see having been declared vacant in the fortieth session, the cardinals of the three obediences, according to some twenty-one, or, as others will have it, twenty-three, and the thirty deputies of the nations, entered the conclave in the town house of Constance on Monday evening the 8th of November, after taking the usual oaths in the presence of the emperor, who, on that occasion, warmly

exhorted them to elect one capable and willing to reform the many abuses that had been introduced during so long a schism, and disfigured the whole face of the church. As the electors were of so many different nations, and it was in the power of three out of the six of each nation to hinder the election, it was apprehended that the conclave would last some months, and that great disorders would happen, it being natu-

¹ Acta Concil. Sess. 39.

¹ Acta Concil. Sess. 39.

Some account of Martin's family. His employments before his promotion.

ral for every nation to give their suffrages to one of their own country. But to the great surprise of all, Otto, Odo, or Eudes de Columna, cardinal deacon of St. George ad Velum Aureum, was elected in the evening of the third day, having the suffrages of seventeen cardinals, of the six English electors, and of four at least out of the six electors of the four other nations. He was attended the same evening by the emperor and the council to the cathedral, was there enthroned amidst the loud acclamations of men of all ranks; and on that occasion he took the name of Martin V., having been elected on that saint's day, the 11th of November. Oldoinus tells us, that the emperor, upon the first notice he had of the election of cardinal de Columna, flew to the conclave, forgetful of his dignity, and quite unattended, to thank the electors for the choice they had made, and that prostrating himself before the elect, he kissed his foot, recommending to him, with tears in his eyes, the distracted state of the church, while he on his side raising the emperor up, and tenderly embracing him, returned him his most sincere thanks for the zeal he had exerted, and the many, almost insurmountable difficulties, he had overcome to restore the so long wished for tranquillity to the Christian world.¹

Martin, on the very day of his election, wrote circulatory letters to acquaint the bishops and the Christian princes with his promotion. And it is observable, that though he was not bishop, nor indeed priest, being only deacon, yet he did not style himself bishop elect, as was usual when the elect was not a bishop, but took the title of bishop without that addition, "Martin, bishop, servant of the servants of God, &c."² He was ordained priest on Saturday, the 20th of November, and the next day first consecrated bishop, and then crowned with the usual solemnity. After his coronation he rode in the pontifical attire, as was customary, through the city, that he might be seen by all, the emperor holding his bridle on foot on the right hand, and the new elector, Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, on the left.³

Martin was the son of Agapetus de Columna, or, as they are now called, Colonna, a Roman family still subsisting in Rome, and one of the most illustrious in Europe. Raynald, duke of Juliers and Gelderland, in the letter he wrote to congratulate Martin upon his promotion, owned his family to be descended from the "ancient and high family of the Colonnas of Rome," which he reputed, he said, a great honor. The present royal family of Prussia derives its original, as I have observed above, from the Colonna family of Rome. For Martin, in

a letter he wrote to Ladislaus, king of Poland, on occasion of a marriage between his daughter Heduiges, and Frederic the son of Frederic, burgrave of Nuremberg, the first elector of Brandenburg, of whom I have spoken above, expresses himself thus: "According to what has been handed down to us by an ancient tradition, our family de Columna of Rome, and that of the burgraves of Nuremberg, which is likewise said to have been originally Roman, are derived from the same stock. Hence, as we were before well affected to your serenity for your eminent virtues, for your extraordinary merit, and good offices to the Christian people, we ought now to be, and shall be, still more ready to favor your excellence to the utmost of our power, in consideration of this new connexion with your highness by affinity.—For in honoring the Bradenburg family with illustrious and royal nuptials, you have at the same time honored ours."⁴ The Colonna family can, perhaps, boast of more great men than any family this day in Europe.—It has produced, in its different branches, many princes, kings, popes, and even some emperors. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, cardinal John de Columna, being sent by pope Honorius III. with the character of his legate to the Holy Land, distinguished himself in that war, and upon his return home brought with him a column or pillar, supposed to be the pillar at which our Savior was scourged; and from that time they have taken the name De Columna, and been authorized, says Molinet, to carry a column in their coat of arms.⁵ But father Bonanni, the Jesuit, has made it undeniably appear, from an ancient inscription in the church of St. Praxedes, where the pillar is to be seen to this day, that the family bore the name De Columna before the time of that cardinal. For in the inscription it is said that "the cardinal by bringing the holy column consecrated his name, and added a new lustre to it." The same learned Jesuit produces many indisputable testimonies to show that the Colonna family bore that name, and a column in their coat of arms some ages before the holy column was brought by the above-mentioned cardinal to Rome.⁶ I have spoken above of the cruel persecution the Colonna family suffered from Boniface VIII. who even caused a crusade to be preached against them, and of their being restored by Benedict XI. at the intercession of Philip the Fair, king of France, to their former rank, honors, and possessions.⁴

Martin came of this ancient and noble family, studied canon law at Perugia, and upon his return to Rome he was, by Urban VI. made prothonotary and referendary, by Boniface IX. nuncio to the states of Italy, and

¹ Oldoin. addition. ad Ciacon.

² Papebroc. in Paralipomenis, p. 112.

³ Acta Concil.

⁴ Longinus Hist. Poloniae, l. 11.

⁵ Du Molinet. Histoire Metallique ad Martin V.

⁶ Bonanni nummi Pontif. tom. 1. p. 71. ⁴ See p. 46

Martin's character. Legates sent by Martin into Arragon against Peter de Luna;—[Year of Christ, 1418.] His obstinacy. Martin presides at the four remaining sessions. The work of the reformation put off. End of the council.

by Innocent VII. cardinal deacon of St. George ad Vileum Aureum. He espoused the cause of Gregory XII., and steadily adhered to him, when forsaken by all the other cardinals, till he was deposed by the council of Pisa. John the XXIII.^d appointed him apostolic legate for the patrimony of St. Peter, and vicar general of the apostolic see in Umbria; and in these employments he is said to have acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of all under him, being a man of a most humane temper and a peaceable disposition. Leonardo of Arezzo, who had spent the greatest part of his life at the court of Rome, and must have been perfectly well acquainted with the characters of all the cardinals, says, that cardinal Colonna was not commonly reputed a man of great penetration, but that Martin V. undecieved the world by his extraordinary sagacity.—That writer adds, that he deserved no great commendations in any other respect.¹ But most other authors speak of him as a man not only of parts, but of probity equal to his parts. His election shows in what esteem he was held by his brethren the cardinals, as well as by the deputies of the nations. If Martin was not free from faults, says M. Lenfant in his history of the present council, he was certainly endowed, for those times, with many good qualities.

When Peter de Luna, still at Peniscola, heard of the election of Martin, he assembled the four cardinals, and the few clerks he had with him, and calling that assembly a general council and the catholic church, he solemnly excommunicated, as schismatics, all who had any share in the election of the 'anti-pope Otho de Columna, styling himself Martin V., and all who should acknowledge or obey him. On this occasion many of the Spanish bishops, repairing to Peniscola, earnestly entreated him to yield at last, seeing the whole Christian world had declared against him. The bishops were joined even by some of Peter's own cardinals. But to all he returned the same answer, that Christ had entrusted him, as his vicar upon earth, with the care of his church, and that he never would betray his trust, nor yield the see of St. Peter to an usurper. The new pope, soon after his election, sent first Bernard of Bourdeaux, and afterwards cardinal Alaminus Ademarius, commonly called the cardinal of Pisa, into Arragon, to oblige, with the censures of the church, such as in that kingdom still sided with Peter de Luna, to forsake him. He was accordingly forsaken by all, even by all his own cardinals, except two, namely, Julian Dobra, and Dominic de Bonnefoy, a Carthusian. Peter finding himself thus left almost alone, in order to gain time, published a manifesto, declaring that he would

treat with none but the person himself, who held his see, and that he did not at all doubt but they should agree, if he was worthy of the character which he generally bore. The cardinal, provoked beyond measure at his obstinacy, caused him to be publicly anathematized in all the chief towns of Arragon, and with him his two cardinals, and all who acknowledged, obeyed, or assisted him. These anathemas Peter answered with others, in the same style, against all who acknowledged, obeyed, or assisted the usurper of his see.¹

Martin, elected in the manner we have seen, presided at the four remaining sessions of the council, the forty-second, forty-third, forty-fourth, and forty-fifth, held on the 28th of December 1417, on the 21st of March, the 19th of April, and 22d of the same month, 1418. In the first of these sessions, the forty-second, the emperor and duke of Bavaria, to whose custody John XXIII., now Balthasar Cossa, had been committed, applied to the council to know how they were to dispose of him; and it was decreed, that he should be delivered up to the pope, as soon as it suited his holiness's convenience to receive him. The schism being now extinguished, or confined to the rock of Peniscola, the council were, in the next place, for proceeding to the reformation of the church in its head and its members, the other great and necessary work for which they had met. The articles of the intended reformation had been drawn up in the assemblies of the nations, and were read in the forty-third session. They chiefly related to simoniacal presentations, reservations, annuities, expectative graces, commendams, dispensations, reversions; to the number and the quality of the cardinals; to appeals, alienations, elections, &c. But the new pope showing himself extremely backward with respect to the work of reformation, many things were treated of, says Gobelinus Persona, who wrote at this time, but very few were concluded. The pope, says father Paul, in his treatise on benefices, being unwilling that the council should meddle with affairs of that nature, and the bishops being all impatient to return to their sees after so long an absence, the reformation, under color that it required a great deal of time, was left to the council, which was to meet in the term of five years.² That council was, in the forty-fourth session, appointed by the pope to meet in the city of Pavia, and all were required to attend it. In the forty-fifth session the pope made a discourse, and when he had done, cardinal Brancuccio, by his order, and the order of the council, pronounced these words: "Domini, ite in pace

¹ Acta Concil. Surita Hist. Arragon, l. 12. c. 66, 67. Raynald. Annal. Eccles. tom. 17. p. 3. Platina in Martin V.

² F. Paul, c. 42.

¹ Leonard. Aretin. Hist. Flor. l. 1. 3.

Martin sets out in great state from Constance. Resides some time at Geneva. Disturbances in Bohemia.

—Gentlemen, depart in peace;" to which the whole assembly answered, "Amen." Thus was an end put to the present council, when it had sat from the 16th of November 1414, to the 22d of April 1418, and had obliged one pope to resign, and deposed two others. As the pope, in confirming the acts of the council, declared that he approved of all that had been done "conciliariter," some have taken occasion, from the ambiguity of that word, to say that he did not confirm the decree, establishing the superiority of the council to the pope. But it matters little, to use the words of the learned Du Pin, whether the pope confirmed that decree or not; it is enough for us to know, that it was issued by a general council, representing the church universal, and composed of all the learned men at that time in the church.

Upon the breaking up of the council, the pope was earnestly entreated on the one hand by the emperor to remain some time longer in Germany, and on the other by the French to reside among them in his own city of Avignon, at least, till he could return with safety to Rome. To both Martin returned the same answer, that his presence was absolutely necessary at Rome, left in his absence to the mercy of lawless tyrants, that the basilics of the apostles and the other churches of the city, visited by the most distant nations, were all gone to decay, and would, if not speedily repaired, be turned into heaps of ruins; that the citizens, abandoned, in a manner, by their lawful lord, sided some with one usurper, and some with another; and thus was the city of Rome, and with it the whole patrimony of St. Peter, become the theatre of a civil and most bloody war. He therefore begged they would excuse him from complying with their request, but, to gratify, in some degree, both nations, he promised to remain some time at Geneva, situated between both, and there dispatch what affairs they wanted to be settled by the authority of the apostolic see.¹ He continued at Constance till the 16th of May, when he set out in great state for Geneva. Reichental, who was present at this procession, as he calls it, gives us the following account of it. First came twelve led horses caparisoned with scarlet, and next to them four gentlemen on horseback, carrying four cardinals hats. They were followed by a priest with a golden cross in his hand, which he presented to the multitude. After him walked twelve cardinals in their proper attire, and next to them rode a priest on a white horse, carrying the sacrament under a canopy, in the midst of a mixed multitude, with burning tapers in their hands. After him came another priest, carrying a cross of gold, and surrounded by the canons, of whom Reichental was one, by the senators, and the

magistrates of the city in their formalities, all with burning torches in their hands. At last his holiness appeared on a white horse under a canopy in all his pontifical ornaments, with a triple crown on his head. The canopy was supported by four counts, and his horse led, on the right hand, by the emperor, and on the left by the elector of Brandenburg, both on foot, while the duke of Bavaria, with four other princes of the empire, on the one side, and the duke of Austria, with as many on the other, held up the rich cloth that covered his horse and reached to the ground. At the gate of the city the pope dismounted, gave his benediction to the numerous multitude, and changing his habit and his horse, set out for Gottleben, attended by the emperor and all the German princes, and there taking his leave of the emperor, he embarked on the Rhine for Schaffhausen. From thence he went to Bern, staid some days there in the convent of the Dominicans, and then pursuing his journey to Geneva, made his public entry into that city on the 11th of June, being attended by twelve cardinals, by the duke of Savoy, and by all persons of distinction in that neighborhood. At Geneva he was met by the ambassadors of the city of Avignon, sent to swear fealty to him in their name. Of this pope we have several bulls dated at Geneva, and one among the rest, granting to John, earl of Foix, who had married the eldest daughter of Charles, king of Navarre, deceased, without any children by him, a dispensation to marry the other sister.²

As the depriving the laity of the cup in the sacrament, and the execution of John Huss and Jerom of Prague made a great noise in Bohemia, and on that account dreadful disturbances were raised in that kingdom, Martin, being still at Geneva, dispatched from thence John Dominici, cardinal of Ragusa, with the character of his legate, into Bohemia, to appease those troubles by the authority of the apostolic see. But the cardinal soon found, that the apostolic see had lost all its authority there, and therefore wrote to the emperor, that the sword alone could bring those perverse and obstinate heretics back to their duty. But Sigismund did not think it advisable, nor did the king, Wenceslaus, to employ the sword till all other remedies had proved ineffectual. The cardinal, not thinking it safe for him to continue in Bohemia, where the Hussites were become very numerous, retired to Buda and died there.²

The pope, having passed about three months at Geneva, left that city on the 3d of September, and repaired to Milan, where he was received by duke Philip with extraordinary marks of honor. From Milan he set out for Mantua on the 25th of October,

¹ Platina in Martino V.

¹ Apud Raynald. Num. 34.

² Ibid. Num. 9; et Antonin. tit. 22. c. 7, et tit. 23. c. 11.

Martin at Florence;—[Year of Christ, 1419.] Four of Peter de Luna's cardinals submit to him; and likewise Balthasar Cossa. How received by Martin. His death. Embassy from Joan II., queen of Naples.

being attended by eleven cardinals, and remained there till the 7th of February of the following year, 1419, when passing through Ferrara, Ravenna, and Forlì, but avoiding Bologna, then in open rebellion, he arrived at Florence on the 27th of February, and was received there with all possible marks of distinction by the clergy, the people, and the magistrates of that then powerful republic.¹ As many cities of the ecclesiastical state were held by petty tyrants, and Rome itself among the rest, Martin continued at Florence for the space of near two years; for no sooner could the state be cleared from those tyrants, nor could he return with any safety till it was.

Soon after his arrival at Florence, that is, on the 17th of March, came four of Peter de Luna's cardinals to attend him with the other cardinals as the only lawful pope. They had withdrawn their obedience from Peter the preceding year, and Martin had thereupon created them anew, and by a bull, dated at Geneva the 1st of August, ordered them to be acknowledged by all for cardinals of the holy Roman church. He himself received them as such, and confirmed all the grants the anti-pope had made to them. Not long after, Martin had the far greater, and quite unexpected satisfaction of seeing Balthasar Cossa, heretofore John XXIII., prostrate at his feet, and throwing himself entirely upon his mercy. Some say that he purchased his liberty of the elector Palatine, to whose custody he was committed, with the sum of thirty thousand crowns of gold, while others tell us, that he found means to make his escape out of Heidelberg, where he had been kept prisoner for the space of near four years. Be that as it may, he appeared, to the great surprise of all, at the pope's court, in the beginning of June of the present year, and, throwing himself at his feet without any previous stipulations or conditions whatever, acknowledged him for the lawful successor of St. Peter and Christ's vicar upon earth. Martin, scarce able to believe what he saw and heard, immediately raised him up, and, tenderly embracing him, congratulated him upon so sudden a change, that could be owing to heaven alone, and would prove so beneficial to the church universal. On the 14th of June, Balthasar ratified and confirmed all the decrees of the council of Constance relating to himself, and to the election of Martin; renounced, in a solemn manner, all right and title to the popedom, and was thereupon created by the pope cardinal bishop of Tusculum; was made dean of the sacred college, and it was ordained that he should always sit next to the pope, and his seat should be somewhat raised above the seats of the other cardinals. But he did not long enjoy these honors much

inferior to his ambition. For he died at Florence of grief, or, as some say, of poison, on the 20th of December of the present year, and was buried in the baptistery or chapel of St. John the Baptist, where his most affectionate friend, Cosmus de Medicis, a citizen of Florence, procured a most magnificent tomb to be erected over his remains with this epitaph, "here lies the body of Balthasar Cossa, heretofore pope John XXIII." This, Cosmus owed, in gratitude, to his deceased friend and benefactor; for with his money, says Platina, he had so increased his own wealth, that he was thought to be possessed of greater riches than any, not only at Florence, and in all Italy, but perhaps in any other country.¹ The immense treasures that this citizen had accumulated by the friendship of pope John, during his pontificate, enabled his posterity to enslave their country, and raised them from the rank of citizens to a dignity inferior to the royal alone. John left several bulls behind him, and a poem, "*De Varietate Fortune*," probably composed during his captivity. He was certainly a man of parts; but the many irregularities that were laid to his charge, and proved by unexceptionable witnesses, would alone have justified his deposition.

Martin had not been long in Florence, when Joan II. queen of Naples, who had succeeded to her brother king Ladislaus, deceased without lawful issue, sent a splendid embassy, at the head of which was John Caraccioli, her chief favorite and gallant, to congratulate the new pope upon his promotion, to do homage to him in her name, and to beg his holiness would send a legate *a Latere* to crown her with the usual solemnity. As the dissolute life she led, and the undeserved treatment her husband met with at her hands, had raised a strong party against her, in order to engage the pope in her interest Caraccioli was ordered to promise the restitution of the castle of St. Angelo, of Ostia, and Civita Vecchia, which the late king, her brother, had seized; nay, and to assure his holiness, that as soon as she was crowned, she would send all the forces of her kingdom to assist him in driving out the tyrants who had seized, and, in a manner, divided among themselves the patrimony of St. Peter. The pope, in the first audience he granted to the ambassadors, expressed his greatest regard for their mistress, bestowed the highest commendations upon her for her attachment to the apostolic see, and, in compliance with her request, promised to send, without delay, a legate *a Latere* to perform the ceremony of the coronation. But he absolutely insisted upon her first setting the king, her husband, at liberty, and living with him as his wife. She had married James, count de la

Martin prevails upon queen Joan to set her husband at liberty. Is crowned by the pope's legate. Sends an army to assist the pope, which is defeated by Braccio, who afterwards submits to the pope. Martin complains of the Florentines.

Marche, of the blood royal of France; but, to indulge her amours without restraint, had caused him to be shut up in one of the castles, and ordered all the French to leave the kingdom in the space of eight days. The pope, therefore, at the pressing instances of the French king and the other princes of the blood, whom he was unwilling to disoblige, peremptorily refused to send a legate to crown the queen till the king was restored to his liberty: This Caraccioli immediately notified to the queen, advising her by all means to comply with the pope's request, lest he should be prevailed upon by the French king to proceed to the censures of the church against her. The queen hearkened to his advice; and the pope, upon the first notice he had of the king's deliverance, dispatched cardinal Maurocenus with the character of his legate to crown the queen. The king no sooner recovered his liberty, than, finding that his countrymen had been all banished the kingdom, and that the queen was entirely governed by Caraccioli, his mortal enemy, he left Naples, and, returning to France, embraced there a religious life among the Minorites. Soon after his departure, the queen was crowned with great solemnity by the legate, and received the investiture, in the pope's name, at his hands.¹

The queen immediately after her coronation, not only caused all the places that her brother had seized and garrisoned in the ecclesiastical state to be restored, but sent James Sforza, a soldier of fortune and a renowned commander, with the flower of her troops against Braccio of Perugia, another soldier of fortune, and no less famous in war than he. Braccio, upon the deposition of pope John, had made himself master of most of the cities belonging to the church, and of Rome itself, where he ruled with an absolute sway, styling himself lord of Rome; which title he afterwards laid down at the desire of the Roman people, and took that of "defender of the city of Rome" in its stead. He did not wait till Sforza approached Rome, apprehending the friends of the pope would join him, but went to meet him in the neighborhood of Viterbo; and an engagement ensuing, Sforza was, after a most gallant resistance, driven out of the field, and Braccio, having pursued him with great slaughter to the borders of the kingdom of Naples, returned triumphant to Rome. Upon the news of this defeat the pope, recurring to his spiritual weapons, thundered out the sentence of excommunication against Braccio by name, and against all who served under him, or should lend him any assistance whatever.—But of that sentence Braccio made so little account, that he in his turn, by way of con-

tempt and derision, excommunicated the pope and all who adhered to him.¹ However, by the interposition of the Florentines, an agreement was soon after concluded between Martin and Braccio, the latter consenting, upon his being allowed to hold some cities, as vicar of the apostolic see, to deliver up Rome and all the rest into the hands of the pope; nay, Martin, being entirely reconciled to him, not only absolved him from the excommunication, but, taking him and his mercenaries into his service, reduced by his means all the rebel cities, and among the rest the city of Bologna, that had revolted at the instigation of one of the Bentivoglio family, and set up the standard of liberty.²

The tyrants being every where driven out, and a perfect tranquillity restored throughout the ecclesiastical state, Martin resolved to leave Florence, and repair, as he might with all safety, to Rome. The Florentines had received and treated him, during his long stay among them, with all the respect that was due to his dignity, had prevailed upon Braccio to submit to him upon very reasonable terms, and had, on every other occasion, interposed their good offices in his behalf. However at his departure he did not seem to be entirely satisfied with their behaviour; but, on the contrary, complained to his secretary, Leonardo of Arezzo, of their having suffered him to be publicly insulted in the streets. As Martin was not in a condition to live up to his dignity, but obliged to moderate his expenses for want of money, which alone procures respect in rich trading cities, he was despised by some of those wealthy citizens, and the children sung publicly in the streets, "Papa Martino non vale un quaterno;" that is, "Pope Martin is not worth a farthing." This the pope highly resented, not in the children, but in the magistrates, whose duty it was, he said, if they had any regard for him, to have restrained them, and not suffered his name to be thus exposed, in the public streets, to the contempt of the populace. But his secretary representing to him, that ballads, sung by children in the streets, were beneath his notice, and even beneath the notice of the magistrates; that his being able to return in safety to Rome was chiefly owing to the interposition of the republic; that the magistrates had taken care that no affront should be offered, and none had been offered, even to the meanest of his servants, during his long abode in their city; that had the magistrates known that his holiness thought the behavior of the children in the streets worthy of his resentment, they would have thought it worthy of punishment, and would have punished it with the utmost

¹ Sommont. Hist. Neapol. l. 4. c. 3.

¹ Antonin. tit. 22. c. 7.

² Leonard. Aretin. Hist. Rerum Italic.

Martin is appeased, and erects their see into a metropolis. Martin arrives at Rome ;—[Year of Christ, 1420.] Misunderstanding between the pope and the king of Arragon ;—[Year of Christ, 1421.] What gave occasion to it.

severity. Leonardo added, that his holiness would find the Florentines on all occasions ready to employ their good offices in his behalf, and not their good offices alone. Martin owned what his secretary said to be true ; and, being thus appeased, sent for the magistrates at his departure, and after thanking them for their many good offices, and the many proofs they had given of their attachment both to his person and the apostolic see, he erected the episcopal see of their city into a metropolis, and subjected to it the two neighboring sees of Fiescoli and Pistoia ; “These two,” says Antonine, “and no other :” but to these two Platina adds a third, the see of Volterra.¹

Martin left Florence on the 9th of September 1420, and arriving at Rome on the 28th of the same month, rested the next day, Sunday, at the church of St. Mary de Populo, near the gate of the city, and on Monday made his public entry into Rome, attended by the clergy in a body, by the senate, the nobility, and immense crowds of people, all crying aloud, “Long live pope Martin.” He found the city in a most deplorable condition ; most of its stately edifices lying in ruins, the churches quite neglected and ready to fall, the streets all covered with rubbish and filth, and the people reduced to the utmost poverty, even to want the necessaries of life. Martin immediately caused provisions to be brought, in great plenty, from all parts, and having ordered the streets to be cleaned, he rebuilt, or repaired, at his own expense, the ruinous churches, and with them the houses of such of the inhabitants as were not able to repair them themselves. Thus was Rome by his means restored, in the space of less than two years, to its ancient splendor and beauty ; which procured him the name of Romulus the Second.²

In the mean time Peter de Luna, confined to Peniscola, and acting there as high pontiff, thundered out anew the sentence of excommunication against the usurper of his see, and all who adhered to him, especially the Romans, who, instead of shutting their gates against him, as it was their duty to have done, had received him as the true vicar of Christ upon earth. He was countenanced at this time, underhand, and supported by Alphonso, king of Arragon, provoked at Martin’s refusing to comply with his exorbitant demands. For, as his father Ferdinand, and he himself, upon his father’s death, had expended, as he pretended, vast sums, and spared no trouble to extinguish the schism, and gain over such as still adhered to Peter de Luna, he demanded, in return, leave of the pope to dispose, for a long term of years, of all the vacant bene-

fices in his dominions, to enjoy the revenues so long as they remained vacant, and to share with his holiness all the money that should be levied in the kingdom of Arragon for the benefit of the apostolic see. Martin endeavoured to satisfy the king of the unreasonableness of his demands : but Alphonso, flattering himself that by espousing the cause of his competitor, he should frighten him into a compliance, began, with that view, to countenance all who adhered to Benedict, nay, and to suffer the validity of Martin’s election to be publicly questioned, and the council of Constance to be openly arraigned of injustice and partiality. This occasioned a misunderstanding between the pope and the king, which soon ended in an open rupture on the following occasion.

As Caraccioli, of whom I have spoken above, prime minister to Joan, queen of Naples, and her gallant, governed that kingdom more like a sovereign than a prime minister, Sforza, who commanded the queen’s troops, not able to bear with his imperious, haughty, and insolent behaviour, began to form a party against him, with a design to oblige the queen to dismiss him. Of this Caraccioli was soon informed, and applying thereupon to the queen, so prejudiced her against Sforza, as if he intended to impose upon her what ministers he pleased, and engross, by their means, all power to himself, that she no longer admitted him to her councils, and but very seldom to her presence, though she had hitherto placed an entire confidence in him, and in all matters of moment advised with him as well as with Caraccioli. From this change in the queen, Sforza concluded that the command of the army would be soon taken from him ; and therefore, in order to be revenged both upon the queen and her favorite, and maintain himself in power in spite of both, he sent his secretary privately into France, to invite Lewis III., duke of Anjou, to come and take possession of his paternal kingdom ; assuring him that most of the barons, no less dissatisfied than he was himself, with the tyrannical and despotic government of the prime minister, would readily join him. Lewis, the present duke of Anjou, was the son of Lewis, whom Ladislaus, queen Joan’s brother, had driven out, and the grandson of Lewis, whom queen Joan I. had adopted. Upon that adoption, as it was confirmed by the apostolic see, the dukes of Anjou founded their claim to the crown of Naples, styling themselves, in all their public writings, kings of Apulia, or of hither Sicily. Lewis accepted with great joy the invitation ; and Sforza, upon the return of his secretary, who brought with him a considerable sum of money, sent back to the queen her standard with his truncheon, and, at the head of his army, caused Lewis III. of Anjou to be

¹ Leonard. et Antonin. ubi supra.

² Contelerius ad ann. 1420 ; et Platina in Martin V.

The king of Arragon adopted by queen Joan. That adoption opposed by the pope. The queen revokes her adoption of Alphonso, and adopts Lewis;—[Year of Christ, 1422.]

proclaimed king of Apulia. He was soon joined by many of the discontented barons and their vassals; and, his army being thus reinforced, he reduced most of the strong holds that, in the neighborhood of Naples, held out for the queen. In the mean time Lewis, having with incredible expedition equipped a fleet at Marseilles, appeared with it unexpectedly off Naples, and, landing without opposition, was received by Sforza and his army with all possible demonstrations of joy. As the queen had no army to make head against theirs, she retired, with such of the barons as she could confide in, to the castle Dell Oovo, in the city of Naples, then thought impregnable. She was there soon besieged by Lewis and Sforza; and, having no prospect of relief, she was for capitulating, and adopting, as she had no children of her own, Lewis for her son, her heir, and successor. But Caraccioli, dreading to fall into the hands of Sforza, his avowed enemy, instead of Lewis proposed Alphonso, king of Arragon, a powerful prince, who, he said, would soon drive out both Lewis and Sforza, and leave her, as he had many other kingdoms, to govern her kingdom as she pleased, quite undisturbed. With this proposal the queen immediately closed; and it was no sooner notified to Alphonso, who was then riding off Sardinia with a very numerous fleet and a powerful army on board to make a descent upon Corsica, than, dropping that enterprise for the present, he set sail for Naples, and landing his army, vastly superior in numbers to that of Lewis, obliged him not only to raise the siege of the castle, but to abandon that neighborhood, and retire with his army into Calabria. The queen, being now delivered out of all danger, adopted her deliverer, with great solemnity, and he was universally acknowledged for lawful heir to the crown. As the kingdom of Apulia was a fief of the apostolic see, Alphonso wrote immediately to the pope to acquaint him with his adoption, and beg his holiness would confirm it. But Martin, instead of complying with his request, returned answer, that Lewis had an undoubted right to that crown; that his grandfather, Lewis I., had been adopted by queen Joan I., with the consent and approbation of Clement VII.; that the succeeding popes had all confirmed that adoption, and therefore that he neither could nor ever would consent to the adoption of any other. He added, that he had allowed the queen to enjoy the kingdom during her life, and had even sent a legate to crown her in his name; but had not empowered her to dispose of it to whom she pleased, either in her lifetime or after her death, and consequently that her adoption was in itself null. Alphonso, provoked beyond measure at the pope's answer, declared for Peter de

Luna, took all who adhered to him into his protection, and spared no pains to get him acknowledged throughout the kingdom of Arragon. On the other hand, Martin declared Lewis III. of Anjou lawful heir to the crown of Apulia, created Sforza standard-bearer of the church, sent him a thousand horse under the command of Tartalia Lavetto, an officer of great experience, and forbade any tribute or taxes to be paid by the people of Apulia to queen Joan.¹

In the mean time the barons, dissatisfied with the arbitrary government of the king of Arragon, and flocking from all parts to join Lewis, that prince, in a very short time, found himself at the head of an army able to contend with that of his rival. He marched, accordingly, into the neighborhood of Naples; and his friends in that city, encouraged at his approach, fell unexpectedly upon the Arragonians, cut many of them in pieces, and obliged the king himself to fly for refuge to one of the castles, the greatest part of his army being, at that juncture, employed in reducing the distant fortresses of the kingdom. As Alphonso had obliged the magistrates and all other officers to swear allegiance to him, and disposed of all places without consulting the queen or Caraccioli, showing but too plainly, by his whole conduct, that he intended to deprive her of all authority, and govern the kingdom as his own, even in her life-time, she resolved to revoke his adoption, and adopt Lewis in his room. This resolution was suggested and earnestly recommended to her by her favorite minister, as the only means of engaging the pope in her interest, who, he said, would not fail, for the sake of Lewis, to support her, to the utmost of his power, against Alphonso. The queen, therefore, leaving Naples immediately, retired to Aversa, and being there received by Sforza, to whom she had privately notified her design, she there declared the adoption of Alphonso null, and with great solemnity adopted Lewis, distinguishing him with the title of duke of Calabria, the title given in that kingdom to the apparent heir to the crown. Lewis was then at Rome, whither he had gone to solicit succors of the pope; and being, on his return from thence, received by the queen as her son and heir, a most bloody war was kindled in the bowels of that unhappy kingdom, which I shall have occasion to speak of more than once in the sequel.

And now to return to pope Martin; he had in the forty-fourth session of the council of Constance appointed another council to meet at the end of five years, agreeably to a decree issued by that assembly in the thirty-ninth session,² and had, with the approbation of the fathers of the council, chosen

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1421. Num. 112.

² See p. 200.

Council of Pavia;—[Year of Christ, 1423.] Translated to Siena. Is dissolved;—[Year of Christ, 1424.] The year of Peter de Luna's death ascertained. Acts the pope to his last breath. His burial, character and writings.

the city of Pavia for the place of their meeting. In the beginning, therefore, of the year 1422, he wrote circulatory letters to put the bishops in mind of the determination of the council of Constance, and invite them to that which would be held the following year at Pavia, the fifth after the ending of that of Constance in 1418. The council was opened in the beginning of May 1423; but as very few bishops were yet come, and a plague broke out in that city, the council was adjourned to the city of Siena, and all were required to repair thither by the 1st of November of the present year. In that city the first session was held on the 25th of November, when most severe decrees were thundered out against the Wickliffites and Hussites; and the temporal princes were not only enjoined to drive them out of their dominions, but the same indulgences that were gained by those who went in person to the Holy Land, were granted to all who should inform against any heretic whatever, or deliver him into the hands of the inquisitors; and it was ordained that the decree, granting these indulgences, should be read yearly to the people, with an audible voice, on the first and fourth Sunday in Lent, and on the festivals of the nativity and the resurrection of our Lord, to the end none might be ignorant of it. In the other sessions several attempts were made towards a "reformation of the church in its head and its members." But as the pope was not present in person, and the number of bishops too small, as was pretended, to undertake so great and so important a work, it was left to the council that was to meet, agreeably to the decree of the council of Constance, at the end of seven years.¹ But what hastened the dissolution of the council was a motion, made by some of the bishops, to have the decree of the council of Constance, ascertaining the superiority of the council to the pope, confirmed by the present council. That point the pope would not suffer to be brought into debate, nor any other concerning the power and authority of the apostolic see, and he, therefore, dispatched to Siena, Dominic de Cupranica, his secretary, with a bull, declaring the council of Siena dissolved, and appointing another to meet, in the term of seven years, at Basil in Switzerland. The bull is dated the 26th of February 1424, and in the following April the pope wrote to the people of Basil to acquaint them with the honor he had done them in choosing their city for the place where the bishops of the whole Christian world were to assemble; which would render it memorable in all future ages.²

It is observable that the council of Siena, in confirming the sentence pronounced by

the council of Constance against Peter de Luna, calls him "Peter de Luna damnatæ memoriæ—of condemned memory;" and hence, as that mode of speech is never used in mentioning persons still living, Surita, Mariana, and most other Spanish writers, suppose de Luna to have been dead at the time that decree was issued, and consequently to have died either in 1423, or early in 1424, as the council sat from November of the former year to the end of February of the latter. But that the council was misinformed, that de Luna was still living when supposed by that council to be dead, nay, that he lived several months after the dissolution of that council, appears from a letter of John Carrierius, one of his cardinals, to John, count of Armagnac, and to the faithful in general. For in that letter the cardinal tells them, that Benedict, of holy memory, was taken ill on the 17th of November 1424; that on the 27th of the same month he created four cardinals, of whom Carrierius himself was one, though then absent, and that he died on the last day but one, or on the 29th of that month.¹ Some Spanish writers, quoted by Mariana, ascribe his death to poison, administered to him, say they, by a monk named Thomas, at the instigation of the cardinal of Pisa, whom the pope had sent with the character of his legate to apprehend him. Those writers add, that the monk was convicted and executed, and that the legate, who resided in the neighborhood of Peniscola, withdrew in great haste out of Spain, to avoid falling into the hands of the two nephews of the deceased, Roderic and Alvarez de Luna, determined to revenge upon the legate, without any regard to his character, the murder of their uncle.² But as no notice is taken by the contemporary historians of what we are told by these more modern writers, we may well conclude with Bellegarde, in his General History of Spain, that Peter de Luna died of no other poison than that of old age, being ninety at the time of his death.³

Of what death soever he died, certain it is, that he acted the high pontiff to his last breath, and was, or pretended to be, so fully persuaded of his being the only true pope, that at the point of death he made the cardinals, who were then with him, swear upon the Gospels, that after his decease they would elect another in his room; nay, the anonymous writer of Bourdeaux, who lived at this time, tells us, that when he could no longer speak, he wrote down, with great difficulty, the following injunction addressed, as his last will, to his cardinals: "I enjoin you, upon pain of an eternal curse, 'æternæ maledictionis,' to choose another pope after my death." His body was deposited in the

¹ See p. 200.

² Acta Concil. Senens. et Raymund. ad ann. 1423.

¹ Thesaur. Novus. Anecd. col. 1714.

² Mariana, l. 20. c. 10.

³ Bellegard. tom. 3. p. 500.

Whether the pope is told at his coronation that he shall not see the years of St. Peter. The pope assists to the utmost of his power Lewis of Anjou against Alphonso of Arragon.

chapel of the fortress of Peniscola, where he died; but it was translated from thence six years afterwards by John de Luna, one of his nephews, to Igluera, a city of Arragon, belonging to the de Luna family. If what we read in some writers, who lived not at a great distance from those times, be true, namely, that his body was found free from all corruption, and exhaled a sweet smell, when it had laid six years under ground, that could be only owing to the drugs, or spices, with which it must have been embalmed. Peter de Luna is allowed by all who speak of him, to have been one of the greatest men, if not the greatest of the age he lived in; and we find nothing laid to his charge, even by his most inveterate enemies, besides the numberless shifts and subterfuges he made use of to avoid the "way of cession," which he had promised upon oath both before and after his election, to embrace, if judged necessary, or expedient for the peace and unity of the church. His character, therefore, must have been quite irreproachable in every other respect, and his life entirely blameless. He wrote a treatise calculated to prove, "that no council has any power over the pope," and another piece, intitled, "comforts against all the troubles and adversities that can happen to a man in this miserable life." Both these pieces are said to be still preserved in manuscript in the Vatican library.

St. Antonine, speaking of Peter de Luna, says, that "to complete this condemnation he surpassed, in his pontificate, the years of St. Peter;" that is, his pontificate exceeded in length of years the Roman pontificate of St. Peter, who is supposed to have sat at Rome only twenty-five years, whereas de Luna held that see, or, at least, acted as pope from the 28th of September, 1394, to the 29th of November, 1424, that is, for the space of thirty years and thirty-two days. This St. Antonine seems to have alledged as a proof of his not being a true and lawful pope, and consequently to have believed, what is still commonly believed, that no true pope is to see the years of St. Peter, and that he is told at his coronation, "Non videbis annos Petri." It is indeed true, and is by some looked upon as mysterious, that no lawful pope has ever yet seen the years of St. Peter, or held the Roman see twenty-five years, as that apostle is supposed to have done, though many have been raised to it, whose ages and robust constitutions promised a long life. But it is absolutely false that the new pope is told so at his coronation; no such words as "Non videbis annos," or, "Dies Petri," being to be met with in the "Ritual of the Holy Roman Church," containing every ceremony, even the minutest, that is used at the coronation

of the pope. In the beginning of the present century Clement XI. held the see twenty years and some months; and when the cardinals came to congratulate him, according to custom, upon his entering into a new year, the twenty-first of his pontificate, and to wish him many more, he put them in mind, smiling, of the saying, "Non videbis annos Petri." But Cardinal Ottoboni quickly replied, that the saying his holiness had quoted was to be understood, as including the twenty-five years St. Peter had sat at Rome, and the seven he had sat before at Antioch. But Clement died that very year.

One would have thought that the death of the last of the three anti-popes would have put an end to the schism. But his cardinals, mindful of his last will and injunctions, elected another in his room, as I shall have occasion to relate, the following year, when that memorable election was brought about. To pursue in the mean time the other events of the present year, 1424; Martin, having now recovered out of the hands of the petty tyrants all the places they had seized, and restored the ecclesiastical state to its former condition, resolved to employ the whole power of his see in favor of Lewis against his rival Alphonso, both claiming, as has been said, the kingdom of Apulia, or, as it is now called, of Naples, by virtue of the adoption of queen Joan. Lewis had undoubtedly the better right of the two, as has been shown above; nay, Alphonso had, in truth, no claim at all to that crown, queen Joan having revoked his adoption, upon which alone he grounded his claim. Besides, reasons of state were not wanting to make the pope heartily join the Angevin party, and spare no pains nor expense to drive out Alphonso, and establish Lewis on the throne. As Lewis possessed but small territories in France, Martin well knew that he could not defend his Italian dominions without his assistance, and would therefore be obliged to court his favor, and, in a manner, to depend upon him and his successors. But Alphonso was one of the most powerful princes at this time in the west, being not only possessed of the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, but of Catalonia, Majorca, Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily. Martin, therefore, not caring to have so powerful a neighbor, and apprehending that, were he suffered to add the kingdom of Apulia to his other dominions, he would, in a very short time, make himself master of all Italy, formed privately a strong confederacy against him, at the head of which was Philip Visconti, lord of Milan, then the most powerful and warlike prince in that country. To the troops of the allies the pope added his own, and, with the approbation of the queen, appointed Sforza commander in chief of the allied army, and sent him a considerable

¹ Anton. in parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

Alphonso is obliged to quit Naples, and return to Spain. Braccio defeated and killed. The two cardinals who were with Benedict at the time of his death conceal it, and divide all his effects between them;—[Year of Christ, 1425.] Ægidius Munox, or Magnus, elected under the name of Clement VIII. by three of his cardinals.

sum to defray the expenses of the campaign. Sforza, without loss of time, marched straight to Naples, and having defeated and put to flight a body of troops sent by Alphonso to oppose him, laid siege to the city. Alphonso, sensible that so populous a place would soon be obliged to submit for want of provisions, thought it advisable to abandon it for the present, and returning to Arragon, raise a new and more numerous army there. He accordingly embarked, in the latter end of the present year, on board his fleet, consisting of twelve large ships and eighteen galleys, which the Neapolitans no sooner saw under sail, than opening their gates, they received Lewis and Sforza, and soon afterwards the queen, with great rejoicings that lasted several days. The king of Arragon had taken the celebrated Braccio, with his mercenary troops into his pay, who had reduced several cities that held out for the Queen; and he used to boast, that he would reduce the pope, her protector, to so low a condition, as to be glad to earn one Baiocco (one half-penny) a day by saying private masses.¹ He was then employed in reducing the city of Aquila, that had declared for Lewis and the queen. Sforza was therefore sent to relieve the place, that had stood a long siege, but was upon the point of surrendering. But that brave commander, in passing the river Pescara, was unfortunately drowned. The army, however, proceeded on their march under the command of Francis Sforza, the deceased general's son, and Lewis Colonna, one of the pope's nephews. Braccio met and engaged them; but being mortally wounded, his men, disheartened at seeing him fall, betook themselves to a disorderly flight, when victory had begun to incline to their side, and left the queen's troops masters of the field. Braccio was taken prisoner, but died the next day of his wounds, and his body was sent to the pope, who caused it to be thrown upon a dunghill without the gate of St. Lawrence.² The pope transmitted an account of this victory, or, as he calls it, triumph, to John, king of Castile, then at variance with the king of Arragon, and likewise to Frederic, Marquis of Brandenburg, who, at this time, commanded the army employed against the Hussites in Bohemia. His letters to both these princes have reached our times.³ And now the queen, being mistress of the whole kingdom, except the island of Ischia alone, where Alphonso had left a strong garrison, revoked anew his adoption, and confirmed that of Lewis; but upon condition, that he assumed not the title of king, nor meddled with public affairs so long as she lived.

The anti-pope Benedict XIII. died, as has been said, in his fortress of Peniscola, on the 29th of November, 1424; and now let us hear from one of his cardinals, or, as they are called, anti-cardinals, what happened in this and the following year, after his death. He made a promotion of four cardinals two days before his decease, as I have related above; and the persons whom he promoted were Julian Loba, and Eximino Daba, both Arragonese, and Dominic de Bonnefoi and John Carriere, both French. Two cardinals only, the two Arragonese, were present at his death, and they carefully concealed it from the other two, and from every body else, seizing in the mean time, and conveying away what money he died possessed of, with the gold and silver crosses, chalices, jewels, precious stones, reliquaries, and even the vestments and ornaments of his chapel, and the whole, amounting in value to an immense sum, they divided between them. They published bulls and briefs in his name, sealed them with his seal, granted indulgences, as if he were still living; and when they had secured whatever was valuable and worth carrying off, they privately notified his death to Roderic de Luna, one of his nephews, and at the same time dispatched a messenger to acquaint king Alphonso with it, and consult him about the election of his successor. The king, highly provoked at Martin's so warmly espousing the cause of his rival Lewis of Anjou, privately encouraged the cardinals to proceed to a new election. The two Arragonese cardinals therefore, and the cardinal de Bonnefoi, entering into the conclave at Peniscola, elected Gilles, or Ægidius Munox, canon of Barcelona, and gave him the name of Clement VIII. At first the two Arragonese cardinals chose one another. But Roderic de Luna recommending Ægidius, as is supposed, in the king's name, and representing to them that he had twenty-three thousand florins in cash, and was able to support them suitably to their dignity, they sent for him, and upon certain conditions, evidently simoniacal, which they made him sign, and swear to, they unanimously concurred in his election. In the mean time cardinal Carriere, who was absent, and had not heard of the death of Benedict till news was brought him of the election of his successor, arrived at Peniscola. But suspecting, from what he had heard, that the election of the new pope was not quite free from simony, before he presented himself to him, he privately protested, in the presence of a notary and three witnesses, that his outwardly behaving to him as true pope gave him no other right to that dignity, but what he had by his election, and that it was only upon a supposition of his having been canonically elected, that he acknowledged

¹ Antonin. tit. 22. c. 7.

² Collinuci Hist. Neapol. l. 5. Raynald. Num. 16.

³ Apud Raynald. ibid.

Benedict XIV. elected by a fourth of Benedict's cardinals. Martin sends a legate into Arragon, who is forbidden by the king to enter his dominions;—[Year of Christ, 1426.] Alphonso summoned to Rome. He submits, and receives the legate with extraordinary marks of honor;—[Year of Christ, 1427.] The legate's imprudent conduct.

him for pope. He afterwards secretly inquired into all the circumstances of that election, and finding it to have been entirely owing to simony, he declared it null, and in the presence of some of his friends, nominated another pope, pretending that he alone had a right to elect, the other three, the only true cardinals, having forfeited their right by their simony, agreeably to the bull of pope Nicolas II. "*Si quis pecuniam*," &c. This new pope soon disappeared, and we know no more of him than that he was a native of Aquitaine, and took the name of Benedict XIV., no writer having so much as taken notice of his family, or his original name. After this election cardinal Carriere, who has himself given us this whole account, left Peniscola in the dead of the night, being let down by his friends with a rope from the wall of the fortress, and travelling night and day, though greatly indisposed, got safe to the territories of his friend, the count of Armagnac.¹

Martin was sensible that the election of Clement was not made without the privy, but probably by the direction of king Alphonso; and he therefore sent cardinal de Foix, brother to the count of that name, and nearly related to the royal family of Arragon, to complain to the king of his fomenting the schism in his dominions, when all other Christian princes had made it their business to extinguish it in theirs. But the cardinal legate was met on the road by a messenger from the king, forbidding him to enter his dominions till further orders; and in the mean time by an edict, which he caused to be published by sound of trumpet in all the countries subject to the crown of Arragon, he forbade the bishops and all other ecclesiastics to receive any letters from the pope, or his legate, on pain of incurring his displeasure, and forfeiting their dignities and revenues. In that edict Martin was taxed, and not undeservedly, with putting off, under frivolous pretences, the necessary work of the reformation, so strictly enjoined by the council of Constance, and with dissolving the council of Siena as soon as they began to attempt it. That edict the pope answered with a summons, requiring Alphonso, king of Arragon, to appear personally at the tribunal of the apostolic see, in the term of one hundred days from the date of the said summons, on pain of incurring the sentence of excommunication, and having all his dominions put under an interdict. This sentence is dated at Rome the 15th of July, in the ninth year of Martin's pontificate, that is, in 1426; and it was, by the pope's order, set up at the gates of the basilics of St. John Lateran, and of St. Peter at Rome, and of the cathedrals of Narbonne

and Avignon, that no room might be left for the king to plead ignorance.¹

As Alphonso's conduct in supporting the anti-pope, and keeping the schism still alive, was generally disapproved even by his own subjects, he thought it advisable to prevent, by an agreement with the pope, the disturbances, which, he had reason to believe, would inevitably attend the excommunication and interdict, with which he was threatened. He therefore wrote to the legate, cardinal de Foix, granting him leave to enter his territories, and perform all the functions of his office throughout his dominions. The cardinal acquainted the pope therewith, who ordered him to repair, without delay, to the kingdom of Arragon, but to enter into no agreement with the king, till the articles were approved by him and the college of cardinals. The legate, upon the receipt of the pope's letter, or, as it is called, diploma, went straight to Valencia, where the king then resided, and was received by him with most extraordinary marks of honor, such as were quite degrading in a king. For he went out in person with the whole royal family to meet him at some distance from the city, being attended by a great many bishops, by all the nobility, by the clergy in a body, and the magistrates of the city, all in their formalities, and placing him, after the kiss of peace and mutual salutations, on his right hand, an honor which the legate strove in vain to decline; he insisted on his covering his head with his red hat, while he himself walked the whole way with his head uncovered, conversing familiarly with him. He thus attended him to the gate of the city, and there begging him to excuse his proceeding no further, as the day was far spent, and his palace stood without the walls, he took his leave of him with many protestations of friendship for him, and of the highest regard and veneration for his holiness, who had sent him. The legate proceeded, in solemn procession, to the cathedral, where the *Te Deum* was sung, and he then retired, attended by the bishops and clergy, as well as the magistrates, to the episcopal palace, which had been magnificently fitted up, at the expense of the king, for his reception.²

The next day the legate, presuming upon the kind reception he had met with from all ranks of people, and upon the fear the king betrayed of having his dominions put under an interdict, caused a paper to be set up at the doors of the cathedral and the episcopal palace, giving notice to all whom it might concern, that, in two days time, the auditors, or judges of ecclesiastical causes, whom he had brought with him from Rome,

¹ Thesaur. Novus Anecd. col. 1736. et seq.

¹ Apud Raynald ad hunc ann. Num. 1. et seq.

² Idem, Num. 7.

The legate corrects his conduct. The demands of the legate. The demands of the king. The king's demands carried by the legate to Rome, and approved by the pope :—[Year of Christ, 1328.]

would begin their sittings, and do justice to all who thought themselves aggrieved and had recourse to them. This Alphonso highly resented, as a manifest encroachment upon the undoubted rights of his crown, and forgetting all his fears, he caused an edict to be published the very next day, by sound of trumpet, forbidding his subjects, upon the severest penalties, to carry any cause whatever to the tribunal of the legate or his delegates. The cardinal, unwilling to provoke the king, or any ways disoblige him at so critical a juncture, thought it advisable to yield, and he, accordingly, caused the papers which he had set up, to be taken down, and, having thus appeased him, he had several conferences with him; the result of which was, that both the king and the cardinal should set down their respective demands in writing; that the cardinal should go with them in person to Rome; and, having laid them before the pope, return with his holiness's answer.

The demands of the legate were, I. That the king should use his utmost endeavors to persuade Ægidius at Peniscola, and those who acknowledged him, to return, of their own accord, to the unity of the church, or should deliver them up into his holiness's hands. II. That he should revoke all the edicts against the authority of the high pontiff, or his legate. III. That the collectors of the holy see should be allowed to collect, undisturbed, the duties of the apostolic chamber. IV. That the Roman church, and all other churches, should enjoy unmolested all their rights, liberties, and privileges. V. That the prelates and other ecclesiastics, who had been banished, should be all recalled, and full restitution made to them of all they had lost. VI. That the king should, by no means, give any further trouble to the kingdom of Apulia, or of Naples, but should submit his pretensions to the judgment of impartial persons, to be named by his holiness. The king insisted upon the excepting of some ecclesiastics, whom he should name in the general pardon, and declined giving any positive answer to the demand concerning the kingdom of Apulia; but to all the other demands he agreed without any limitation or restriction whatever.

On the other hand, the king demanded, I. That the body of St. Lewis, heretofore bishop of Toulouse, should be granted to him. II. That his holiness should remit all the arrears due to the apostolic chamber on account of vacant sees and benefices. III. That he should, in like manner, remit the arrears of the yearly rents due for the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and for the future accept, in lieu of those rents, during the king's life, a cloak of cloth of gold to be presented to his holiness every five years. IV. That in consideration of the vast sums his father and himself had expended, and

the indefatigable pains they had both taken to extinguish the schism, fifteen thousand florins should be paid to him out of the apostolic chamber by way of indemnity and recompense. V. That he should be allowed to translate the order of St. Mary de Montesia from the kingdom of Valencia to the island of Sicily, assigning them other revenues in that island. VI. That he should have the disposal of all vacant benefices and abbeys in his dominions till the present agreement was finally concluded. VII. That he should nominate six persons, two of whom should be promoted by his holiness to the dignity of cardinal. VIII. and lastly, That all damages and injuries done, or supposed to have been done by him to the apostolic see, should be forgiven, and he be absolved from all the censures he might have incurred.¹

St. Lewis, whose body the king demanded, was the second son of Charles II. king of Sicily. In the time of Celestine V. he embraced a religious life among the Minorites, was preferred to the see of Toulouse by Boniface VIII., the successor of Celestine, died in Provence in 1297, and was canonized in 1317, twenty years after his death, by John XXII., who had been his preceptor. His body was translated from the place where he died to Marseilles, and most stupendous miracles were said to be wrought daily at his tomb. He could not, however, defend the city, nor indeed himself, against the king of Arragon. For as Marseilles belonged to Lewis, duke of Anjou, Alphonso, in returning from Naples, on board his fleet, to Spain, attacked it unexpectedly, plundered it, set fire to it in many places, and carried off with him the body of their wonder-working saint and protector. The people of Marseilles complained to the pope of the sacrilegious robbery, as they called it, earnestly entreating him to interpose his authority, and cause the body of the holy bishop, who had chosen to die among them, to be restored to them. But Alphonso, loth to part with so invaluable a treasure, made it one of the articles of his agreement with the pope, and indeed the first, that it should be yielded to him, and the people of Provence and Marseilles be obliged to give up all claim to it.²

The above articles being signed both by the legate and the king on the 17th of October of the present year, the legate, repairing to Barcelona, found there two of the king's galleys ready to receive him and convey him to Rome, in order to lay the articles before the pope, and return with his holiness's final answer to them. He embarked on the 20th of October; but the weather proving very stormy, and the winds unfavorable, he did

¹ Apud Raynald. num. 22.

² Wadingus in annalibus minor. ad ann. 1317. num. 48, et seq.

The legate returns to Spain :—[Year of Christ, 1429.] The king refuses to agree to the articles ; but is suddenly changed. Abdication of Clement. Some circumstances attending his abdication.

not reach Rome till the beginning of the following year. As a pestilence then prevailed in that city, and most of the cardinals had retired into the country, the whole year 1428 passed before the pope could assemble and consult them concerning the king's demands. But in the mean time he wrote a most kind and obliging letter to the king, and even granted to him, at his request, the fortress of Peniscola, which, at that time, belonged to the knights of Rhodes, now of Malta, who had fortified it at a very great expense. The following year the cardinals came back to Rome, and the articles being by all approved of, the legate returned to Spain to acquaint the king therewith, and see they were executed on his part. He set out from Rome on the 28th of January, and, travelling by land, arrived at Barcelona on the 12th of May, and was there received with extraordinary marks of honour by the king, who went out to meet him, as he had done at Valencia. But he declined, under various pretences, entering with the legate upon the affairs of his legation. However, being at Catabayud, he was at last, with great difficulty, prevailed upon by his brother John, king of Navarre, to grant the legate an audience, when he had waited for it, and followed him, changing daily places, from the 12th of May to the 15th of June. In that audience he declared, that he would revoke none of his decrees against the authority of the pope and the legates of the apostolic see in his dominions, till the legate had publicly cleared him from the accusation of his having countenanced or promoted the schism of Peniscola. The legate replied, that he had no instructions with respect to that demand, quite unexpected, and therefore could not comply with it. But the king peremptorily insisting upon it, the negotiation was broken off. The king was to set out the next day to invade the kingdom of Castile jointly with his brother, the king of Navarre ; and the legate expressing a great desire to see him once more before he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against him, and laid his dominions under an interdict, he consented, at the pressing instances of his brother, to admit him, just as he was mounting his horse to head his army, and proceed on his march. No one expected that this interview would be attended with any the least success, the king appearing absolutely determined to perform none of the articles till his demand was complied with. But the legate had scarce begun to put him in mind of the indefatigable pains he had taken, and the many dangers he had exposed himself to, both by sea and land, for his welfare, and the welfare of his kingdom, when, becoming at once quite another man, to the great astonishment of all who were present, he thanked him in the kindest terms for his zeal and

incessant endeavors to procure his happiness and that of his kingdom ; adding, that to convince him how sensible he was of the obligations he owed him, he would, that moment, sign all the articles, and perform whatever else he or his holiness should require of him. The articles were, accordingly, signed that moment by the king, who, though in great haste to set out with his army for the borders of Castile, would attend the legate, with the king of Navarre, to the cathedral, and assist there at the "Te Deum," &c., sung with great solemnity, to return thanks for so sudden and so unexpected an event, that could only be owing to him, "in whose hand are the hearts of kings." When the ceremony was over, the legate gave his benediction to both the kings ; and they immediately began their march.¹

The day after the king's departure all the edicts he had issued any ways prejudicial to the authority of the apostolic see or its legates, were publicly revoked, pursuant to the order he had left, and two of his chief counsellors were sent to Peniscola to settle all matters there to the satisfaction of the legate. These Clement received in the most obliging manner, and upon their declaring to him that it was the king's will and pleasure that he should resign the pontificate, and acknowledge Martin V. for lawful pope, he solemnly protested that he had accepted that dignity much against his will, and would, in obedience to the king, lay it down without reluctance, nay, with pleasure. However, to act as true pope to the last, he insisted upon his being allowed to promote one Francis Rovera, a man of great probity and learning, to the dignity of cardinal before his resignation, that he might direct, as a person of known prudence and discretion, his other cardinals in the election of a new pope, when the see became vacant by his abdication. As Rovera acknowledged Martin for lawful pope, he at first, refused to accept of that dignity at the hands of the antipope. But Clement declaring that he was determined not to resign till he had distinguished his pontificate by the promotion of a man of Rovera's merit, the two counsellors interposed, and obliged him to accept, for the good of the church, the offered dignity. Having, therefore, consented, with great reluctance, to his promotion, he was created cardinal of the holy Roman church, with all the pomp and solemnity, that were used on the like occasion at Rome, and all were enjoined to respect and honor him as such. Clement then placing himself upon his throne in the attire of high pontiff, with the triple crown on his head, and all the other badges of the pontifical dignity, he revoked, with great solemnity, and annulled all the sentences of excommunication pro-

¹ Ramund. et Bzovius ad ann. 1429.

Martin elected by his cardinals. The anti-pope and his cardinals absolved by the pope's legate. His cardinals resign their dignity.

nounced by his predecessor Benedict XIII. or by himself, against all who did not acknowledge and obey them, and, in particular, against Odo de Columna, styling himself Martin V., restored them to all the rights and privileges they ever had enjoyed, and declared each of them, and Odo de Columna by name, thenceforth capable of receiving any ecclesiastical dignity whatever, the papal not excepted. As for himself he solemnly protested, that he had always had the unity of the church above all things at heart; that he had accepted the pontificate with no other view or design but to procure it more effectually; that he had always thought the way of cession the most effectual as well as expeditious, and would have embraced it as soon as elected, had he not by others been diverted from it (by king Alphonso, as is supposed); but, being now at full liberty to keep his dignity, or resign it, he resigned it with joy, for the glory of God, the good of the church, and the peace of his own conscience; and now, he added, the see being vacant, the cardinals may proceed to a new election. He then came down from his throne, delivered into the hands of the king's commissioners the act of his resignation, drawn up in due form; and divesting himself of his pontifical robes, resumed his former habit, that of a canon, and retired into the crowd.¹ The act, or, as some call it, the bull of Clement's resignation, is dated at Peniscola, the 26th of July 1429, in the fifth year of his pontificate. He must, therefore, have been elected, as we may observe by the way, in 1424, and not in 1423, as is supposed by the learned Raymund.

As Clement had declared the see vacant by his resignation, his cardinals, being in all three, entered the same day into the conclave. These were Ægidius Munox, his nephew, precentor and canon of Gironne, whom he had created cardinal, Francis Rivera, whom he just preferred to that dignity, and Julianus Dobra, one of the four cardinals, whom Benedict had created a little before his death. As for the other three cardinals of Benedict's creation, Eximinius Dacha and Dominic Bonnefoi were kept prisoners in Peniscola, being charged with a design of setting up a third pope. Of Cardinal Carriere, whom I have had occasion to mention above, no further notice is taken by any historian, and we know not whether he ever abjured the schism, or what became of him. The three above-mentioned cardinals being shut up in a room in the fortress, which they called the conclave, the doors of the room were locked, guards, were placed at all the avenues to it, the *Veni Creator*, &c. was sung, and every other order and ceremony observed at Rome, in the election of a new pope, was punctually complied with in this

mock election on the rock of Peniscola. The cardinals had been but a few minutes in the conclave, when they elected, with one consent, Odo de Columna, and acknowledged him for lawful pope under the name of Martin V. The election being published, the three cardinals, attended by the two commissioners, and the clergy, in a body, went, in solemn procession, to the chief church of the place, to sing the "*Te Deum*," &c., and thanked the Almighty for the unanimity with which he had inspired them.¹ Was not all this mere mockery?

On the 14th of the following August, Ægidius Munox, and his three cardinals, hearing that the cardinal legate was at St. Matthew's, a small place, distant but three leagues from Peniscola, repaired thither in order to submit to him and receive absolution from the censures they had incurred. Being introduced to the cardinal, Ægidius addressed him thus: "Most reverend father, I and they, who are with me, have heard from persons worthy of credit, that you are a legate *a Latere* of the apostolic see, and of our most holy lord Martin V., by Divine providence pope. We are, therefore, come to acknowledge our said lord pope Martin V. in you as his representative, for the true vicar of Christ upon earth, and the lawful successor of St. Peter, and to offer ourselves ever ready to obey his commands and yours." When he had done, the legate taking him by the hand, "Do you then promise," said he, "and swear, that henceforth you will be faithful and obedient to our most holy lord Martin V. by Divine providence pope, and to his successors canonically elected?" "So I promise," replied Ægidius, "and so I swear." At these words Alphonsus Borgia, one of the commissioners, interposed in his behalf, begged that he might be absolved, as well as his companions, from all the censures which they had incurred; might be readmitted into the bosom of the church, and restored to all the rights and privileges which they had forfeited, he by assuming the papal dignity, and they by adhering to him. As they had given the most convincing proofs of an unfeigned repentance, and the two commissioners took upon them to answer for their future conduct, the legate granted them, that moment, a full and general absolution from all censures, and at the same time revoked all the sentences till that day pronounced against them. The next day, the 15th of August, being the festival of the assumption of the Virgin Mary, the legate celebrated high mass, at which assisted the three above-mentioned cardinals, or rather anti-cardinals, in the habit of private clergymen, having first renounced that dignity in a formal manner, and delivered all the badges of it into the hands of the legate.²

¹ Apud Raymund. et tom. 12. Concil. col. 406.

¹ Concil. tom. 22. col. 407. et seq.

² Bzovius et Raynald.

The inhabitants of Peniscola submit to the legate. That place yielded to king Alphonso. The great schism ended. Martin stirs up the emperor and other princes against the Hussites. Prohibits the picture of the name of Jesus.

As most of the inhabitants of Peniscola had acknowledged Benedict, and his successor Clement, but were now desirous of returning to the unity of the church, the legate repaired thither in person to receive their submission. They all abjured the schism, owned Martin for the only true successor of St. Peter, and were by the legate re-united to the church. The two anti-cardinals Eximius Doha and Dominic de Bonnefoi, whom the anti-pope Clement had imprisoned, as has been said, were set at liberty by the legate; and upon their joining the rest in submitting to Martin, and divesting themselves of the ensigns of their pretended dignity, they were received again into the church. The legate, in leaving Peniscola, delivered it up to the king's commissioners, to be held for ever by Alphonso and his successors. From thence he went to Tortosa, and in a council, which he had appointed to meet in that city, several regulations suggested by him to extirpate the abuses that had crept into those churches during the schism, were approved and ordered to be universally observed.¹

The schism was now confined to the territories of the count of Armagnac alone, who had adhered to Peter de Luna, and after his death to Ægidius Munox his successor, affording a safe asylum to all who refused to submit to Martin. Being on that account summoned by Martin to Rome, and not complying with the summons, he was, on the 4th of March, of the present year, solemnly excommunicated, and his territories were all put under an interdict. As all the other princes, therefore, and even his own pope, had submitted to Martin, he was easily prevailed upon by the legate to follow their example; and he accordingly abjured the schism in the latter end of the present year, and owning Martin for the lawful successor of St. Peter, was thereupon absolved by the legate from the excommunication, and all other censures, pains, and penalties that he had incurred.²

As for Ægidius, he was, at the recommendation of king Alphonso, preferred by the pope to the bishopric of Majorca, his anti-cardinals were all rewarded, for their ready submission, with considerable benefices, and Alphonsus Borgia, one of the commissioners, was by the interest of the legate, who, in a great measure, owed the success of his legation to his zeal, nominated by the pope to the bishopric of Valencia; and we shall see him afterwards raised to the dignity of high pontiff under the name of Calixtus III. Thus was an end put at last to the present schism, known by the name of "the great western schism." It had lasted from the 20th of September 1378, when Clement VII. was elected in opposition to Urban VI. to

the 26th of July 1429, when Clement VIII., the last anti-pope, resigned that dignity, as has been said.

Martin, having now no rival to contend with, made it his chief business to unite the princes of Germany, and promote crusades against the Hussites of Bohemia. We have several letters of his to the emperor Sigismund, to the king of Poland, to the great duke of Lithuania, and to other princes, exhorting them to join their forces, and either extirpate those rebels to the church, or oblige them to return to her bosom. The Hussite war broke out soon after the council of Constance, and was carried on with a dreadful effusion of blood during the whole time of Martin's pontificate, chiefly at his instigation. Of that war, one of the most barbarous and bloody we read of in history, of the wonderful, I had almost said the miraculous, success that attended the Hussites, under the celebrated Ziska, during the course of it, and the many signal victories gained by that renowned commander, over the numerous armies sent against him, we have a full detail in "Lenfant's History of the Hussites;" and to him, as such an account is foreign to my subject, I refer the reader.

Martin, a little time before his death, condemned a practice that had begun to prevail in most places of Italy. Of that practice and its condemnation we have the following account from St. Antonine, archbishop of Florence, who lived at this time. A Minorite of Siena, named Bernardine, who has since been canonized, having a particular veneration for the name of Jesus, a name, "which is above every name, and at which every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth," he caused that name to be curiously painted upon a board, and exposed it thus painted to the adoration of the people in all the places where he preached. For he was a famous preacher, and travelling from place to place, is said to have awakened, with his sermons, even the most hardened sinners to a sense of religion and a reformation of their lives. That new kind of worship was embraced with great ardor by the people, the rather as it was recommended by one held in the highest esteem for his sanctity; and the word Jesus was every where painted with many ornaments around it, was every where exposed to the adoration of the people, and even carried by the Minorites in their public processions before the cross. But that practice, though promoted and propagated with a pious intention by its author, met not, says Antonine, with the same reception from the learned as it did from the illiterate multitude. On the contrary, it was censured by them as superstitious, nay, and as idolatrous, or, at least, as calculated to lead the people into idolatry. As the Mino-

¹ Bzovius et Raynald.

² Apud Bzovium et Raynald, ad ann. 1429.

Martin's death;—[Year of Christ, 1431.] His character. Whether justly charged with avarice and nepotism. Instance of his fortitude. The universities of Rostock and Louvain founded.

rites continued to propagate the same practice, in spite of all the reasons and arguments urged against it, their opposers applied, in the end, to the pope; and his holiness, after consulting many bishops and all the ablest divines, declared, upon the most mature deliberation, the practice in question to be dangerous, "because the people would be apt to direct their worship to the name of Jesus more than to Jesus himself," ordered the Minorites, upon that consideration, thenceforth to forbear it, and, in order to remove all danger of superstition or idolatry, prohibited their pictures.¹ I shall leave those who stand up for the use of the images of our Saviour and the saints in places of worship, who pray before them, and carry them, exposed to the worship of the people, in their public processions, &c., to reconcile such practices with the present declaration and prohibition of their infallible pope. If it was dangerous to expose pictures or images of our Savior's name to the worship of the people, it must certainly be more so thus to expose pictures or images of our Saviour himself, objects better calculated to attract the adoration of the people. Certain it is, that the reason alledged by the pope for prohibiting all pictures of our Saviour's name, evidently holds good against all pictures, images, figures and representations whatever of his divine person; and, "a fortiori," of the saints.

The following year Martin died of an apoplexy, on the 20th of February, after a pontificate of thirteen years, three months, and ten days, reckoning from the day of his election, the 11th of November 1417. He was buried in the Lateran near the heads of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and the following epitaph, to be seen to this day, was engraved on his tomb. Pope Martin V. sat thirteen years, three months, and twelve days. He died on the 20th of February in the year of our Lord 1431. He was the happiness of his times. But the blunder in the epitaph plainly shows it to have been written long after these times. For if Martin was elected on the 11th of November 1417, as he certainly was, and died on the 20th of February 1431, as we read in the circulatory letter of pope Eugene IV. his immediate successor, and in the epitaph itself, he could not have sat twelve days, as is evident, over and above the thirteen years and three months. Great commendations are bestowed upon Martin, by almost all the contemporary writers. "I have seen Martin V.," says Gobelinus, in the preface to the first book of his Commentaries; "have seen Eugene IV., Nicholas V., and Calixtus III., who were all condemned by the people while they lived, but extolled with great encomiums after their

death." The three popes, mentioned with Martin, were his three immediate successors; and those commentaries are generally ascribed to Æneas Sylvius, who succeeded Calixtus III. under the name of Pius II. I find two things only laid to the charge of Martin by those who speak less favorably of him—the love of money, and nepotism. But that he was very undeservedly taxed with avarice, or the love of money, sufficiently appears, as was observed by Antonine, from the immense sums he expended in the Hussite war, as well as in repairing or rebuilding the churches of Rome; nay, and, in a manner, rebuilding the city itself, grudging no expense to embellish his capital.¹ As to the other imputation, he certainly preferred, in the disposal of all lucrative employments, his relations and nephews to all others, however deserving; and by that means left them, at his death, possessed of immense wealth. Martin, soon after his arrival at Rome, caused the house in the neighborhood of the Church of the Twelve Apostles, which belonged to his family, and in which he was born, to be pulled down, and a magnificent palace to be built in its room. In that palace he resided, during the six last years of his life, as appears from his bulls; and there the Colonna family resides to this day. Platina gives a remarkable instance of this pope's constancy and fortitude. He had two brothers, whom he tenderly loved, Jordan and Lawrence. Jordan, the elder of the two, whom queen Joan had created prince of Salerno, died of the plague; the other was burnt alive in a tower set accidentally on fire, and the pope heard, much about the same time, of the unhappy fate of the one and the other, without uttering a single word of complaint, or betraying the least symptom of pain or dejection.² Angelus Clavasius writes in his Summa, that Martin, by a very extraordinary dispensation, allowed a man to marry his own sister; and that he advances upon the authority of St. Antonine. But Antonine, in the place quoted by that writer, speaks only of a dispensation, allowing a man to marry the sister of a woman with whom he had a secret intrigue, which would have become public, had the pope refused the license, for which the man had privately applied.³

In 1419, John and Albert, the two dukes of Mecklenburg, the one of Gustrow, the other of Schwerin or Swerin, founded an university at Rostock in that dukedom, jointly with the senate of that city, then, as it still is, a "Hanse town," or free city. That foundation Martin not only approved, but, upon the application of the two dukes, granted the same privileges to their new-founded university as had been granted by

¹ Antonin. chron. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

² Platin. in vit. Martin V.

³ Antonin. Summa. parte 3. tit. 1. c. 22.

¹ Antonin. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

Martin's promotion of cardinals. His writings. Election of Eugenius. His family, employments, &c., before his promotion.

his predecessors to those of Erford and Leipsic.¹ The present dukes of Mecklenburg, Schwerin, and Strelitz, are descended from the two dukes mentioned here. In 1688 died the last duke of Gustrow, and upon the extinction of that branch ensued a lawsuit between the two remaining branches of Schwerin and Strelitz about the succession, which lasted till the year 1701, when it ended in a treaty of partition.

In Martin's pontificate was celebrated the fifth jubilee, in 1425, say Ciaconius and Bzovius. But as it was ordained, as has been said, by Urban VI., in 1390, the year of the jubilee, that other jubilees should thenceforth be celebrated at the term of every thirty-three years, the year 1423 must have been that of Martin's jubilee; and at that year it is, accordingly, placed by the accurate Panvinus. But it was not, it seems, celebrated with the usual solemnity and concourse of people, on account of the war that was then carried on, with great fury, in Italy, in France, and in Germany; and hence it has been mentioned by very few of the contemporary historians.

In 1425, John, duke of Brabant, founded an university at Louvain, with the consent and approbation of Martin, who granted to it all the privileges enjoyed by other universities, except their having a school of divinity. But that privilege was added by the succeeding pope Eugenius IV. to the rest.

Martin's diploma was dated the 9th of December, in the ninth year of his pontificate.¹

In 1426, Martin made a promotion of cardinals, on the 24th of May, when fourteen were raised to that dignity, and among them Prosper Colonna, the pope's nephew by his brother, and Henry bishop of Winchester, uncle to the young king Henry VI. In 1430 two new cardinals were added to the college, on the 8th of September, at the nomination, as is supposed, of Alphonso king of Arragon; the pope being bound, by one of the articles of his agreement with that prince, to prefer two to that dignity out of the six persons whom he should name. Of this pope we have several bulls and constitutions, to be met with in the Great Bullarium, a great many letters, animating the emperor and other princes against the Hussites, and a sermon preached at Rome on occasion of the translation of the body of St. Monica, the mother of St. Austin.

As in the year 1431 the seven years expired, at the term of which a general council was to be held, agreeably to the decrees of the councils of Constance and of Siena, and Martin had chosen the city of Basil for the place of their meeting, he appointed Julian Cesarini, cardinal of St. Angelo, to preside in that council with the character of his legate *a Latere*; but did not himself live to see it assembled.

EUGENIUS IV., THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[MANUEL PALÆOLOGUS, JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperors of the East*.—SIGISMUND, ALBERT II., FREDERIC III., *Emperors of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1431.] Martin dying, as has been said, on the 20th of February, 1431, the cardinals, in all fourteen, entered into the conclave on the 1st or the 2d of March. But before they proceeded to the election, they all agreed and swore to certain articles, and among the rest to the three following: I. That in the apostolic letter it should no longer be said "by the advice," but "with the consent of the cardinals." II. That the pope should create no new cardinals without the consent of the old ones. III. That one moiety of the patrimony of the church should be divided among the cardinals. Each of the cardinals having bound himself by a solemn oath to observe these articles, in case he should be raised to the see, they elected, with one consent, on

the 3d of March, according to the most probable opinion, Gabriel Condellmerius, cardinal presbyter of St. Clement; who, on the 12th of that month, was crowned with the usual solemnity in the basilic of St. Peter, and took the name of Eugenius IV. He was the son of Angelus Condellmerius, a citizen of Venice, but come of a very ancient family, and admitted, upon the promotion of his son, to the rank of a senator or nobleman. His mother's name was Bariola Coraria, who lived to see her brother, Gregory XII., her son, Eugenius IV., and her grandson, by her daughter Polixena, Paul II., preferred to the pontifical dignity. In his youth he entered into the order of the secular canons of St. George in Alga, at Venice; was called to Rome by his uncle,

¹ Calvisius in chron. ad ann. 1419.

¹ Vide Lipsium in Lovanio.

Eugenius quarrels with the relations of the deceased pope. Great disturbances in Rome. The emperor interposes. Council of Basil opened. Dissolved by Eugenius, and why.

Gregory XII., and by him made first treasurer of the holy Roman church, then preferred to the bishopric of Siena, and lastly created cardinal in 1408. He was employed by his predecessor, Martin V., against the people of the March and Bologna, who had revolted, but were soon reduced, more by his obliging behavior, than by dint of arms.¹

In the first days of the pontificate of Eugenius, a quarrel, attended with great disturbances, broke out between him and the relations of the deceased pope, on the following occasion. Eugenius was informed that Martin had left an immense treasure behind him; but that cardinal Prosper Colonna, and his two brothers, Antony prince of Salerno, and Edward count of Celano, had embezzled the whole, and kept it concealed. Upon that intelligence Eugenius summoned them to give an account of the money, and the many valuable effects which his predecessor was possessed of at the time of his death, since the see, and not they, was his heir. As they took no notice of that summons the pope ordered their palace to be searched. But they who were employed on that occasion, exceeding their commission, instead of searching, plundered the palace of all its rich furniture, and of every thing else that they thought of any value. Hereupon the Colonnas, flying to arms with their friends and dependants, besieged the pope in his palace, and would have seized him, had not the Roman people, jealous of the overgrown power of that family, joined, almost to a man, against them. Thus was a civil war kindled within the walls of the city. But the Colonnas were, in the end, overpowered, and obliged to take shelter in the strongholds which they possessed in the neighborhood of Rome; and in the meantime the pope thundered out the sentence of excommunication against the whole family, deprived them of all honors, titles, and dignities, and declared their castles, their lands and territories, all forfeited to the apostolic see. It is observable, that the same family had met with pretty much the same treatment from another pope, from Boniface VIII., about a hundred and thirty years before, as has been related in the life of that pope.² Eugenius, finding that he could not, with his own force alone, oppose the Colonnas, who had hired a strong body of mercenaries, and even threatened Rome with a siege, had recourse to the emperor; and Sigismund, interposing his authority, obliged them to disband their troops and submit to the pope, provided his holiness consented to absolve them from the excommunication; to reinstate them in all their former titles, honors, and dignities, and receive them again into favor. All this the pope readily performed.³

And thus was an end put to the present disturbance, and the pope, to his great satisfaction, left at full liberty to attend to affairs of far greater importance, which he had then on his hands.

The council appointed by the late pope to meet at Basil, was, in the mean time, opened in the cathedral of that city on the 23d of July of the present year. But the number of prelates being yet very small, no session was held till the 24th of December. However, as their numbers increased, they wrote, by the advice of their president, Julian Cesarini, cardinal of St. Angelo, a most obliging and friendly letter to the Bohemians, that is, to the Hussites of Bohemia, inviting them to the council, and offering them a most ample safe conduct. The letter is dated the 15th of October, and the address was, "the holy general council, lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost at Basil, and representing the church universal, to the ecclesiastics, the nobles, and the whole people of the kingdom of Bohemia, peace and unity in Christ Jesus our Lord." To entice the Bohemians to the council, the fathers promised them, in their letter, a favorable hearing, as they did not doubt, they said, but they would yield to reason; and, if convinced of any errors, would readily renounce them. So much complaisance to condemned heretics offended the pope, pretending that heretics, whom the church once had condemned, should no more be heard. Under color therefore of preventing declared heresies from being again brought into dispute, by a letter, dated the 11th of November, he empowered his legate, cardinal Cesarini, to dissolve the council assembled at Basil, and appoint another to meet, in the term of eighteen months, at Bologna, which, he said, he would assist at in person. To justify this sudden and quite unexpected dissolution of a council, summoned by his predecessor in obedience to the decrees of the council of Constance, and approved by himself, Eugenius added in his letter, that very few prelates were yet come; that the war in those parts between the dukes of Austria and Burgundy would prevent others from coming; and that many of the citizens of Basil professed the doctrine of the condemned and anathematized Huss; which would breed daily scandals and quarrels. The letter was signed by ten cardinals, among whom were two preferred to that dignity by Eugenius on the 19th of the preceding September, namely, Francis Condelmerius, his nephew, and Angelotto Foschi, or Fusco, come of an ancient Roman family, archpriest of the Lateran, and one of the pope's most intimate friends.¹

So precipitate a resolution in the pope surprised, beyond measure, the legate. But

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1431. et Antonin. tit. 22. c. 10.

² See p. 46.

³ Blondus decad. 2. l. 9. Platin. in Eugen. IV. Raymund. ad ann. 1431. Num. 11.

¹ Concil. Labbei, tom. 12. col. 669. Aeneas Syl. Hist. p. 50. Edit. Freher. et apud Raynald. Num. 21.

The conduct of the pope disapproved by the cardinal legate; and by the emperor. His letter to the pope;— [Year of Christ, 1432.] The pope's answer. The council of Basil declared a lawful council. Establishes the superiority of councils over the pope.

being a man of great discretion and prudence, he concealed it from the fathers of the council, and in his answer to the pope's letter remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against it, laying before his holiness the scandal it would give to the catholics as well as to heretics; showing, with great freedom, the futility of the reasons he had alledged for the intended dissolution; and even telling him, in plain words, that the council would not be dissolved, and that he had, therefore, much better not attempt it, and thus avoid the endless troubles, in which he would find himself inevitably involved, if he persisted in the resolution he had taken, perhaps not upon the most mature deliberation. But Eugenius wanted the council to meet within his own dominions, which was the true reason that induced him to dissolve it; apprehending that were it held any where else, it might prove as fatal to him as that of Constance had been to his predecessor John XXIII. Being, therefore, deaf to all remonstrances, he issued a bull on the 18th of December, declaring the council of Basil dissolved, and immediately dispatched a messenger to acquaint the emperor therewith, as well as with the reasons that had moved him to it, the same that he had urged in his letter to the legate. Sigismund was come into Italy to be crowned at Milan with the iron crown as king of Lombardy, and afterwards with the imperial crown at Rome. The former ceremony was performed on the 25th of November, not at Modestia, as was usual, but at Milan, by the archbishop of that city. From Milan the emperor repaired to Placentia; and there he received the pope's letter, with a copy of the bull of the dissolution of the council, which no less surprised him than it had done the legate. He foresaw the disturbances that would unavoidably attend such a resolution, and therefore postponing all other affairs, he wrote, without loss of time, a long letter in answer to the pope's. In that letter, dated at Placentia, the 9th of January 1432, the emperor first confuted one by one, and indeed unanswerably, all the reasons offered by the pope to justify the dissolution of the council. In the next place, he enlarged upon the many unspeakable evils into which his holiness was, he said, upon the point of plunging himself, the catholic church, and the whole Christian world, by putting off the so much wanted and so long wished for reformation; when many bishops were already come from distant countries to concur with him in bringing so desirable a work to a happy issue. He added, that the bishops would not be disappointed; and that he, as protector of the church, could not refuse his protection to them and the council. In the last place he urged, that should the council be dissolved for inviting the Bohemians to

it, and promising them a favorable hearing, they would conclude that the catholics distrusted their cause, and thus be confirmed in their errors. The emperor closed his letter with earnestly entreating his holiness, as he tendered the welfare, the peace, the unity of the church, and his own reputation, to revoke his decree dissolving the council, and assist at it in person.¹ This letter Eugenius answered by another dated the 27th of January, wherein he assured the emperor that it was upon the most mature deliberation, and with the consent and approbation of the cardinals, that he had dissolved one council and called another, and was very confident that when his highness came to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and gave him an opportunity of conferring personally with him, he would entirely approve his conduct.²

As the pope returned no answer to the legate's letter against the dissolution of the council mentioned above, he concluded that his holiness had acquiesced in the reasons he had alledged; and on the 7th of December he appointed the first session to be held on the 14th of the same month. In that session were read, after the usual ceremonies, the decrees of the councils of Constance and Siena, with the letters of pope Martin and the present pope his successor, ordering councils to meet at the expiration of every seventh year, and one in the course of the current year at Basil. The said council was then declared a general council, representing the church universal, and lawfully assembled to preserve the purity of the faith, to reconcile the Christian princes, and to reform abuses.

In the mean time the pope's bull of the 18th of December, dissolving the council, being notified to the fathers at Basil, instead of complying with it, they confirmed, in their second session held on the 15th of February, the two following declarations of the council of Constance, namely, "that a general council, lawfully assembled, has its power immediately from Christ, which every one, of what state or dignity soever, even the papal, is bound to obey in things appertaining to the faith, to the extirpation of the schism, and to the reformation of the church in its head and its members." The other, "that whosoever, of whatever dignity, even the papal, shall refuse to obey the decrees, statutes, and mandates of a general council, lawfully assembled, shall be duly punished." To these two declarations or decrees of the council of Constance the fathers of Basil added three of their own, arising naturally from them, namely, I. That no power upon earth, no, not the papal, can adjourn, translate, or dissolve the present council assembled at Basil without the consent of the council itself. II. Nor can any

¹ Concil. Labbei, tom. 2. col. 940, 955.

² In Appendice Concil. col. 943.

The pope and the cardinals summoned to the council. Decrees issued in the fourth session. Proposals made by the pope concerning the transferring of the council, and the fathers' answer. The pope accused of contumacy. He submits and retracts his bulls dissolving the council :—[Year of Christ, 1433.]

power on earth compel any to retire from the council, or hinder any from coming to it. III. That none shall withdraw from the council till it is ended, without a just and reasonable cause, allowed to be so by the deputies of the council.¹

In the third session, held on the 29th of April, the bishop of Lausanne, and the dean of Utrecht, who had been sent to Rome to procure a repeal of the decree dissolving the council, made their report; and the fathers being informed by them that his holiness persisted in his former resolution, they summoned him to appear personally at the council in the term of three months, or to send legates with full powers, if he could not come himself, to represent him, and act in his name. At the same time the cardinals were required to attend the council within the said term, on pain of being prosecuted, if prevented by no lawful impediment, according to the rigor of the canons.

In the fourth session, on the 20th of June, most ample safe conducts were despatched to the Bohemians, who had been prevailed upon to yield to the pressing instances of the fathers, inviting them to the council, and assuring them of a kind and favorable reception, with free liberty to return when they pleased. In this session the four following decrees were issued : I. That, should the pope happen to die while the council is sitting, his successor shall be elected in the place where it is held, and no where else. This decree was calculated to draw the cardinals to Basil. II. That no promise, no oath, no obligation whatever, will be admitted as a lawful excuse for not assisting at the council; and all such obligations are declared null. III. The pope shall create no new cardinals while the council is sitting. IV. A leaden seal shall be made with the Holy Ghost on the one side, descending in the shape of a dove, and these words on the other: "The Holy General Council of Basil."

In the mean time arrived at Basil, on the 18th of July, the archbishops of Colossus and Taranto, with the bishop of Magalone, and one of the auditors of the apostolic palace, sent by Eugenius to propose to the fathers the transferring of the council to any place subject to the church, in Italy, which they should choose, and where they should enjoy the same liberty as at Basil. They added, that as soon as the place, which his holiness left entirely to their choice, was fixed upon, he would repair to it without delay, and enter, jointly with them, upon the great work of the reformation, beginning with his own court, nay, and with himself; but that his health, and many weighty reasons would not permit him to go out of

Italy. The fathers returned answer, that his predecessors had appointed the council to meet at Basil; that he himself had approved and confirmed it; that the reasons which he had offered for dissolving or transferring it, were mere pretences; that a general council has its authority immediately from Christ, which the popes themselves are bound to submit to, and they therefore begged his holiness to lay aside all thoughts of dissolving the council, and repair to Basil.¹

This passed in a general congregation; and in the sixth session, held on the 6th of September, Eugenius was accused of contumacy by the promoter of the council, in not revoking the dissolution of the said council nor appearing at it in compliance with his summons, either in person, or by his deputies.

In the seventh session, on the 6th of November, it was ordained, that as the election of a new pope was to be made at Basil, should the see become vacant while the council was sitting, and some of the cardinals were usefully employed at a great distance from that city, the rest should not enter into the conclave till sixty days after the decease of the pope.

In the eighth session, held on the 18th of December, sixty days more were allowed to Eugenius to revoke the dissolution of the council; and it was decreed, that if he did not revoke it within that time, they should proceed against him without any further warning or citation.

In the ninth and tenth sessions, held on the 19th of January, and the 19th of February 1433, Eugenius was summoned anew, and, upon his not appearing, accused again of contempt or contumacy; and the fathers finally determined to suspend him, at their next meeting, from the administration both in spirituals and temporals. But he, in the mean time, by a diploma dated the 14th of February, that is, three days before the sixty days allowed him in the eighth session were elapsed, confirmed the council, and appointed four cardinals to preside at it in his name. But the fathers maintaining that, as it had been lawfully assembled, it wanted not his confirmation, would not admit the legates, but insisted upon his first revoking, in express terms, the pretended dissolution. This Eugenius was, in the end, forced to agree to, and by a bull, dated the 15th of December of the present year, 1433, he acknowledged the holy general council of Basil to have been lawfully assembled, and lawfully continued, though he had dissolved it for "just and reasonable causes;" declared void and null whatever had been done by him, or in his name, to

¹ Acta Victorina Concil. apud Spond. Num. 7.

¹ Concil. tom. 12. col. 673.

The deputies of the Bohemians arrive at Basil. Articles they maintained. Communion in both kinds granted them ;—[Year of Christ, 1434.] Eugenius obliged to leave Rome. The council interposes in his favor. Various abuses redressed by the council ;—[Year of Christ, 1435.]

the prejudice, or in derogation of the said holy general council; nay, and to satisfy the fathers, he retracted a letter against the council, which he solemnly protested not to have been written by him, nor with his knowledge or consent.¹

The Bohemians, or Hussites of Bohemia, had been invited to the council, as has been said above, and in compliance with that invitation, they sent four deputies, the most learned men among them, to give an account of their doctrine. These made their public entry into Basil on the 4th of January of the present year, were introduced to the council on the 9th, and the 16th was fixed for the day on which they were to lay their doctrine before the council, and offer, with all liberty, what they had to say in defence of it. They made long harangues, the one after the other, for several days together, calculated to explain their doctrine, and to prove it from the scripture and the fathers. The chief articles they undertook to maintain were, that the eucharist ought to be administered to all in both kinds; that all crimes, even those of the ecclesiastics, ought to be punished by the civil magistrates; that the preaching of the word of God should be entirely free; and that the clergy should have no temporal power nor dominion. These articles afforded matter of dispute, for the space of fifty days, between them and the four divines chosen by the council to answer them. But as the disputants, during that time, came to no agreement, nor was there the least likelihood of their coming to any, the Bohemians took their leave of the council, and returned home. With them the council dispatched deputies to treat with the leading men of the party; and many public conferences were held at Prague, and other places, concerning the articles in dispute. But the Bohemians refusing to hearken to any terms till the article of the communion in both kinds was settled, the council was, in the end, prevailed upon by their deputies to grant them their request. Accordingly, a bull was drawn up by the council and sent into Bohemia, allowing the priests of that kingdom and of Moravia to administer the eucharist in both kinds to all who desired it, provided they declared to their communicants, that "Christ is contained entire under either species," and that they ought to believe so. The Bohemians having now obtained what they chiefly insisted upon, they agreed, without difficulty, to the other articles, as explained and qualified by the council.² Thus were the differences that had subsisted ever since the council of Constance, and had cost many thousand lives, amicably composed for the present.

In the mean time, Philip duke of Milan, pretending to be commissioned by the council to bring the pope to reason, sent a numerous body of troops to reduce the March of Ancona, which they did without opposition. From thence they advanced into the neighborhood of Rome; and there committed such dreadful ravages, that the Romans, to redeem themselves from them, began to think of seizing the pope, and delivering him up into their hands. But he, being privately informed of their machinations, made his escape, in the disguise of a monk, to the Tiber, and, embarking there in a small boat, got safe to Ostia, amidst showers of arrows aimed at him by the Romans from either side the river. From Ostia he sailed to Pisa, from thence went to Florence, and was received in both places with extraordinary marks of honor. He wrote, on the very day he arrived at Florence, the 23d of June, a most obliging letter to the fathers of Basil, to acquaint them with the revolt of the Romans, and his flight from Rome; and at the same time to assure them that he was unalterably determined to live in perfect harmony with them; to bury in oblivion what had bred a misunderstanding between him and them; and thenceforth to love them as his children, and respect them as his brethren. On the other hand, the fathers, to show that they bore his holiness no ill will, immediately dispatched some of their body to Rome, to mediate a reconciliation between him and the Romans. Their mediation was attended with the wished-for success. For the Romans not only submitted, out of their great regard for the council, but restored all the magistrates, whom they had removed; drove the ringleaders of the revolt out of the city; and sent to beg his holiness's pardon, in the most submissive manner, for their past unadulful behavior.¹

Thus was a perfect harmony established between the council and the pope; and it subsisted till the twenty-first session, held on the 9th of June of the following year, when the fathers, entering upon the great work of the reformation, and beginning with the pope's court, undertook to correct several abuses that prevailed there, and gave, they said, just cause of complaint as well as of scandal to the whole Christian world. These were "expectatives, reservations, resignations, annates," &c., unheard of for many ages in the church, and introduced without any apparent necessity. They therefore forbid them as "oppressive" and "simoniacal," to be practised for the future, notwithstanding any statutes, bulls, or decrees whatever to the contrary: they forbid, in like manner, any thing to be required, or to be given, for the confirming of

¹ Concil. tom. 12. col. 947.

² Idem, tom. 12. col. 801 et 978.

¹ Concil. tom. 12. col. 950. Blond. Decad. 3. l. 5 et 6. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 10.

Annates suppressed. Several regulations relating to the election of the pope, to the number of the cardinals, their qualifications, &c., established by the council;—[Year of Christ, 1436.] Final rupture between the pope and the council;—[Year of Christ, 1437.]

elections, collations, for institutions, investitures, or even for the pall. All who should, on any occasion, or under any pretence whatever, act contrary to these regulations, were to be punished as guilty of simony; and the pope, if he transgressed them, was to be accused to, and called to an account by, a general council. The suppressing of the annates, one of the chief branches of the papal revenue, afforded matter for many long and learned debates, some maintaining and others impugning the lawfulness of such an imposition. But it was, in the end, declared, by a great majority, to involve Simony, and as such, strictly forbidden.¹ These regulations Eugenius looked upon as only calculated to make him entirely dependent upon the council, and oblige him either to submit to them, or beg his bread, to use his expression, from door to door. However, instead of annulling them, agreeably to the advice of some of the cardinals, and dissolving the council anew, he wisely contented himself with sending Ambrose, prior-general of the Camaldulense, and Antonius de Sancto Vito, auditor of the apostolic chamber, both held in high esteem for their learning and probity, to remonstrate against the suppressing of the annates, at least for the present, as the patrimony of St. Peter was then overrun by usurpers and tyrants, and he had no other means of subsisting. The council returned answer, that the annates were but a novel invention; that the popes had, for many ages, subsisted, and even supported their dignity without them; and that, if his holiness consented to their being abolished, they would provide for him by some other more honest and Christian means.² It does not appear that any thing was so much as offered in defence of "resignations, reservations, or expectative graces," though they brought yearly immense sums into the apostolic chamber.

In the twenty-third session, held on the 25th of March, 1436, the constitution of Gregory X. concerning the conclave, which had begun to be neglected, was renewed, and to the regulations contained in that constitution, the two following were added by the council: I. That the cardinals should promise upon oath to elect the person whom they judged the best qualified for so great a trust. II. That the person elected should be obliged to accept of the dignity. It was further ordained that on the anniversary of the pope's election or coronation, the following profession should be yearly read to him at high mass by the oldest cardinal then present: "Remember what St. Peter and his successors have done: they thought of nothing, had nothing in their view but the

honor of God, the propagation of the faith, the public weal of the church, and the salvation and good of their children; and at last they laid down their lives for their flock. 'Lay not up for yourself, or for yours, treasures upon earth, &c., but lay up for yourself treasures in heaven, &c. Regard not blood, nor country, nor nation. All are alike the children of God, and all committed to your care.'"³

In the same session it was decreed, that the pope should not create any of his relations, to the third degree inclusively, dukes, marquises, counts, feudatories, or vicars, nor should he appoint them governors of any province, city, town, castle, or any other place whatever subject to the Roman church; that in all affairs of importance he should advise with the cardinals; that the cardinals should be in all twenty-four, chosen out of all the nations of Christendom, men noted for their learning, their probity, their experience in the management of affairs, masters, doctors, or licentiates; not nephews to the pope, nor to any cardinal still living. At the same time was renewed and confirmed the decree suppressing "resignations, reservations, expectative graces, and annates," without any the least regard to the remonstrances of his holiness.

As John Palæologus, emperor of Constantinople, and Joseph the patriarch, had formed a design of uniting the two churches, and had agreed to the assembling of a general council for that purpose in the west, at which the prelates of both nations should assist, a new quarrel broke out the following year, 1437, between the fathers of Basil and the pope, about the choice of a place where they should meet. For in the 25th session, held on the 7th of May, Florence, or Udine in Friuli, was chosen by the pope's legates, seconded by a small number of bishops; and by the rest of the council Avignon, or some place in Savoy, or the city of Basil, where the western bishops were already assembled. Eugenius, however, confirmed the choice of Florence, or Udine; which so provoked the fathers of Basil, that in their twenty-sixth session, held on the last day of July, they charged him with mal-administration, with simony, with a breach of the oath he had taken at his election, and a most scandalous abuse of his power; and "by virtue of the authority, which they had received immediately from Christ, over all persons of what rank or dignity soever, the papal not excepted," they summoned him to appear before them in the term of sixty days, and answer the charges brought against him.

In the twenty-seventh session, held on the 26th of September, they declared the promotion of John Viteleschi, archbishop of

¹ Concil. tom. 12. col. 859. et apud Spondan. ad ann. 1435.

² Ibid. col. 904.

³ Concil. tom. 12. col. 559.

The pope declared contumacious. Eugenius transfers the council to Ferrara. That translation declared null by the council. Death of the emperor Sigismund. The council opened at Ferrara ;—[Year of Christ, 1438.] Proceedings against those of Basil. The Greek emperor and bishops arrive at Venice. Repair to Ferrara. The emperor and the patriarch, how received by the pope.

Florence, to the dignity of cardinal to be null, as having been made by the pope contrary to the decrees of the council.

The sixty days, allowed to the pope to appear in, being elapsed, the twenty-eighth session was held on the 1st day of October, when, upon his not appearing either in person, or by proxies, though three times called upon at the church door, he was declared contumacious; and it was ordained, that the council should proceed against him as such, notwithstanding his absence, since the summons had been sufficiently notified to him. This step gave offence to several princes, and among the rest, to the emperor himself, and to the king of England, Henry VI., who, in the direction of his letter, which he is said to have written to the fathers of Basil on this occasion, styled them, not the "council," but the "congregation," of Basil.¹

While these things passed at Basil, Eugenius being then at Bologna, published a decree quite unexpected, removing the council from Basil to Ferrara; a place, he said, far more convenient to the Greeks, who, ere it was long, would arrive at Venice. This decree is dated at Bologna, the 1st of October of the present year; that is, the very day on which he had been declared by the council guilty of contumacy. In opposition to the pope's decree, the fathers of Basil published another in their twenty-ninth session, held on the 12th of October; and by that decree the translation of the council was declared null, and all, whose duty it was to attend general councils, were enjoined, on pain of excommunication, and the forfeiture of all their benefices, to repair to Basil. As the pope had charged them in his decree with sowing the seeds of dissension between the head of the church and its members, and thus making way for a new schism, they returned to that charge the following answer: That the present holy general council had been assembled to reform the church in its head and its members; that they had, pursuant to that laudable design, applied themselves to the redressing of numberless abuses; but as those abuses were very advantageous and profitable to the apostolic see, his holiness had made it his business to defeat all their endeavors; and therefore, should he obstinately persist in opposing the necessary reformation and thus give occasion to a new schism, he would alone be answerable for it. They added, that while he was traducing them, as the authors of a new schism, he was himself striving to introduce the most dangerous one that had ever been known in the church, that of one general council in opposition to another.²

In the latter end of the present year died

of the palsy, in the seventieth year of his age, the emperor Sigismund, a prince endowed with many good qualities, but who sullied them all with his frequent adulteries. The empress was not therein behindhand with him; but they forgave one another. He was succeeded in the empire by his son-in-law, Albert, duke of Austria.¹

The following year, 1438, was opened, on the 8th of January, the new council at Ferrara, and the first session held in the cathedral of that city, at which presided Nicholas Alberghati, cardinal presbyter of the "Holy Cross in Jerusalem," and were present five archbishops, eighteen bishops, the deputies of two more, and the superiors of many religious orders. In this session the congregation of Basil was declared an unlawful assembly, and the synod of Ferrara an œcumenical council lawfully assembled. On the 8th of February Eugenius made his public entry into Ferrara, and in the second session, held on the 15th of February, at which the pope presided in person, and were present seventy-two bishops, all, who still remained at Basil, were ordered, on pain of excommunication and the forfeiture of all their dignities and benefices, to withdraw from that city in the term of thirty days. At the same time the governor, magistrates, consuls, &c. of Basil were enjoined, upon the same penalties, to drive them out of their city at the expiration of the said term, and sell nothing to them, not even the necessary food.²

In the mean time the Greek emperor, John Palæologus, being wholly bent upon uniting the two churches, and therefore determined to assist, in person, at the council, that was to be held for that purpose in the West, embarked with his bishops on board nine galleys on the 25th of November of the preceding year, and arrived at Venice in the beginning of February of the present. The doge, the senate, and all the nobility went out in their Bucentoro, a well-known vessel, to meet him. He brought with him Joseph, the patriarch of Constantinople, the deputies of the three other patriarchs, twenty-one prelates of the first rank, that is, archbishops or patriarchs, and a great number of bishops, of the dignified clergy, of abbots, of superiors of religious orders, with all the great officers of his court; and among them his brother Demetrius, despot of Morea. On the 28th of February they all left Venice, except Joseph the patriarch, who was indisposed, and, repairing to Ferrara, made their public entry into that city on the 4th of March. The emperor was met at the gate by all the cardinals who were then with the pope, and the nobility in a body, and attended by them

¹ Acta Patritiana ad ann. 1437.

² Concil. tom. 12. col. 716.

¹ Æneas Syl. Hist. Bohem. c. 53. Cochleus, l. 8.

² Acta Concil. Horatii Justiniani, part. 1. tom. 13. Concil. col. 896.

Decrees of the council of Basil. Eugenius suspended. Conferences between the Greeks and the Latins. The princes of Germany embrace a neutrality. Their proposal for a reconciliation; rejected by the fathers of Basil. The Pragmatic Sanction established in France.

under a canopy of cloth of gold to the pope's palace. The pope rose up before he entered the room, and received him standing. The emperor offered to kneel; but his holiness, embracing him, presented his hand to him to kiss, and making him sit down on his left hand, conferred some time in private with him. From the pope's palace he was conducted, in a kind of triumph, to another, allotted to him for his residence, and so magnificently adorned as to deserve the name of Paradise. On the 8th of March the patriarch arrived, and was the next day attended from the port to the pope's palace by the two cardinals, twenty-five bishops, and all the nobility. Eugenius received him with all possible marks of esteem, gave him his cheek to kiss, as had been agreed beforehand, and, taking him into his closet, conversed some time with him there. From the audience of the pope the patriarch was accompanied by the same bishops and the nobility, but not by the two cardinals, to the palace prepared for him. While these things passed at Ferrara, the fathers of Basil, wholly intent upon the great and necessary work of the reformation, issued the three following decrees in their thirty-first session, held on the 29th of January of the present year: I. That all law-suits, usually carried to Rome, shall be finally decreed upon the spot, if the places where they arise be distant four days journey from that city. II. That all resignations, reservations, and expectatives shall be suppressed for ever, comprehending those that have been already granted; and all such grants for the future shall be deemed null. By the third decree they declared Eugenius guilty of contumacy, and as such suspended him from all papal jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal, forbidding all ecclesiastics, on pain of excommunication and the loss of their benefices, to obey him.¹ These decrees so offended the president, cardinal Cæsarini, who had hitherto distinguished himself above all the rest by his zeal for the council, that, leaving Basil abruptly, he repaired to Ferrara, to the inexpressible joy of the pope. The fathers chose Lewis, cardinal of Arles, so called because archbishop of that city, president in his room.

As few bishops were yet come to Ferrara, but more were daily expected, it was proposed by the Latin and agreed to by the Greek fathers, that in the mean time they should hold frequent conferences about the chief articles of the disagreement between the two churches, to facilitate, by that means, the wished-for union. Accordingly twelve were chosen out of either church, who met twice a week in the church of the Franciscans. They began their conferences,

or rather disputations, with purgatory; and though they only differed in this, that the Latins held the souls of the just, who had not fully atoned for their sins in their lifetime, to be purged with real fire after their death; while the Greeks believed them to be purified, not by real fire, but by exceeding grief and anguish; though they disagreed, I say, in that alone, yet they parted after a two months' dispute, just as they met, leaving the question to be resumed and determined at a more proper season.¹

In the mean time, the electors of the empire and the other German princes, meeting at Francfort on the 18th of March of the present year, resolved to observe a strict neutrality in the quarrel between the fathers of Basil and the pope; to show all due regard to both, and receive no decrees of either against the other. They met again the following July at Nuremburg to do homage to Albert, the new king of the Romans, and at the same time to reconcile, if by any means they could, the pope and the council. To this diet or assembly both the pope and the council sent their deputies to plead their cause before them. But the king and the princes, declaring that they had the highest veneration and esteem for both, would hearken to nothing alledged by the one against the other: They only represented to them the many evils, arising from their disagreement; exhorting them to lay aside all strife and contention; and, in order to that, proposed the removing of the council both from Basil and Ferrara, and choosing a third place, where they all should meet, and treat jointly with the Greeks; who, they said, would not be very forward in uniting with them while they continued thus disunited among themselves. This proposal was immediately communicated to the fathers of Basil by the patriarch of Aquileia, who was at the head of their deputies. But they rejected it with one accord, alledging that the city of Basil had been chosen by pope Martin and the general council at Siena; that Eugenius had confirmed their choice, and no rational cause had yet been assigned why so many prelates should be put to the inconvenience of removing to any other place.²

The fathers of Basil took care to send the decrees they had made for the reformation of the church in its head and its members to all the Christian princes, to be published by them in their respective dominions. In France, the king, Charles VII., caused them to be examined in a general assembly of the whole clergy, convened for that purpose at Bourges; and at that assembly he assisted in person with all the great lords of the kingdom. The decrees were there examined,

¹ Concil. tom. 13. col. 26.

² Acta Patritiana Concil. Basil, apud Pagé, tom. 4. p. 594.

¹ Ubi supra, col. 601, et seq.

The first session at which the Greeks were present. Disputants appointed, and the points settled that were to be disputed. Disputes about adding to the symbol the words "and from the Son."

and being, upon the strictest examination, approved by all who were present, they were received, with one consent, some of them without the least alteration, and others with certain modifications, suited to the usages of the Gallican church. Of these regulations or decrees was composed what was afterwards called the "Pragmatic Sanction," so odious to the court of Rome. For by the Pragmatic the council of Basil was owned for a lawful council, and general councils were declared superior to the pope; all "reservations, resignations, expectatives, commendams, and annates," were suppressed; elections were restored to the chapters, and collations to the ordinaries; appeals, excommunications, and interdicts were regulated; the receiving or giving any thing whatever, besides the usual fees to the clerks and notaries, was strictly forbidden as inexcusable simony. These and many other practices, calculated to draw the wealth of all other nations to Rome, were abolished by the Pragmatic. That sanction was received in the general assembly of the Gallican clergy at Bourges on the 7th of July of the present year, and the following year it was enacted into a law by the parliament of Paris on the 13th of the same month. The popes left nothing unattempted to get it repealed: but it continued in force till the year 1516, when Francis I. by an agreement with Pope Leo X. substituted the Concordat in its room.

The pope and the fathers of Ferrara had agreed to wait four months for those of Basil, and that time they employed, with how little success we have seen, in conferences about some of the less important articles, in which the Greeks and the Latins disagreed. As the four months expired on the 8th of October of the present year, and not a single bishop was yet come from Basil, the pope declaring, that where he was with the emperor, meaning the Greek emperor, with the patriarch of Constantinople, the cardinals, and the other patriarchs, there was the church universal, the first session, at which the Greeks were present, was held by his order on that very day. But that very few bishops assisted at this session sufficiently appears from its being held in the chapel of the pope's palace; and no notice is taken of the arrival of any more either at Ferrara or at Florence, whither we shall see the council removed in the beginning of the following year. In this session six persons were appointed by the Greeks, and as many by the Latins, to maintain their own and combat the opposite opinions. By the Greeks were chosen Mark, archbishop of Ephesus; Isidore, great metropolitan of Russia; Bessarion, archbishop of Nice; Theodorus Xanthipulus, great sacristan or vestry keeper of the church of Constantinople; Michael Balsamon, great bibliothecarian, and the famous

philosopher Gemistus. The champions on the side of the Latins were, the two cardinals, Albergati and Cesarini, Andrew archbishop of Colossus, John bishop of Forli, and two monks, masters in divinity. The points to be argued were, "the procession of the Holy Ghost; the punishments of purgatory; the primacy of the Roman church; and whether leavened or unleavened bread should be used in the eucharist." But with respect to the first article, it was in the first place disputed, whether it was lawful to add any thing to a symbol, proposed by a general council for a rule of faith. For that the words, "and from the Son," were not to be found in the original Nicene creed, but had been added to it by the Latins, was notorious, and owned by the Latins themselves. This preliminary question afforded matter of dispute from the third session, held on the 14th of October, to the fifteenth, held on the 8th of December. The original Nicene creed being read, where the Holy Ghost was only said to proceed from the Father, Mark of Ephesus quoted a decree of the council of Ephesus, forbidding any addition to be made to that symbol; and by the other Greeks passages were quoted, without number, to the same purpose, out of the other councils, as well as the fathers both Greek and Latin. The Latins could not question the authenticity of those passages, but, in order to elude them, they pretended the words, "and from the Son," to be no addition to, but only an explication of, the symbol, or of the words "who proceeds from the Father." For as all, said they, that is natural and essential to the Father is likewise natural and essential to the Son, when it is affirmed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, it must necessarily be understood, that he proceeds, in like manner, from the Son. Call it by what name you please, replied Bessarion of Nice, the words in question have been certainly added to the symbol, and are, therefore, in truth, an "addition." He added, that it was not, indeed, contrary to the prohibition of the council of Ephesus to explain the symbol, but it evidently was to insert any explanations into it, and thus make them a part of it, and articles of our belief. Andrew of Colossus answered, that the prohibition of the council must be understood of such additions only, as were contrary to the doctrines contained in the symbol. But that answer Bessarion treated with no small contempt, since it could not be supposed, as he observed, that any would presume to insert such doctrines into a creed as were repugnant to those that were defined by it.

While they were engaged in this dispute, and not likely to come to any agreement, cardinal Cesarini proposed their leaving the point in debate undecided for the present, in order to proceed to the main question. For

The council transferred to Florence;—[Year of Christ, 1439.] The procession of the Holy Ghost debated in several sessions. They agree with respect to that article. The other articles settled, and the union concluded.

if we agree in this, said the cardinal, that the Holy Ghost verily proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father, we shall not quarrel about allowing a place to that article in the symbol. To this they all agreed, and twelve were chosen on each side to discuss that point. But a contagious distemper breaking out in the mean time at Ferrara, the pope resolved to translate the council to Florence. That translation was at first strongly opposed by the Greeks. But they agreed to it, in the end, upon the pope's promising to defray all their expenses, and to send, without delay, nineteen hundred florins of gold to Constantinople to put that city in a state of defence against the victorious Turks. To make good his word, Eugenius borrowed forty thousand florins of the Florentines, for which he pawned his triple crown; and the republic promised to make him a free gift of forty thousand more, provided the council were transferred to their city. The pope, having thus obtained the consent of the Greeks, the decree, transferring the council from Ferrara to Florence, was published, by his order, in the sixteenth session, held on the 10th of January of the following year, 1439; and before the end of that month they all arrived in that city, to the great joy of the Florentines, who received the pope, the emperor, and the patriarch with the greatest marks of respect and esteem, and presented his holiness, soon after his arrival, with the sum they had promised.

On the 6th of February was held the first session at Florence, being the seventeenth of the council; and in that session, as well as in the six following, "the procession of the Holy Ghost" was the only subject of debate. They argued only from authority; and by the opposite parties innumerable passages were produced, out of the council and the fathers, in support of their opposite opinions. But as the more they disputed the farther they were from agreeing; the emperor, who was for an union upon any terms, assembling all his metropolitans in the house of the patriarch, then greatly indisposed, desired they would deliberate among themselves, and find out some other means of concluding the wished-for union than by way of disputation, which they knew by experience to be ineffectual. All disputes being, therefore, set aside, and the doctrine of both churches, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, coolly examined, it was found that, in effect, both held the same doctrine, and only differed in the terms with which they expressed it. For, according to the Greeks, the Father was the origin of the Son, and from the Father by the Son, or through the Son, proceeded the Holy Ghost, and to proceed from the Father by the Son, or through the Son, was owned by the patriarch, by Bessarion of Nice, by Isidore,

great metropolitan of Russia, to be the same thing as to proceed from the Father and the Son. Accordingly, they publicly declared, that they approved and received the doctrine of the Latins, seeing it was, as they had explained it, the same with their own. Their example was soon followed by all the rest, except Mark of Ephesus, who maintained to the last, the doctrine of the Latins to be very different from that of the Greeks, and could never be brought to receive it.

The union being thus concluded with respect to the chief article, the others were soon settled to the satisfaction of both parties, the Greeks allowing in the several conferences they had with the Latins, that leavened or unleavened bread might be indifferently used in the eucharist; that they who had sinned and repented, but had not "brought forth fruits worthy of repentance," in their life-time, underwent, after death, a temporary punishment; but as to the nature of that punishment, or in what it consisted, it mattered little to know; and both churches might safely hold the opinion which they had hitherto held. Thus what had afforded them, as we have seen, matter of dispute for two whole months, is now declared an indifferent point. As for the primacy of the Roman see, they owned the pope to be the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of Christ upon earth, the head of the church and the father of the faithful, and full power to have been given, in St. Peter, to him of feeding, ruling, and governing the church universal. They would not, however, allow him to receive appeals from the other patriarchal sees, nor to convene general councils without the consent of the other patriarchs. These articles being all agreed to both by the Greeks and the Latins, the decree containing them was drawn up in both languages, and, being read in full council, in Latin by cardinal Cesarini, in Greek by Bessarion, it was signed on the 6th of July by all who were present; Mark of Ephesus, who had always opposed the union, having withdrawn from Florence some days before.¹ It was not, as is commonly supposed, out of any motive of religion that the Greek emperor, John Palæologus, put himself to such an infinite deal of trouble on this occasion, but chiefly to recommend himself to the pope, and procure by his interest, powerful succors from the western princes against the Turks, who had already reduced the far greater part of his empire. As for his bishops, it appears plain enough from the acts of the council, that their consent was, in a manner, extorted by him. Some, perhaps, chose to enslave themselves to the pope rather than to the Turk, and others were convinced by more powerful arguments than any Mark of

¹ Acta Concil. Labbei, tom. 13. p. 510. et Acta Patriarchiana.

Death of the patriarch. The union, how received at Constantinople. The superiority of councils over the pope declared an article of faith. Eugenius deposed by the council. They are excommunicated, and their acts annulled by the pope. Regulations made by the council concerning the election of a new pope.

Ephesus could alledge. Bessarion, archbishop of Nice, and Isidore, archbishop of Kiovia or Kiow, and great metropolitan of Russia, the chief promoters of the union, were both created cardinals. The patriarch had been always for the union; but he died before it was concluded, having written, a few minutes before his death, and signed with his own hand, a confession of faith, declaring that he received and held all the doctrines that were received and taught by the catholic and apostolic church of old Rome, and owned the pope of the said old Rome to be the father of the fathers, and the vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ upon earth. He died on the 9th of June of the present year, and his confession bears that date. The union being concluded in the manner we have seen, the Greeks took their leave of the pope, and repairing to Venice, embarked there on the 11th of October, and arrived at Constantinople on the 1st of February of the following year. They carried with them the decree of the supposed union; but not a Greek of any note, ecclesiastic or layman, would receive it; nay, many, and they prelates of the first rank, who had signed that decree at Florence, retracted at Constantinople, and even wrote against it. The emperor did all in his power to maintain his own work; but he dying, in 1445, the ancient doctrine of the Greek church was again universally received, and that of the council of Florence condemned and rejected; and so it is to this day.

And now to return to the council of Basil. In the thirty-third session, held on the 16th of May of the present year, they laid down the three following propositions as "truths of the catholic faith." I. That a general council, representing the church universal, is above the pope and every other person, as has been declared by the council of Constance and this of Basil, is a truth of the catholic faith. II. That the pope cannot dissolve, nor prorogue, nor transfer from one place to another, a general council lawfully assembled, without the consent of the said council, is a truth of the catholic faith. III. That he is to be reputed a heretic, who obstinately opposes the two foresaid truths. As Eugenius had not appeared, in compliance with his summons, within the time prescribed by the council, he was, in the thirty-fourth session, held on the 35th of June, declared guilty of contumacy, disobedient to the commands of the church universal, a contemner of the canons, a disturber of the unity of the church, a perjured simoniacal schismatic, and obstinate heretic; and as such they pronounced him deposed from the pontificate, and unworthy of any degree, title, honor, and dignity; absolved all from the obedience they owed him, and declared all ecclesiastics, by what dignity

soever distinguished, who should thenceforth own or obey him, deprived, "ipso facto," of all their benefices, honors, and dignities. Eugenius being thus deposed, some of the fathers were for immediately proceeding to the election of a new pope, on account of the plague that had broke out in Basil, and raging, with great fury, swept off daily great numbers of the inhabitants; and had even the boldness, says Æneas Sylvius, who was present, to attack the fathers of the council themselves—"Ausa est etiam aggredi patres conciliares." But it was carried by a great majority, with their president, the cardinal of Arles, at their head, that, as by a decree of the present council, the electors were not to enter into the conclave till sixty days after the decease of the pope, the same regulation should be observed in the case of his deposition. In the mean time they despatched nuncios to the different courts of the Christian princes, to acquaint them with the deposition of Gabriel Condellmerius, meaning Eugenius, and exhorted them to comply with their decree, and cause it to be complied with in their respective dominions.

Eugenius was not behind hand with the fathers of Basil. For in his twenty-seventh session, held at Florence on the 4th of September, he condemned, by a constitution beginning with the words, "Moyse vir Dei," the three above-mentioned "truths of the catholic faith"—renewed all the decrees he had hitherto published against the schismatic assembly at Basil; declared all excommunicated who had remained at Basil after the dissolution of the council, whether cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, &c., and, in the plenitude of his power, annulled all the constitutions, acts, and decrees, they had published ever since the council was transferred to Ferrara.

In the mean time the fathers of Basil were employed in making regulations concerning the election of the new pope; and the following were agreed to and published in their thirty-seventh session, held on the 20th of October. I. That all previous conventions, oaths, promises, obligations relating to the election, should be no ways binding, but reputed in themselves null. II. That the electors should all receive the sacrament before they entered into the conclave, and swear to observe what the council had prescribed in their twenty-third session.¹ III. That the elect should, in the term of one day after his election was notified to him, acquiesce in it in the presence of a notary and ten witnesses; and, if he did not, the election should be null. IV. That the elect should be consecrated and crowned in the council; that he should promise to observe the decrees of the general councils,

¹ See p. 223.

Amedeus, duke of Savoy, elected. His character.

He is prevailed upon to accept the papal dignity.

and in particular, of the councils of Constance and Basil, and use his utmost endeavors to have the decrees of these two councils carried into execution. In the same session it was decreed, that besides the cardinal of Arles, and other cardinals, if any others should come before the election, thirty-two persons, bishops, or other ecclesiastics, should be admitted, for this time only, to elect the new pope together with the cardinals; that of the thirty-two, three should be chosen by the council; and they should choose all the rest. The council accordingly nominated three, a Frenchman, a Scotchman, and a Spaniard; and to them was afterwards added, at the request of the Germans, one of that nation. By these four, twenty-eight were chosen out of different nations; so that, besides the cardinal of Arles, the only cardinal that was present at the election, the electors were, in all, thirty-two, namely, eleven bishops, seven abbots, and fourteen other ecclesiastics, all members of the council.¹

On the 30th of October the council condemned, in their thirty-eighth session, the constitution of "Eugenius Moyses vir Dei," as a "scandalous libel," confirmed the choice of the thirty-two persons who were to elect the pope, and ordered them to proceed, without delay, to the election. They entered, accordingly, the same day into the conclave, the town house of Basil, and on the seventh day, that is, on the 5th of November; Amedeus, duke of Savoy, being found to have twenty-six votes out of the thirty-three, his election was thereupon declared canonical, and confirmed by the council in their thirty-ninth session, on the 17th of November; no regard being had to what was by some few objected against it, namely, that he was yet a layman; that he had been married; that he had children; that he was doctor in no faculty, and could be but very little acquainted with ecclesiastical matters.² Amedeus, thus elected, was the last count and the first duke of Savoy. He had succeeded to his father, count Amedeus, surnamed "the green," in the year 1384, and had given such proofs of his abilities, knowledge, and wisdom in the government of his own dominions, as had made most other princes apply to him as an oracle in all affairs of importance, relating to the government of theirs. But as his wisdom was not of this world only, he looked upon all human grandeur as mere vanity, and, renouncing his title, in the year 1414, when at the height of his glory, he put his two sons, Lewis and Philip, in possession of his dominions, and retired, with some lords of the same disposition and age with himself, to a place called Ripaglia, pleasantly situated on the borders of the lake of Geneva. There they took the eremitical habit,

retaining no other mark of distinction but a golden cross, which they wore on their breasts; and, laying aside all thoughts of state, or worldly affairs, led an eremitical life, without denying themselves any innocent pleasures—Amedeus having built for himself, and his companions, a most magnificent habitation, and enclosed a very large tract of ground, well stocked with all sorts of game, for their diversion.

Some more modern writers will have Amedeus to have embraced a retired and solitary life, not out of any motive of religion, but to abandon himself, unobserved and more freely, to all manner of debaucheries, leading the same life at Ripaglia as was formerly led by the emperor Tiberius in the island of Caprea; and from thence they pretend the French proverb, "faire Ripaille," that is, to banquet, to feast, and to make merry, to have taken its rise.¹ But of his pretended debaucheries not the least notice is taken by any one of the contemporary historians. On the contrary Æneas Sylvius, who lived at this very time, bestows in sundry places of his works the highest commendations upon him for his piety, his religion, his abstinence, and his contempt of all the pleasures of this world.² Indeed, no man can suppose, that the fathers of Basil would have chosen one for their pope, at so critical a juncture, whose character was not, in every respect, irreproachable.

The election of Amedeus being confirmed by the council, a solemn embassy, consisting of twenty-five of their chief members, was dispatched, with the cardinal of Arles at their head, to acquaint him therewith, and obtain his consent. He received them with the greatest marks of respect and esteem, thanked them for the honor they had done him; but pleading his want of experience in what concerned the government of the church, he begged they would excuse him from taking upon him a charge, to which he knew himself to be altogether unequal. However, upon the cardinal's representing to him the many evils that would inevitably attend a longer vacancy, and would be all set down to his account, he acquiesced in the end; and all the badges of his new dignity being delivered to him upon the spot by the deputies, he walked, in solemn procession, with them, attired as high pontiff, to the church of the monastery of St. Mauritius, which he had built in his solitude. There the *Te Deum* was sung with all the solemnity the place would allow of; and on that occasion Amedeus, quitting his own name according to custom, took that of Felix V. From Ripaglia he removed a few days afterwards to Tonon, a small town in that neighborhood; and there he continued acting as pope the remaining part of

¹ Acta Concil. tom. 12. col. 616.

² Acta Concil. ibid.

¹ Desmarests Tableau des Papes.

² Æneas Syl. Hist. Europ. c. 43. et Concil. Basil. 1. 2. p. 167.

All ordered by the council to acknowledge Felix on pain of excommunication;—[Year of Christ, 1440.] Felix is excommunicated by Eugenius, whose sentence is declared by the council a scandalous libel. Felix, how provided for by the council. Assembly of Bourges. The answer of the king and that assembly to the legates of both popes. They continue in the obedience of Eugenius.

this, and the greater part of the following year.¹

The cardinal, and the other deputies, took care to notify immediately to the council the consent of Felix; and the cardinals, transported with joy at their having now at their head a man of his high rank, character, and connections, for he was allied to most of the princes in Europe, declared him, in the fortieth session, held on the 26th of February, 1440, to be the only true pope, and ordered him to be acknowledged by all as such, on pain of excommunication, and other penalties to be inflicted by the council. As the cardinals had all left the council, except the cardinal of Arles, and sided with Eugenius, the fathers allowed Felix, lest he should be a pope without cardinals, to create some new ones, notwithstanding their decree, forbidding any to be promoted to that dignity while the council was sitting. He nominated, accordingly, five; but two of the five declined accepting the red hat at his hands.²

In the mean time, Eugenius having strengthened his party with the addition of seventeen new cardinals, among whom was John Kemp, at this time archbishop of York, and afterwards of Canterbury, he held his twenty-eighth session at Florence, on the 23d of March, when Amedeus of Savoy was declared an usurper of the apostolic see, a schismatic and heretic, and all who adhered to him, who supported or countenanced him, were ordered to forsake him in the term of forty days, on pain of incurring, without further notice, the sentence of excommunication, and forfeiting all their benefices, titles, and honors. The cardinal of Arles was excommunicated in particular; was divested of his dignity, and deposed from his bishopric, as the chief author of the schism.³ On the other hand, the fathers of Basil, in their next session, held on the 23d of July, declared the sentence of Gabriel Condelmerius, meaning Eugenius, a schismatical, scandalous, and heretical libel; thundered out the sentence of excommunication against all, by what dignity soever distinguished, who received it, and forbad, upon the severest penalties, any injury or violence whatever to be offered either to his holiness pope Felix V., or to any who adhered to him.

The next day, the 24th of July, Felix made his public entry into Basil, attended by the chief members of the council, by the magistrates of the city in a body, by all the neighboring nobility, and an immense crowd of people. The ceremony of his coronation was performed the same day with extraordinary pomp, as appears from the account

Æneas Sylvius has given us of it as an eyewitness.¹

As Felix could yet receive nothing out of the revenues of St. Peter's patrimony, the council, in their forty-second session, held on the 4th of August, ordered the fifth penny for the ensuing five years, and the tenth for the next following five years, to be paid to him yearly out of all benefices, whether secular or regular, whether with or without cure of souls.

Felix, being thus crowned, and, for the present, sufficiently enabled to support his dignity, the next care of the council was to get him acknowledged by the Christian princes. As Charles VII., king of France, had appointed the prelates and lords of the kingdom to meet at Bourges, in order to concert, jointly with him, the most effectual means of restoring peace to the church, the council sent a solemn embassy to that assembly, and so did Eugenius; both with a view to gain them over to their party. The ambassadors of both were heard, in a full assembly, for several days together; and when they had done, the king, after deliberating six days with the members of the assembly, ordered Antony Gouch, bishop of Clermont, to return them the following answer in his name; that the most Christian king had always had the highest regard for general councils, and for that of Basil in particular, and had therefore been greatly concerned to hear of any misunderstanding between them and his holiness the pope; that he had most earnestly entreated them, both by letters and embassies, to suspend their proceedings against his holiness; but they, far from paying any the least regard to his interposition, had even deposed him, and elected another in his room; that the king nevertheless had forborne coming to any resolution, in an affair of so much importance, till he had heard the prelates and lords of his kingdom, and that, having convened them for that purpose, he had, with their advice, and upon the most mature deliberation, resolved to continue in the obedience of Eugenius, and acknowledge no other pope; but begged, that in order to put an end to the present divisions, his holiness would assemble, within a twelvemonth, a general council in France. As for Amedeus, the king, added the bishop, desires the legates of the council will inform him, that his majesty wishes, as being nearly related to him, that he could favor him with a safe conscience; but as many, and they men of great learning and probity, question the validity of his election, he dares not renounce the obedience of Eugenius till the affair is decided by a general council; but hopes that his kinsman, the lord of Savoy, "*Dominus Sabaudie*," will act on this oc-

¹ Augustin. Patricius, Hist. Concil. tom. 13. p. 1580.

² Acta Patriciana, ibid.

³ Raynald. ad ann. 1440.

¹ Æneas Syl. l. 7.

By whom Eugenius acknowledged, and by whom Felix. Several eastern nations conform in the council of Florence to the church of Rome;—[Year of Christ, 1441.] What determined by the German princes assembled at Mentz.

casion with his usual prudence. The legates of Eugenius, encouraged by this answer, begged that the king would condemn the council of Basil, as an unlawful assembly, from the time it had been transferred to Ferrara, and would revoke the “pragmatic sanction,” consisting of decrees issued by that assembly after its translation. To these demands, the following answer was returned, on the 9th of September, by the same bishop of Clermont in the king’s name: That his most Christian majesty had always held the council of Basil for a lawful general council; that they had made many excellent regulations for the reformation of the church, which he and the states of the kingdom had approved and received; that he had never acknowledged the assembly at Ferrara for a lawful council; and that as to the “pragmatic sanction,” he insisted upon its being inviolably observed; but if it was found to contain any real hardships, he would consent to their being softened in the next general council.¹ Thus did the assembly of Bourges acknowledge the council of Basil for a lawful council, though dissolved by the pope, and at the same time own Eugenius for lawful pope, though deposed by the council. They did not question, as we may observe by the way, the superiority of the council over the pope, or a power in the council of deposing him, but continued in his obedience because they were not sufficiently informed of the circumstances attending his deposition, to renounce it.

Eugenius was not only acknowledged in France, but in Italy; in most of the kingdoms of Spain; in Portugal, in Hungary, and in England. On the other hand, Felix was owned by the people of Savoy, by the Swiss, by the cities of Basil, of Strasburg, of Cammin, by Albert duke of Bavaria, and Albert duke of Austria, brother to Frederick III., elected this year king of the Romans. Several universities, without declaring for Felix, maintained the pope to be subject to a general council, and bound to obey their decrees, namely, the universities of Paris, of Vienna, of Erford, of Cologne, and Cracow.² We read of no university, besides that of Salamanca, offering to ascertain the superiority of the pope over the council; so that the contrary opinion may be said to have universally prevailed at this time, though many, who held it, continued nevertheless to adhere to Eugenius, not being satisfied that he had been canonically deposed.

Eugenius, after concluding an union with the Greeks, as has been related above, had sent nuncios to invite to his council the other eastern nations, that differed in their belief both from the Greeks and the Latins. In

compliance with that invitation, Constantine patriarch of the Armenians, sent four deputies to assist at the council in his name; and these, after several conferences with the three cardinals, Antony bishop of Ostia, Branda bishop of Porto, and Nicholas Albergati bishop of Bologna, whom the pope had appointed, with other learned divines, to instruct them, made in the name of the patriarch of their nation, and their own, a public profession of the faith held and taught by the holy and apostolic church of Rome.¹ Their example was followed by the Jacobites, or Jacobines, a very numerous sect in the East, of whom I have spoken elsewhere;² and likewise by the Ethiopians, or Abyssines, whose king or emperor, Constantine Zara Jacob, sent, at the invitation of Eugenius, Andrew, abbot of the monastery of St. Antony in Egypt, and a deacon named Peter, with the character of his ambassadors, to assist, in his name, at the council. They arrived at Florence in the month of August, 1441, were received by Eugenius, by the cardinals and the council, with extraordinary marks of respect and esteem, and frequently admitted to confer with his holiness himself. At this time the Ethiopians all professed the doctrine of Nestorius; but their ambassadors renounced it in the present council, and in the name of the whole nation embraced that of Rome. However, we find them, as well as the Aminians and Jacobites, relapsed a few years afterwards into their ancient errors. We have a letter, dated at Florence, the 4th of October of the present year, 1441, from Eugenius to the chapter and canons of St. Peter, wherein he recommends to them his beloved sons, Andrew, abbot of St. Antony in Egypt, and the deacon Peter, ambassadors from the great prince Constantine, emperor of the Ethiopians, coming to Rome to see the holy image of our Lord and Saviour, that is, the holy Veronica.³ Those princes pretended to come from Jacob by king Solomon and the queen of Sheba, and thence styled themselves Zara Jacob, that is, the seed of Jacob.

While Eugenius was thus striving to raise the reputation of his council, the German princes assembled at Mentz, in order to deliberate about the means of restoring peace to the church. At this diet or assembly the electors and most of the other princes assisted in person; and with them ambassadors from Charles VII. king of France, and from Frederic of Austria, who had been elected king of the Romans on the 3d of March 1440, in the room of Albert of Austria, deceased. On the 27th of October 1439, Eugenius sent legates, and so did the council, to attend that assembly. The legates of the council strove to satisfy the assembly, that

¹ Pagi Brev. Roman. Pont. l. 4. p. 622, et Clemangius apud eund.

² Apud Raymund. ad hunc ann. Num. 6. 7.

¹ Concil. tom. 13. col. 1198.

² See vol. ii. p. 556.

³ Concil. tom. 13. col. 1217.

The council removed from Florence to Rome;—[Year of Christ, 1442.] Ignominious peace concluded by Eugenius with the king of Arragon;—[Year of Christ, 1443.]

the council was above the pope, that Eugenius had been lawfully deposed, and Felix lawfully elected; while, on the other hand, those of Eugenius maintained the pope to be above the council, and in the present case the sentence of deposition to have been evidently uncanonical; since by the canons, twelve bishops, at least, ought to concur in the deposition of any bishop whatever, and seven only, said they, were present at the deposition of the first bishop of the catholic church. The princes, after hearing both sides, concluded that by no other means could peace be restored, but by assembling a general council in a third place, either in France, or in Germany, and leaving to them the decision of so important a controversy.¹ This resolution was no ways pleasing either to the pope or the council. However, the council, unwilling to disoblige the German nation, consented at last to the convening of another council in some other city of the same nation, that is, of Germany, and left the naming of the place to the king and the princes.

As for Eugenius, he had, by a decree, published in his thirtieth session, held on the 26th of April, removed his council from Florence to Rome, to be continued there in the Lateran basilic, his first and chief see, and therefore would not consent to the assembling of a council any where else. However, being pressed anew by the king of the Romans, and the electors assembled at Francfort, he promised to consult the fathers of the council as soon as they met at the Lateran, and act as directed by them; though he could not see either the necessity or the expediency of convoking another council, while one was still sitting, that had performed such wonderful things;² meaning the short-lived union of the Oriental churches and that of Rome.

The following year, 1443, a peace was concluded, to the great satisfaction, and the no less dishonor of Eugenius, between him and Alphonso, king of Arragon. They had quarreled on the following occasion. Joan II. queen of Naples, having no children of her own, had adopted Alphonso, and declared him her heir and successor. But that adoption she afterwards revoked, and to Alphonso substituted Lewis of Anjou, whose adoption was approved and confirmed by Martin V., as has been related in the life of that pope.³ Joan died in 1435, and Lewis dying before her, she, by her will, appointed his brother, René of Anjou, her universal heir and successor. That will Eugenius not only confirmed, as lord paramount of the kingdom, but upon Alphonso's invading it, sent a body of three thousand foot, and the like number of horse, under the command of Vitelleschi, bishop of Recanati, and pa-

triarch of Alexandria, to support the Angevin against the Arragonian party. On the other hand Alphonso, siding with the council of Basil against the pope, caused all their decrees to be strictly observed throughout his extensive dominions, would allow none of his bishops to assist either at the council of Ferrara, or of Florence; and when Eugenius was deposed by the council of Basil, he renounced, in compliance with their decree, and obliged all his subjects to renounce his obedience. Eugenius however continued to assist René to the utmost of his power till the present year, 1443, when Alphonso, having reduced the city of Naples itself by conveying into it, through the common sewer, some of his men, who opened the gates to the rest, his holiness thought it high time to quit the conquered and join the conquering party. He sent accordingly Lewis, patriarch of Aquileia, with full power to conclude an agreement with Alphonso upon the best terms he could obtain, being apprehensive that the king, having now no enemy to contend with (for René had abandoned the kingdom upon the taking of Naples) might oblige the subjects of the ecclesiastical state to acknowledge Felix. The agreement was concluded in a few conferences; and the chief articles of it were: That Alphonso should acknowledge Eugenius, and cause him to be acknowledged by all his subjects for lawful pope; that he should restore all the places belonging to the church which he had seized; should furnish his holiness with six galleys against the Turks, with four thousand horse and one thousand foot to drive Francis Sforza out of Picenum, and bury in oblivion all past offences and injuries. On the other hand, Eugenius promised to confirm the adoption of Alphonso by queen Joan II., and to grant him the investiture of the kingdom, and all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other kings, with this clause, "though he had reduced it by dint of arms." If Alphonso left no lawful issue, the kingdom of Naples was, by this treaty, to revert to the church. But by a secret and separate article, extorted by Alphonso, it was stipulated that his natural son, Ferdinand, should be legitimated, and that the kingdom should be settled upon him and his posterity, in case the king himself had no lawful issue. Ferdinand was, accordingly, legitimated by a special bull; but the pope desired that both the bull and separate article might be kept inviolably secret so long as he lived: a plain proof, as Spondanus observes, that he was conscious to himself of his acting a most unjust and iniquitous part, and cared not with what ignominy his memory might be branded after his death, provided he escaped it in his lifetime.¹ This treaty was concluded on the 12th of June of the present year, and ratified

¹ *Acta Patritiana* apud Pagi, vol. iv. p. 628, 629.

² *Idem* *ibid.* p. 633.

³ See p. 200.

¹ Spondan. ad ann. 1443. Num. 3.

The forty-fifth and last session of the council of Basil. Other eastern nations receive the doctrines of Rome; [Year of Christ, 1444.]

by the pope on the 6th of July. Thus ended the reign of the family of Anjou in the kingdom of Naples, when, from the coronation of king Charles I., in 1266, to the flight of René in 1443, they had governed it one hundred and seventy-seven years; and thus was it conveyed to the family of Arragon, who held it seventy-two years. But the right René claimed to the crown devolving, upon his death, to the royal family of France, as both his sons died before him, that unhappy country became the theatre of a new and more bloody war between those princes and Alphonso's posterity, as we shall see in the sequel. Alphonso no sooner heard that the pope had agreed to all the articles of the treaty, and signed the bull legitimating Ferdinand, than he notified, by a circulatory letter, to all his subjects, that he had been long in suspense with respect to the affairs of the church, and quite at a loss what side to take in the present unhappy divisions, but had learned at last, by divine revelation, that Eugenius was the only true and lawful pope; and he therefore required all his subjects to obey him as such, and to pay thenceforth no regard to the decrees of the assembly of Basil, as being in themselves absolutely null. He had applied to Felix, offering to acknowledge him for lawful pope, provided he confirmed his adoption, granted him the investiture of the kingdom, and furnished him with one hundred thousand florins to conquer it;¹ and it is not to be doubted but he would have learned by divine revelation, that Felix was the only lawful pope, had he hearkened to his proposal. But he, more conscientious than Eugenius, rejected it, alledging that the kingdom of Naples had been granted by his predecessors to the family of Anjou; that they had conquered it at their own expense, and possessed it undisturbed for many years; that Lewis I. of Anjou had been adopted by queen Joan I. and his grandson Lewis III. by queen Joan II., both which adoptions had been confirmed by the apostolic see; and that Joan II. had, upon the death of Lewis, her adoptive son, appointed his brother René her universal heir and successor. As for the adoption of Alphonso, Felix added, that it had never been confirmed nor approved by the apostolic see; that the queen herself had revoked it, not out of levity, but for very just reasons; and consequently that by virtue of her adoption, upon which alone Alphonso grounded his claim to the kingdom, he had no better right to it than if she never had adopted him. These very reasons were afterwards alledged by Charles VIII. of France, to justify his invading the kingdom of Naples, as heir to all the rights of the family of Anjou.

Eugenius having adjourned his council, as

has been said, to Rome, left Florence on the 7th of March of the present year, and arriving at Sienna on the 10th, he remained there till the 14th of September, when, at the repeated invitations of the Romans, he set out for Rome, and entered that city in a kind of triumph, on the 28th of the next month. The next day he went in the attire of high pontiff to the church of St. Peter, when the populace crowding round him on account of a new tax laid upon wine, and crying out, "no new taxes, holy father, death and destruction to those who invent them," he immediately ordered the tax to be taken off; and nothing was then heard but "long live pope Eugenius." He had been but a few days in Rome when he notified to all the Christian princes, both by his nuncios and by letters, that he intended to convene a general council in the Lateran basilic.

All this time the fathers of Basil continued their sessions. Felix presided at them in person, and several regulations were established for the reformation of the church in its head and its members. But as they were now reduced to a very small number, some having died of the plague that broke out in that city, others having withdrawn to avoid it, and the bishops, as well as other ecclesiastics, who had benefices or preferments in the dominions of the king of Arragon, being ordered by that prince to quit the place after his agreement with Eugenius, they held their forty-fifth and last session, on the 16th of May of the present year; and in that session it was decreed, that another general council should be held at Lions in the term of three years; or rather that the council of Basil should be adjourned to, and continued in that city; and all bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and cardinals were ordered to attend it, in order to complete the great and necessary work of the reformation of the church in its head and its members so happily begun. That the council might not be thought to be dissolved, some of the bishops remained at Basil, and afterwards removed from thence with Felix to Lausanne, keeping up, in both places, the appearance of a council till the year 1459, when Felix resigned the pontifical dignity, as I shall have occasion to relate in the sequel.

In the mean time Eugenius, opening his council in the Lateran, received there deputies, sent, at his invitation, by the other eastern nations, to be instructed in the doctrines, rites, and practices of the Roman church; namely, by the nations inhabiting Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, by the Chaldeans and Maronites, some of whom held the doctrine of Eutyches, and some that of Nestorius; but they are all said to have abjured those errors in the present

¹ Surita Rer. Arragon. l. 15.

¹ Platina in Eugen. IV.

Eugenius declines assembling a new council;—[Year of Christ, 1445.] The pope deposes the two archbishops of Cologne and Treves;—[Year of Christ, 1446.] Their deposition resented by the other electors. The pope promises to restore them, and upon what conditions.

council, and embraced the doctrines as well as the practices of Rome.¹

The following year the emperor, Frederic III., persuaded that the present schism could by no other means be more effectually extinguished, than by assembling another general council in a third place, sent Æneas Sylvius, with the character of his ambassador, to Rome to obtain of the pope the assembling of one in Germany. But Eugenius, alledging that a new council, instead of healing, would rather increase the present divisions, begged that his beloved son, the king of the Romans, would, in his great wisdom, think of some other method more likely to be attended with the wished for success.² Æneas, whom the emperor sent on this embassy, and we shall see raised, in the course of a few years, to the papacy, had been one of the most zealous sticklers for the council of Basil, and the authority of general councils over the pope. But, finding that the affairs of Eugenius began to take a favorable turn, he thought it advisable to change sides; and, accordingly, on his arrival at Rome, he acknowledged Eugenius, though deposed by the council, for lawful pope, and condemning his past conduct, most humbly begged his holiness to forgive it. The pope, glad to gain a man of his learning and abilities, not only forgave it, but took him into his protection, and even admitted him to his confidence.

Æneas was the next year sent again by the emperor to Rome on the following occasion. The two archbishops and electors, Theodoric de Mørsem of Cologne, and James Sirik of Treves, having openly declared for Felix, were on that account both deposed by Eugenius. That the other electors looked upon as an affront offered to them, and to the princes of the empire in general, and in a diet held on that occasion at Francfort, at which were present all the German princes, it was agreed, that if Eugenius did not revoke his sentence against the two archbishops, did not ease the German nation of the many heavy burthens laid upon them by the court of Rome, and own the authority of general councils as established and defined by the council of Constance, they would approve of his deposition, and acknowledge Felix. These, their resolutions, they communicated to the emperor, and at the same time earnestly entreated him to join with them in maintaining the dignity and just rights of the empire against the daily encroachments of the court of Rome. Frederic answered, that he would acquaint the pope with their demands, and exhort him to comply with them; but thought it unworthy of them, and even impious, to

rebel against the true vicar of Christ, if he did not gratify them by granting what they thought fit to demand. Æneas Sylvius was chosen for this embassy, and charged by the emperor to let the pope know, that he must not make so free with the electors of the empire, and advise him to reinstate, by all means, the two archbishops in their respective sees, since the German nation might thus be brought to quit their neutrality, and acknowledge him for the only true pope, whereas it was greatly to be feared that, if he did not restore those prelates, the present divisions would long continue, and be charged upon his holiness. Eugenius received Æneas with all possible marks of distinction, and expressing the greatest regard for the electors and princes of the empire, and above all for his beloved son the king of the Romans, promised to reinstate the two bishops, as soon as he had acquainted the duke of Burgundy therewith, and obtained his permission. For to the see of Cologne he had preferred Adolph, bishop of Cleves, and to that of Treves John, bishop of Cambray, the former the duke's nephew, and the latter his natural brother. The duke readily consented to their removal; and Thomas of Surzana, bishop of Bologna, and John de Carvajal, bishop of Placentia, were thereupon immediately dispatched into Germany, to notify to the princes, still assembled at Francfort, that his holiness had it now in his power to restore the deposed bishops, and was ready to gratify his beloved sons, the electors and princes of the empire, in that as well as in their other demands, provided they, on their side, departed from their neutrality, and, acknowledging the only true vicar of Christ upon earth, returned to the unity of the church. The princes renewed their three former demands, adding a fourth to them, namely, that in ten months time another general council should be assembled in some town of Germany, to complete the necessary work of the reformation, begun by the council of Basil. With these demands Æneas Sylvius was sent a third time to Rome, and on his return brought a letter from the pope, addressed to the princes of the empire, the purport of which was, that he should assemble another general council in Germany within the limited time, provided the other Christian princes approved of it; should revoke his sentence against the two archbishops, upon their begging pardon for their past conduct, and acknowledging him for the only true and lawful pope, and should leave the German nation no room to complain of the burthens laid upon them by him, or his predecessors. As to his owning the authority of general councils, agreeably to the definition of the council of Constance, he artfully avoided giving a direct and positive answer to that demand, saying, that he never ques-

¹ Concil. tom. 13. col. 1222.

² Æneas Syl. Comment. l. 1.

The Germans quit their neutrality and acknowledge Eugenius;—[Year of Christ, 1447.] Eugenius dies. His epitaph and character. Nicholas V. elected. His birth, employments, &c.

tioned the authority of a council that was truly œcumenical, taking no notice of the councils of Constance and Basil, nor of their definitions, establishing the superiority of general councils over the pope. However, as he promised to redress their grievances, and restore the two bishops, the German princes, after warm debates in a diet held at Francfort the following year, 1447, agreed in the end to quit their neutrality, and acknowledge Eugenius. Embassadors were, accordingly, sent to Rome to notify this their resolution to his holiness, and at the same time to own him, in the name of the whole German nation, for the only true vicar of Christ upon earth. Eugenius received the ambassadors in bed, being greatly indisposed, but ordered the cardinals to terminate the affair to their satisfaction; and by them a bull was drawn up, and signed by the pope, granting to the German nation, with some modifications, in which the ambassadors acquiesced, all their demands.¹

Eugenius did not long enjoy the satisfaction it gave him to see the German nation, after so long a neutrality, return to his obedience: for his distemper increasing, he died amidst the public rejoicings for so happy an event. His death happened on the 23d of February of the present year, when he had governed the church sixteen years wanting some days. He was buried, as he had desired, in the floor of the Vati-

can basilic; but his nephew, cardinal Francis Condemerius, caused a magnificent monument to be afterwards erected to his memory, with a pompous epitaph, rehearsing the chief actions of his life, and, among the rest, his gaining over the eastern nations to the faith of Rome, in the following lines:

—“Armeni Græcorum exempla secuti
Romanam agnoverunt Æthiopesque fidem.
Inde Syri atque Arabes, mundique e finibus Indii,
Magna; sed hæc animo cuncta minora suo.”²

He is said by the contemporary writers to have been a great encourager of learning: to have taken great delight in the company of the learned; to have spent daily, even in the greatest hurry of business, some hours alone in his closet; and to have borne, without ever uttering the least complaint, the many cross accidents that befell him. Raphael of Volterra tells us, that he never lifted up his eyes in public, but kept them constantly fixed on the ground; and this that writer learnt, as he says, of his father, who belonged to the pope's court.³ He showed himself, during the whole time of his pontificate, extremely averse to a reformation; and it was, as we have seen, to avoid it, and to keep up the prevailing abuses, because profitable to his see, that he quarreled with the fathers of Basil.

Eugenius wrote a book against the Hussites of Bohemia, and a great many letters, bulls, and constitutions, to be met with in the Bullarium.

NICHOLAS V., THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[CONSTANTIUS PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East*.—FREDERIC III., *Emperor of the West*.]

[Year of Christ, 1447.] Eugenius dying on the 23d of February, the cardinals then at Rome, in all seventeen or eighteen, entering into the conclave, as soon as they had performed the exequies of the deceased pope, chose, with one consent, on the 6th of March, Thomas of Sarzana, cardinal priest of St. Susanna and bishop of Bologna. He was the son of a poor physician of Sarzana, a small town on the borders of Tuscany and the state of Genoa, and thence called Thomas of Sarzana. He studied at Bologna, being maintained at that university by cardinal Nicholas Albergati, who, looking upon him as a very promising youth, took him into his protection. In process of time he proved one of the most learned divines of the age he lived in, and was employed by Eugenius in all the dis-

putes between the Latins and Greeks in the councils of Ferrara and of Florence. In 1446 he was sent, as has been said above, with John de Carvajal, to assist at the diet held at Francfort, on the 30th of August of that year; and the pope, fully satisfied with their conduct on that occasion, created them both cardinals on their return to Rome; and that they might make their entry into the city as cardinals, their red hats were delivered to them at the gate. Thus Platina.³ But that writer was certainly mistaken in supposing Thomas of Sarzana to have been preferred, in one and the same year, to the bishopric of Bologna, to the dignity of cardinal, and to the pontificate. For he was made bishop of Bologna on the 27th November, 1445, as appears from a letter of

¹ Apud Platinum in ejus vita.

² Volaterranus Antropol. l. 22.

³ In vit. Nich. V.

¹ Cochleus, Hist. Hussit. l. 9. Gobelinus in Comment. l. 2. Raynald. add ann. 1447. Antonin. tit. 21. c. 11.

Nicholas acknowledged by the emperor; who concludes a concordat with the apostolic see. Felix agrees to resign, and upon what terms;—[Year of Christ, 1448.] Three bulls published by Felix before his resignation;—[Year of Christ, 1449.]

Eugenius quoted by Sigonius,¹ was created cardinal on 16th of December, 1446,² and was raised to the pontificate on the 6th of March 1447. The new pope was enthroned the day after his election, taking on that occasion the name of Nicholas, out of gratitude to his generous benefactor cardinal Nicholas Albergati, and was crowned on the 19th of March, with the usual solemnity, in the church of St. Peter.

As Nicholas was a man of great probity, and of a pacific disposition, he immediately notified his promotion to all the Christian princes, owning himself quite unworthy of the dignity to which he had been raised, he said, much against his will, and offering to resign it, if thought necessary or expedient for the good of the church. The emperor Frederic not only acknowledged him upon the first notice he had of his election, but by an edict, dated the 22d of August of the present year, ordered all the subjects of the empire to obey Nicholas V., as the only true vicar of Christ upon earth.³ On the other hand, the pope, by a concordat, concluded with the emperor, eased the German nation of some of the burthens that his predecessors had laid upon them. Nicholas was inclined to abolish all the abuses they complained of, to redress all their grievances, and restore all their churches to their ancient liberty. But being dissuaded from it by the cardinals, as the revenues of the apostolic chamber, and consequently theirs, would be thereby greatly lessened, the emperor, contenting himself with what he could obtain, signed the concordat, though judged by the states of Germany contrary to the honor, the liberty, and the interests of the empire.⁴

The example of the emperor, in acknowledging Nicholas, was followed by almost all the Christian states and princes. Among these Charles VII., king of France, who, from the beginning, had spared no pains to reconcile the contending parties, assembled all the prelates and barons of the kingdom at Lions, in order to advise with them about the means of bringing about an accommodation between the two competitors, and thus putting an end to the schism. In that assembly it was resolved, that an embassy should be sent to Felix at Lausanne, to persuade him to resign his dignity, and to learn of him upon what terms he would resign it; and that by another embassy the terms he required should be communicated to Nicholas, and nothing left unattempted to prevail upon him, if they appeared reasonable, to agree to them. The ambassadors found Felix, to their great satisfaction, as ready as they could have wished, to sacrifice his dig-

nity to the peace of the church; a dignity, he said, that had been forced upon him, and to which he now knew himself by experience to be altogether unequal. As the terms he demanded left no room to doubt of his sincerity, and he took care to demand nothing that was inconsistent with the dignity of his rival to comply with, the king notified them, by a most solemn embassy, to Nicholas, who, finding them, as he declared, not only just and reasonable, but equally advantageous to both parties, agreed to them at once. The terms were, I. That Felix should hold the first place in the college of cardinals, and be perpetual legate of the apostolic see in Germany. II. That so long as he lived he should be allowed to wear the pontifical habit, with all the badges of the pontifical dignity, except the fisher's ring, and the cross upon the slipper. III. That, if at any time he should appear before the pope, his holiness should rise from his seat to receive him, should kiss his mouth, and require of him no particular mark of respect and submission. IV. That all excommunications, suspensions, interdicts, and other penalties, inflicted by either party, should be revoked. V. That all of both obediences, who were possessed of any benefices, ecclesiastical offices or dignities, should enjoy them undisturbed. VI. That the cardinals of both parties should retain their dignities, and be deemed true cardinals of the holy Roman church. VII. That all collations and elections, all indulgences, dispensations, and other graces, granted in either obedience should be confirmed. VIII. That if two happened to be possessed of the same office or benefice, he who should be required to resign, should be provided with another of equal value. Lastly, that in the term of seven months Nicholas should assemble a general council within the dominions of the king of France.

These conditions being all agreed to by Nicholas, Felix, who still continued the council of Basil, with a small number of bishops, at Lausanne, published, with their consent and approbation, three bulls, acting, till the time of his resignation, as true and lawful pope. By the first he revoked all excommunications and other censures against Eugenius, Nicholas, and those who had adhered to them, or to their councils. By the second he restored all who had been deprived, by either of these popes, of their benefices, offices, or dignities, for taking part with him, or with the council of Basil. By the third he confirmed all the acts of his pontificate, except those that related to the controversy between him and his two competitors, which he desired might for ever be buried in oblivion. These bulls were published by Felix on the 5th of April 1449, and on the 9th of the same month he renounced, in due form,

¹ Sigonius de epis. Bonon. l. 4.

² Æneas Sylv. Comment. l. 1.

³ Cochlæus apud Raynald. ad ann. 1447.

⁴ Bzovius ad ann. 1448.

Felix resigns. His death. The sixth jubilee ;—[Year of Christ, 1450.] The emperor crowned by Nicholas ; [Year of Christ, 1452.] Constantinople taken by Mahomet II. ;—[Year of Christ, 1453.]

the pontificate, and the fathers of the council, approving his renunciation upon the above-mentioned conditions, unanimously elected Nicholas in his room. On the other hand, Nicholas revoked all the proceedings against Felix, as well as against the council of Basil, and those who had sided with the one or the other ; granted by a particular bull all Felix had demanded, and declared him the first cardinal of the Roman church, and perpetual legate of the holy see in Germany.¹ Thus by the moderation of both parties was an end put to the schism, peace restored to the church, and Nicholas universally acknowledged for the only true and lawful pope. We may observe here, with Mezeray, that Felix never questioned the legality of his election, but to the last looked upon the pontificate as a dignity that belonged to him alone, and could be lawfully conferred on no other till he had voluntarily resigned it.² Felix having laid down his dignity in the manner we have seen, returned with great joy to his solitude at Ripaglia, and there led, with his former companions, a very regular and exemplary life to the hour of his death, which happened not long after his abdication. Some writers paint him as a saint, and tell us of miracles wrought at his tomb. But Æneas Sylvius, who lived at this time, contents himself with saying, that he died with the reputation of a good man.

The following year, 1450, was celebrated the sixth jubilee ; and though the city was crowded with pilgrims from all parts during the whole year, yet by the wise regulations of Nicholas they were plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions, and at very reasonable rates. No quarrels nor disorders were heard of, though most of the pilgrims came from countries then at war with one another. However, an unforeseen accident happened, that gave the pope great concern. As the people were one day crowding upon the bridge of St. Angelo, in order to go to St. Peter's, and receive there his holiness's blessing, the bridge unexpectedly broke down, and two hundred persons perished, some being drowned, and others trampled to death in the crowd. The pope, not satisfied with causing their bodies to be carefully sought for, and their exequies celebrated with great solemnity, ordered a chapel to be built upon the bridge, and divine service to be yearly performed in it for the rest of their souls.³

The emperor Frederic, having settled, for the present, his affairs in Germany, resolved to delay no longer his journey into Italy, in order to receive the imperial crown at the hands of the pope. He set out attended by

the flower of the German nobility, and a good body of troops ; was received, with loud acclamations in all the cities of Italy through which he passed, and met at Florence by two cardinals, sent by the pope to congratulate him, in his name, on his arrival in Italy, and conduct him to Rome. He made his public entry into that city, with his consort the empress Eleonora, on the 9th of March, amidst the joyful acclamations of the Roman people, was received by the pope, on the top of the steps of St. Peter's, with the greatest marks of respect and esteem, and conducted, with the empress, to the tomb of St. Peter. The following days they had several private conferences ; and on the 19th of the same month of March, the day of the pope's coronation, both the emperor and empress were crowned with the usual solemnity. His holiness chose that day, that he might celebrate, he said, at the same time, the anniversary of his own coronation, and that of the emperor's.¹

The following year, 1453, proved of all, since the foundation of the Christian religion, the most fatal to it. For in that year, on the 29th of May, and in the fifth year of the reign of the emperor Constantine Palæologus Dracoses, was taken the imperial city of Constantinople by Mahomet II., and forced to submit, with the whole empire, to the cruel yoke which it groans under to this day. I shall not dwell here on the melancholy circumstances attending that event, as being foreign to my subject, but only observe, that the loss of Constantinople has, by some, been charged upon the pope.² The truth is, Nicholas had got ready both a fleet and land forces to be sent to the relief of the besieged city ; but flattering himself that the Greeks, when reduced to the utmost extremity, in order to engage his protection more effectually, would receive the decree of the union, concluded at Florence between the two churches, he delayed to send the wanted succours ; and in the mean time Constantinople was taken.³ However that be, certain it is, that Nicholas never enjoyed himself after the loss of that city ; nay, his death is supposed by the contemporary writers to have been, in great measure, owing to the concern it gave him, and to the bad success that attended all his endeavors to unite the Christian princes, against the common enemy, and recover it. For he was wholly employed, during the three remaining years of his pontificate, in reconciling the Christian princes then at war with one another, and pressing them by letters, nuncios, and legates, to join all as one man, and turn their arms against the victorious and insulting in-

¹ Spondanus ad ann. 1449.

² Mezeray Abregé Chron. tom. 3. p. 415.

³ Æneas Syl. Europa, c. 32.

¹ Æneas in vit. Frederic III. p. 133.

² Hydegger, Hist. Papal. Etat. 5. p. 254.

³ Platina in Vit. Nicol. V.

Nicholas dies;—[Year of Christ, 1455.] His character. Calixtus III. elected. His birth, preferences, &c., before his promotion. Strives in vain to unite the Christian princes against the Turks.

fidels. Hence nothing occurs in the contemporary historians, from this time to the time of his death, but long and tedious accounts of his unsuccessful endeavors to unite the Christian princes in one common league against the enemies of the Christian name, and of the obstacles he met with in that undertaking.

Nicholas died on the 24th of March 1455, after a pontificate of eight years and eighteen days, was buried in the church of St. Peter; and on his tomb was engraved an epitaph, commemorating his virtues, and the most remarkable actions of his life.¹ The contemporary writers all speak of this pope as one of the best that ever sat in the chair of St. Peter. His liberality to all, especially to the learned, knew no bounds. In his time men of letters are said to have flocked, even from the most distant countries, to Rome, being sure they should meet there with all the encouragement they could wish for. He sent proper persons all over Europe to purchase, at any rate, the fairest and most correct copies of the Greek and Latin authors; spared no expense in causing the Greek writers to be translated into Latin, and thus enriched his library with the originals as well as the translations of all the most valuable books that were to be met with in Greece, he being himself as good a judge of books as any of his time. The great encouragement he gave to the learned has entitled him, and very deservedly, to a place among the first restorers of learning in the West. He was a no less generous friend to the poor than to the learned, none having ever applied to him for relief, whom, if their wants were found to be real, he did not relieve; nay, he was known to maintain, with

private charities, many decayed families, whom shame restrained from owning their poverty, and to have provided their daughters with fortunes suitable to their rank. He repaired or rebuilt many of the churches of Rome, and other public edifices gone to decay, and, to render the city more august, assisted the nobility with very considerable sums in rebuilding and adorning their own palaces. Thus did Nicholas dispose of the revenues of his see, instead of heaping up wealth, as most of his predecessors had done, to enrich his relations.¹ He was an enemy even to the appearance of simony; employed none, and preferred none but men of merit, or men who were recommended to him as such; observed the canons himself with the utmost strictness, and exacted the same strict observance of others; abolished many abuses that his predecessors had either encouraged or connived at, and was only prevented by death from pursuing the plan of a general reformation, which he had formed, and begun with his own court.²

With all his good qualities he was, says Platina, a little too hasty, and, though never guilty of the least injustice, did sometimes, in the transport of passion, what he afterwards repented; and would not have done had good-nature had time to take place.³

He created eleven cardinals at three different promotions, all men of great merit, and not one of his own relations among them.

As to his writings, he left none that we know of, besides some letters and bulls; and amongst these the bull of the canonization of Bernardine of Siena, of whom I have spoken above.⁴

CALIXTUS III., THE TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[FREDERIC III., *Emperor of the West.*]

[Year of Christ, 1455.] Nicholas died, as has been said, on the 24th of March of the present year, 1455, and on the 8th of April the cardinals, in all fourteen, unanimously elected cardinal Alphonso Borgia in his room. He was come of an ancient and noble family in the diocese of Valencia; had adhered at first to Peter de Luna, who styled himself Benedict XIII., and had been made by him canon of Lerida. Being known in that station to Alphonso, king of Arragon, he was honored by that prince with his confidence, and a place among his privy coun-

sellors. Upon the death of Benedict he was employed by the king to persuade the anti-pope, Clement VIII., whom Benedict's cardinals had chosen in his room, to resign his new dignity; and being attended therein with the wished-for success, he was, at the recommendation of the king, preferred by pope Martin to the see of Valencia.⁵

The new pope took the name of Calixtus III., and was crowned, with the usual ceremonies, on the 20th of April. But, being no less grieved and alarmed at the taking of

¹ Apud Platinam in ejus Vita.

⁴ Platina et Onuphrius in Vit. Nicol. V.

⁵ Vit. Nicol. V. apud Muratori in Script. rerum. Ital.

³ Platina in vit.

⁴ See p. 216.

⁵ See p. 216.

The Turks defeated at Belgrade. Calixtus stirs up some Mahometan princes against the Turks. Misunderstanding between the pope and the king of Arragon. To what owing.

Constantinople than his predecessor, he wrote, even before his coronation, to all the Christian princes, representing to them the danger that all Christendom was exposed to of being overrun by those barbarians, and exhorting them to join in a common league against the common enemy. We have a letter of his upon this subject to Charles VII. king of France, dated the 8th of April, the very day of his election.¹ But his endeavors proving all unsuccessful, he caused a small fleet of thirteen galleys to be built with the voluntary contributions of the faithful, and the tenths that some princes had allowed him to raise in their dominions, and gave the command of it to Lewis, cardinal of Aquileia, who, being joined by the fleet of the knights of Rhodes, retook some of the islands of the Archipelago, and gained other small advantages over the enemy. As Mahomet advanced daily without opposition, and had entered Servia at the head of a numerous and victorious army, Calixtus caused a crusade to be preached all over Europe, granting a plenary indulgence, a forgiveness of all sins, to all who should take the cross, and to such as should contribute towards the maintaining of those who took it, indulgences in proportion to the sums they did contribute. A considerable army being thus raised, they marched, in quest of the enemy, under the conduct of the famous Hunniades, and the no less famous Minorite, John de Capistrano, the one a great general, and the other a great saint. The Turks had laid siege to Belgrade, the capital of Servia, and reduced the place to great straits, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they met with. But the Christian army, encouraged by Capistrano, carrying at their head a cross, in lieu of a standard, and promising them certain victory, fell upon them with such resolution and intrepidity, as obliged them to raise the siege, and betake themselves to a precipitate flight with the loss of six thousand men, Onuphrius says sixty thousand killed upon the spot, and of all their military stores and ammunition. This victory was gained on the 6th of August, the day of the transfiguration of our Lord, which the pope ordered to be thenceforth observed as a grand festival.²

For this victory the pope caused the "*Te Deum*" to be sung with great solemnity in Rome, acquainted all the Christian princes with it, and failed not, on that occasion, to entreat and exhort them anew, as they tendered the welfare of the Christian religion and their own safety, to join their forces, and fall jointly upon the enemy, before they had time to recover from their present fright and consternation. But of them he could obtain nothing besides fair words, and pro-

mises which they never intended to perform. Thus the Christian army, instead of improving the advantage they had gained, which might have proved fatal to the enemy, were obliged, for want of supplies both in men and money, to disband, and leave the conquered to pursue their conquests quite unmolested.¹

Calixtus, finding the Christian princes all so backward to engage in a holy war, resolved to recur to the Mahometan princes, who, as he was informed by his missionaries, looked with a jealous eye on the late conquests of the Turks. He sent, accordingly, Lewis of Bologna, a Franciscan friar, with many rich presents to Usumcassanus, lord of Persia and Armenia, and to the cham of the Tartars, to apprise them of the conquests Mahomet had made, and was daily making in the more western parts of the world; to represent to them the danger they themselves were in of becoming a prey to so potent and so ambitious a neighbor, if they stopped not, in time, the career of his victories, and to offer them therein all the assistance the high priest of the Christians could afford them. Those princes, adds Platina, hearkened to the friar, and, at his persuasion, brought great calamities upon the Turks.² But it does not appear that the Turks were diverted by those calamities from pursuing the war against the Christians with the same vigor, as if they had to deal with no other enemy; so that the pope, in spite of all his endeavors, had the mortification to hear daily of some new acquisition they had made without opposition, or of some new advantage they had gained over those who opposed them.

Calixtus owed, as we have seen, all his preferments to king Alphonso. But no sooner was he raised to the papal chair, than he began to quarrel with his benefactor. We have several instances of the greatest favorites of princes becoming, when raised to the popedom, their most bitter enemies, as if the papacy cancelled all obligations, or the popes thought it beneath them to acknowledge any. In the present case some lay the blame on the pope, and some on the king. The former tell us that the king, in the letter he wrote to the pope to congratulate him upon his promotion, gave him some friendly advice relating to the government of the church; and that the pope, provoked at the king's taking upon him to direct him, highly resented it, and returned the following answer to the ambassadors who brought the letter, "let your master govern his own kingdom, and not concern himself with the government of the church, but leave it to me." This blunt and unexpected answer from one, whom the king had raised from a private condition to his present high and

¹ Concil. tom. 13. col. 457.

² Platina in Vita. Calixti.

¹ Platina in Vita Calixti.

² Idem ibid.

Calixtus revokes the bull legitimating Ferdinand. His intrigues to place his nephew on the throne of Naples. His death.

exalted station, first prejudiced him, say those writers, and not a little, against his holiness. Others say, that Alphonso, presuming upon the many obligations the pope owed him, demanded many things that his holiness could not grant with a safe conscience; that he disposed of all the best benefices in his dominions unknown to the pope, and, generally speaking, to the highest bidders, without any regard to their characters or learning, preferring persons quite illiterate, and even children, when they came up to his price; and that the pope's interposing his authority, and putting a stop to such scandalous and illegal practices, was originally the occasion of the misunderstanding between his holiness and the king.¹ But what, most of all, provoked the king, was the pope's refusing to grant the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand, his natural son, and to confirm the bull of his legitimization, which Alphonso had obtained, or rather extorted from pope Eugenius, as has been related in the life of that pope. The king had resolved to oblige Calixtus to confirm that bull, as he had obliged Eugenius to grant it, and to invade with that view the ecclesiastical state, and either drive the pope from Rome, or besiege him in it. He had made the necessary preparations for that expedition, but died before he could carry it into execution, leaving by his last will, as he had no children lawfully begotten, the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand, and the kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily, with his other dominions, to his brother John, king of Navarre.

Calixtus had formed a design of placing his nephew, Peter Borgia, whom he had already created duke of Spoleti, upon the throne of Naples; and it was with that view he had refused to confirm the bull of Eugenius legitimating Ferdinand. He therefore no sooner heard of the death of Alphonso, than he revoked the bull of Eugenius, as having been obtained by force and menaces, and consequently in itself null; declared the throne vacant, and devolved, as a fief of the church, to the apostolic see; thundered out the sentence of excommunication against all who should acknowledge him for king, or obey him as such, and absolved those from their oaths who might already have sworn allegiance to him. Ferdinand took care to acquaint the pope with the death of his father by a most submissive and friendly letter; to assure him of his in-

violable attachment, both to his person and his see, and implore his protection; and it was upon the receipt of his letter that the pope issued the bull I have just mentioned. As most of the lords of the kingdom acknowledged him, notwithstanding that bull, out of the great regard they had for the deceased king his father, the pope caused papers to be posted up in several places of the kingdom, notifying to the clergy, to the nobility, and the people, that Ferdinand was not the son, no, not even the natural son of Alphonso. What foundation this had in truth, or whether it had any, we know not; but coming from one who had spent the greatest part of his life at the king's court, and must have been acquainted with what was said, or done there, it startled many; and some of the nobility, as well as the clergy, openly declared against the new king. Thus would a civil war have been kindled in the bowels of the kingdom, had not the death of the pope very seasonably prevented it.

Calixtus died on the 6th of August, 1458, after a pontificate of three years and four months wanting two days, and was buried, without an epitaph, in St. Peter's. The contemporary writers all speak of him as a man of very uncommon parts, of great address and experience, and one of the best canonists of his time. In nepotism he far exceeded all his predecessors. Two of his nephews he created cardinals; the third he made duke of Spoleti, and strove, as we have seen, by the most scandalous intrigues, to procure him a kingdom, not scrupling, for the sake of aggrandizing his family, to kindle a war in the heart of Christendom, at the very time he was exerting all his zeal in exhorting the Christian princes to make up their differences, and turn their arms, for their common safety, against the common enemy.¹

Calixtus granted a three years indulgence to all, who, at the tolling of the bell about noon, should say three Pater-nosters and three Ave-Marias for the success of the Christian arms against the Turks; and hence came the custom, that obtains to this day in all Roman catholic countries, of tolling the bell morning, noon, and evening; when the people, in some places standing, and in some kneeling, even in the public streets, repeat three times the angelic salutation.² This pope has only left some letters and bulls to be met with in Labbe's Councils and Cherubini's Bullarium.

¹ Platina in Vita Calix., et Hist. General d'Espagne, tom. 4. p. 129.

¹ Summont. Hist. Neapol. tom. 3. l. 5. p. 243.

² Platina in Vit.

PIUS II. elected. His birth, education, employments, &c., before his promotion. Endeavors to unite the Christian princes against the Turks. Council of Mantua;—[Year of Christ, 1459.] Pius revokes the bull of Calixtus, against Ferdinand, king of Naples.

PIUS II., THE TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[FREDERIC III., *Emperor of the West.*]

[Year of Christ, 1458.] In the room of Calixtus was unanimously elected, on the 19th of August, and crowned on the 3d of September, the celebrated Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, whom the late pope had preferred to the dignity of cardinal a little before his death. The family Piccolomini was, and still is, one of the most illustrious families of Siena in Tuscany. But his father Æneas Sylvius, and his mother Fortiguerra, being driven out by the popular faction with the rest of the nobility, he was born in a small village of that diocese, and he there learnt the first rudiments of the Latin tongue. His father's circumstances did not allow him to send his son to the university, his estate having been confiscated by the prevailing faction, and he himself reduced to earn his bread with the sweat of his brow. But his friends and relations generously contributing towards the education of so promising a youth, he was sent by them to the university of Siena, and maintained there at their expense. As he gave many proofs, during the course of his studies, of a very extraordinary genius, and even published, while yet a student, several poems, some in Latin, some in Italian, that were received with great applause, cardinal Capranica, hearing of him as he passed through Siena in his way to the council of Basil, took him with him in the character of his secretary. He espoused with great zeal the cause of the council against pope Eugenius, made many learned and elegant speeches in that august assembly to prove the superiority of a general council over the pope, and was, in consideration of his zeal as well as his parts, appointed their secretary, and employed in all affairs of moment, as one upon whom they could safely rely. Felix, upon his election, and the deposition of Eugenius, chose Æneas for his secretary. He was afterwards honored with the same employment in the court of the emperor Frederic, who, being taken with his parts, presented him with a poetical crown; that is, I suppose, made him his poet laureate, distinguished him with the dignity of senator, admitted him to his intimacy, and undertook nothing without previously consulting him. He, on his side, took care to cultivate by all means the friendship of so powerful a friend, flattering himself that it might raise him one day to the pinnacle of grandeur. When the emperor embraced a neu-

trality, he embraced it with him; and when the emperor showed himself inclined to favor Eugenius against the council and Felix, he openly declared against both; and being sent by Frederic with some proposals to Rome, he laid hold of that opportunity to condemn his past conduct, and beg his holiness to forgive it, and receive him into favor. Eugenius readily granted him his request, but died soon after, and the see of Trieste in Istria becoming at the same time vacant, Æneas was preferred to it by his successor, Nicholas V., and in 1453 translated from thence by the same pope to the vacant see of Siena, his native country. He was employed, after the death of Nicholas, both by his successor Calixtus III., and the emperor, in various negotiations, and upon his return to Rome created cardinal by Calixtus; and, after that pope's death, elected by the cardinals, with one consent, to succeed him, taking on that occasion the name of Pius II.¹

Pius, no less alarmed than his predecessor at the rapidity of the Turkish conquests, and no less intent upon uniting the Christian powers against the common enemy, summoned with that view, soon after his election, all the Christian princes to meet at Mantua, and there deliberate with him on the most effectual means of saving the church, themselves, and their latest posterity, from the more than Egyptian bondage with which they were threatened. The council was appointed to meet on the 1st of June of the following year, 1459; and the pope set out from Rome on the 18th of February. But as he stopt in the several cities and states, through which he passed, to make up their differences, he did not reach Mantua till the 27th of May, and the council was opened on the 1st of June. At this council the pope himself presided, and Platina tells us, that all the Christian princes assisted at it either in person, or by their ambassadors, but that their jarring interests rendered all the endeavors of the pope to unite them quite ineffectual; so that the council broke up without coming to any resolution, and the Turks were suffered to pursue their conquests without interruption.

Pius had no sooner taken possession of the see than he revoked the bull of his predecessor Calixtus, declaring the kingdom of

¹ Platina et Anton. Caman. in Vit. Pii. II.

The pope supports Ferdinand in the possession of his kingdom. Forbids appeals from the apostolic see;—[Year of Christ, 1469.] Strives to get the Pragmatic Sanction revoked in France;—[Year of Christ, 1461.]

Naples devolved to the church, confirmed the bull of king Ferdinand's legitimation, and upon that prince's restoring Benevento, Terracina, and some other places that his father had taken, he granted him the investiture, and sent cardinal Latino to crown him; which ceremony was performed, with great solemnity, in the city of Barletta on the 4th of February of the present year. Ferdinand, on his side, promised to assist the pope against all his enemies with the whole strength of his kingdom, and gave Mary, his natural daughter, in marriage to Antony Piccolomini, his holiness's nephew, with the duchy of Amalfi and the county of Celano for her portion.¹ The pope, not satisfied with confirming all the bulls of his predecessor Eugenius in favor of Ferdinand, and revoking those of Calixtus against him, ordered the clergy and the barons, on pain of excommunication, to acknowledge him, and no other, for their lawful sovereign; absolved such of them as had sworn allegiance to René of Anjou, from that oath; and the following year, when John of Anjou, the son of René, invaded the kingdom, his holiness sent a body of a thousand horse and five hundred foot, under the command of his nephew Antonio Piccolomini, to the assistance of Ferdinand. The pope's partiality for that prince, and his concurring with him to drive the French quite out of Italy, so provoked their king, Charles VII., and the whole nation, that they could never be prevailed upon any way to contribute towards carrying on the war against the Turks, which they knew the pope to have above all things at heart.

The following year the pope thought fit to condemn the maxim, for which he had been many years so warm a stickler, the superiority of a general council over the pope. The bull, condemning that once his favorite maxim, is dated the 18th of January of the present year 1460, and begins with the following words, "*Execrabilis et pristinis temporibus inauditus*," &c. "An execrable and unheard-of abuse in all ancient times, has lately crept in, being countenanced by some through a spirit of rebellion, and in order to avoid the punishment due to their crimes, I mean the abuse of appealing from the Roman pontiff, Christ's vicar upon earth, to whom it was said in the person of St. Peter, 'Feed my sheep,' 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth,' &c., to a future council. This all, who are in the least acquainted with the canons, must look upon as contrary to the established laws of the church. By these appeals the apostolic see is restrained from doing justice to those who recur to it; all are at liberty to commit, with impunity, what crimes they list; the discipline of the church is trampled under foot, the hierarchy overset, and every thing must fall into dis-

order and confusion. Besides, how absurd is it to appeal to what does not exist, and, perhaps, never will? We therefore condemn, upon the most mature deliberation, all such appeals; pronounce, declare, and define them to be contrary to the canons, and in themselves null; and order, that, for the future, no one shall presume, under any pretence whatsoever, to appeal from our judgment, or from that of our successors. If any one shall act contrary to this our ordinance, after two months from the day of its publication in our chancery, he shall, by what dignity soever distinguished, the royal, imperial, and pontifical not excepted, incur, *ipso facto*, the sentence of excommunication, from which none but the pope himself shall have power to absolve him, except at the point of death. All universities, colleges, notaries, witnesses, and every other person, who shall assist at such appeals, or be any way concerned in them, shall be liable to the same penalty."² No man can be so little versed in ecclesiastical history as not to know this bull, to use the words of the continuator of Fleury, to be repugnant to the canons, and contrary to the ancient and universal practice of the church.

Pius had, from the beginning of the pontificate, used his utmost endeavors with repeated applications to Charles VII., king of France, to get the "pragmatic sanction," of which I have spoken above,² revoked, as highly derogatory to the honor and the dignity of the apostolic see. But the only answer he could obtain of Charles was, that the "pragmatic" consisted of the very decrees of the council of Basil, which he himself had approved, had penned, and perhaps suggested when secretary to that great assembly, and they had been received with one consent, and observed, for the space of twenty-five years, by the whole French nation. In 1461 Charles died, having starved himself to death, which Pius no sooner heard, than he dispatched a nuncio into France to condole with his son and successor, Lewis XI., for so melancholy an event, and, at the same time, congratulate him upon his accession to the crown. But the chief business of the nuncio was to procure, upon any terms, the abolition of the "pragmatic sanction;" and he had several conferences with the king's ministers, and the king himself upon that subject. The pope's demand was rejected by all, to a man, in the king's council; but nevertheless the king was, in the end, either soothed or frightened into a compliance with it, and a solemn embassy was sent to Rome to revoke the "pragmatic" in his name.³ However, as both the university and the parliament protested against its revocation, it continued to be observed through-

¹ Summont. l. 5. p. 243, et Caman. Vita Pii. II.

² Concil. tom. 13. p. 1601.

³ Mathieu Vie de Louis XI.

² See p. 219.

Pius strives in vain to unite the Christian princes against the Turks. Publishes his bull of retractation ;—[Year of Christ, 1464.] Equips a fleet with a design to embark on it in person, but is prevented by death. His character.

out the kingdom as before, till the year 1516, when the concordat between Leo X. and Francis I. took place.

The two following years were wholly employed by the pope in striving to unite the Christian princes against the Turks, who had already made themselves masters of almost all Greece; and we have a great many letters of his to the different kings and states of Christendom, representing to them, with great eloquence, the danger that threatened them of being enslaved by the worst of tyrants, and painting, in the most affecting manner, the deplorable condition which they were reduced to, who had been obliged to submit to so galling a yoke, and which, he said, would soon be their own, if they joined not in time to avert it. But his endeavors proving all unsuccessful, he ordered a fleet to be equipped at Ancona, with a design to embark on it in person, flattering himself that the Christian princes, though deaf to his exhortations, would be ashamed to remain quiet and inactive at home, while the vicar of Christ, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, thus exposed himself, for their safety, to all the dangers and inconveniences of a war: While he was busied, beyond what his strength could bear, in making the necessary preparations for his intended naval expedition, he was taken ill, and being advised by his physicians to repair to Siena for the benefit of his native air, he published, before he left Rome, his famous bull of retractation. In that bull, addressed to the university of Cologne, the pope condemns and retracts all he had said, writ, or done, at the council of Basil, any ways prejudicial to the authority of the apostolic see, as entirely owing to ignorance, or his want of discernment; exhorts all to reject, as erroneous, what they meet with in his works in the least repugnant to the power which Christ himself has lodged in the hands of his vicar upon earth, and requires them, if they prefer truth to error, to reject the sentiments of *Æneas Sylvius*, and adopt those of Pius II.

The pope returned, after a short stay at Siena, to Rome, and being there informed that the Turks were upon the point of laying siege to Ragusa, in Dalmatia, he immediately set out for Ancona, though so indisposed as to be obliged to travel in a litter. He left Rome on the 18th of June, and arriving at Ancona about the middle of July, he had the satisfaction of being there joined by a squadron of eleven galleys from Venice, commanded by the doge, Christopher Maurus, in person. But being quite spent with the fatigues he had undergone, and a continual fever, with which he had been long afflicted, instead of embarking he was obliged to betake himself to his bed, and died two days

afterwards, that is, on the 14th of August of the present year 1464. When he found his end approached, he would have extreme unction administered to him, though he had received it before, namely, when he was infected with the plague at Basil, and warmly disputed, says Platina, "*acerrime disputavit*," with Lawrence Roverella, bishop of Ferrara, pretending that extreme unction ought not to be iterated.¹ A little before he expired he repeated the Athanasian creed, declaring his belief of every article it contained. He ordered his body to be carried back to Rome, which was done accordingly, the whole court attending it in deep mourning. His exequies were performed with the usual solemnity in the church of St. Peter, and his remains deposited there, near the head of the apostle St. Andrew, which had been sent to him out of Peloponnesus. On his tomb was engraved the following epitaph, "*Pius II., pontifex maximus, natione Tuscus, patria Sennesis, gente Piccolominea*," &c. that is, "*Pius II., high pontiff, by nation a Tuscan, by birth a Senese, of the Piccolomini family.*" He sat only six years, but acquired, in so short a pontificate, everlasting glory." All the memorable actions of his life are then rehearsed, and among the rest, his abolishing the "*pragmatic sanction*" in France, which he did not abolish, as we have seen.

Platina, who lived at this time in Rome, has honored the memory of this pope with a panegyric of several pages, representing him as endowed, to the highest degree, with every virtue becoming a great prince and a great pope. He was, to do him justice, possessed of many virtues. But the character Mezerai gives him, in a few words, fits him perhaps better than that of Platina. No man, says that writer, ever labored more than *Æneas Sylvius* to restrain the power of the pope within the boundary of the canons, and no pope ever strove more than pope Pius II. to extend that power beyond all bounds in opposition to the canons as well as to reason.² Platina himself tells us, that Pius took no notice of lampoons levelled at his person, but was inexorable if they reflected, in the least, upon his authority; that he made it his study to enhance the majesty of his see, and that he spared neither kings, dukes, nor people invading the rights of the church or the clergy; but never ceased to prosecute them with war, censures, interdicts, anathemas, and curses, till they gave the required satisfaction. But, not to rob him of the praise that is due to him, he was no lover of money; was never guilty of simony, or any simoniacal practices; was a warm friend to the poor; a generous encourager of learning; a most zealous promoter of a war against the

¹ Concil. tom. 13. p. 1407.

¹ Platina in Vit.

² Mezerai Abreg. Chron. tom. 3. p. 456.

Pius's writings. Articles agreed to by the cardinals before the election.

infidels, and would, notwithstanding the very bad state of his health, have exposed himself, for the good of Christianity, to all the hardships of a most dangerous war. He was of an amorous disposition, and seems to have indulged it, in his youthful days, without restraint. He had a natural son, and from the ludicrous account he gives of him and his own amours, one would conclude, that he looked upon transgressions of that nature only as venial sins, or no sins at all.¹ The poems and epigrams, which he wrote in his youth, were for the most part calculated to kindle in the breasts of his readers, the impure desires that burnt in his own.

Pius was a most elegant Latin writer, and left a great number of works behind him, most of them written before his promotion. Of these, the following have reached our times: Two Books of Memoirs of what passed at the Council of Basil from the Deposition of Eugenius to the election of Felix; the History of the Bohemians from their origin to the year 1458; an Abridgment of the Decads of Blondus Flavius, who flourished in 1440; Two Books of Cosmography; Two Discourses in praise of Alphonsus, king of Arragon, and Notes upon the History of that prince written by one Antonio, a poet of Palermo; a Poem upon the Passion of our Savior; Treatises upon the Education of Children, upon Grammar and Rhetoric, and a Topography of Germany; a Treatise on the Roman Empire, and another upon Bad Women, or Prostitutes; Two Answers to the French ambassadors, charging the pope in the council of Mantua with partiality and injustice in siding with Ferdi-

nand, and granting him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, to the prejudice of René of Anjou, who had an unquestionable right to that crown; a Bull of Retracting, and one against Appeals from his See, and four hundred and thirty-two letters upon different subjects. We have the History of Pius II. in twelve books, bearing the name of his secretary John Gobelinus, but commonly supposed to have been written by Pius himself. His letter to the sultan Mahomet II., exhorting him to embrace the Christian religion, has given great offence to Du Plessis-Mornay.¹ But I can discover nothing in it "unworthy of a Christian, or a Christian bishop."—Platina has given us several of this pope's sayings or apophthegms, and among the rest the following: "Marriage has, for good reasons, been taken away from the priests; but, for much better reasons, it should be restored to them."² The reformation restored it, and consequently has, at least, with respect to that article, the sanction of a great and learned pope. It is to be observed, that this passage has been erased out of most of the editions of Platina, but is to be found in the first, that of Cologne in 1479, and in that now before me, printed likewise at Cologne in 1611. It is likewise to be observed, that the pieces, written by Æneas Sylvius at the time of the council of Basil, are all prohibited on account of their displaying the enormous corruptions of the Roman church, and urging the necessity of a reformation in its head and members; which reformations, by the by, he never once thought of when he himself became the head.

PAUL II., THE TWO HUNDRED AND NINTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[FREDERIC III., *Emperor of the West.*]

[Year of Christ, 1464.] As the deceased pope was greatly indisposed when he set out for Ancona, he ordered, by a special bull, the conclave to be held at Rome for the election of his successor, in what place soever he should die. The cardinals, therefore, then present at Rome, in all nineteen, having performed his exequies, entered into the conclave in the Vatican palace. But, before they proceeded to the election, they drew up some articles, declaring they would elect no one, who did not swear to observe them in case the election fell upon him. The chief of these articles were, That he should reform the abuses that prevailed in the court, and the corrupt manners of the courtiers; that in the term of three years

he should hold a council to unite the Christian princes against the Turk, and effectually remove the disorders that reigned uncontrolled in the church; that he should not increase the number of cardinals beyond twenty-four, should create none who were not above thirty years of age, not thoroughly acquainted with the civil and canon law as well as the scriptures, and of all his relations he should prefer one only to that dignity; that he should condemn no cardinal, nor confiscate his goods, without the approbation and consent of the other cardinals; that he should not alienate any part of the patrimony of St. Peter without the concurrence of the cardinals; that he should engage in no war, should make no treaties,

¹ Æneas Sylvius, ep. 15.

¹ Mystere d'iniquité, p. 542.

² Platina in Vit.

Paul II. elected. Misunderstanding between him and Ferdinand, king of Naples;—[Year of Christ, 1465]
Platina imprisoned, and why.

should grant the tenths to no princes, should impose no new taxes, nor increase the old ones, without consulting the cardinals; that he should trust none but ecclesiastics, and such of them as were no ways related to him, with the government of the most important places; that he should not give the government of a town and its castle to the same person, nor the command of the army of the church to any of his own family. Lastly, that he should cause these resolutions to be read monthly in a full consistory, and allow the cardinals to meet yearly by themselves, in order to inquire whether they have been punctually complied with, and, if it appeared that they have been neglected, to remind his holiness of his oath.¹

The cardinals having all taken, in the most solemn manner, the required oath, proceeded to the election; and on the 30th of August was elected, by a great majority, Peter Barbo, cardinal of St. Mark. He was come of an ancient family in Venice, was the son of Nicholas Barbo, and Polyxena the sister of pope Eugenius IV., and had, from his early years, been brought up for Mercature, which at Venice was not, as Platina observes, incompatible with gentility: he had already put all his things on board in order to proceed on a voyage; but hearing, before he embarked, that his uncle was raised to the papacy, he changed his mind, and thinking he should thrive better in the ecclesiastic state than in the mercantile, he resolved to quit the latter and embrace the former.² Such was his "call" to the ministry; and such is the "call" of many others. He now betook himself to study, and though he made but very little progress in the sciences, he was, in the course of a few years, preferred by his uncle to the archdeaconry of Bologna, to the bishopric of Cervia, to the office of apostolic prothonotary, and lastly to the dignity of cardinal. His address and obliging behavior recommended him, upon the death of Eugenius, to the favor of the three succeeding popes, Nicholas V., Calixtus III., and Pius II. He had tears at command, and to them he never failed to recur, when he could, by no other means, obtain the favors he sued for; whence Pius II. used pleasantly to call him "our lady of pity." Men of all ranks and conditions had free access to him while cardinal, and he made it his study to gratify, so far as it lay in his power, all who applied to him. Being thus become extremely popular, the news of his election was received with extraordinary applause by the whole Roman people. As he was not a little vain of his person, being one of the most handsome and comely men of his time, he was for taking the name of Formosus II., which word imports "handsome," or "beaute-

ous;" but being dissuaded from it by the cardinals, he chose the name of Paul II. He was crowned with extraordinary pomp in the church of St. Peter on the 24th of October.¹

The new pope declaring, from the very beginning of his pontificate, for Ferdinand, king of Naples, against the family of Anjou, sent a considerable body of troops to assist that prince in utterly extirpating the Angevin faction, which had begun to revive in the kingdom, many of the barons being dissatisfied with the arbitrary government of Ferdinand. The rebels were soon obliged to quit the kingdom or submit, and peace being thus restored, the pope, who loved money, as Platina informs us, applied to the king, while the obligations he owed to his holiness were yet fresh in his memory, for the payment of the arrears of the tribute, that was to be paid yearly by the kings of Naples, but had yet never been paid either by him or his father Alphonso. The king returned answer, that his holiness's demand was very unseasonable; that, having been engaged in a very expensive war ever since his accession to the crown, he was not, at present, in a condition to comply with it, but would, as soon as his holiness restored to him the city of Benevento, and all the other places, that were held by the church within the limits of the kingdom, and consequently belonged to the crown. The pope threatened the king with excommunication, and the kingdom with a general interdict. But Ferdinand having in the mean time sent a body of troops to lay siege to Benevento, the pope, not able to repel force by force, sent cardinal Rovarella to accommodate matters. The cardinal had several conferences with the king, but was in the end obliged to acquiesce in his promising to pay what was, in justice, due to the apostolic chamber, when he conveniently could.²

Paul, looking upon the abbreviators, that is, those whose business it was to abbreviate the bulls and letters of the popes, as useless, discharged them all soon after his election, though most of them men of great learning and known abilities. As they had purchased their place, Platina, who was one of them, having with great difficulty obtained an audience of the pope, represented to his holiness how ungenerous it was to dismiss them, though guilty of no neglect in their office, without returning to them the purchase-money, and begged that the affair might be referred to the auditors of the Rota. "To the auditors of the Rota!" replied the pope with great wrath; "Doe'st thou summon us before judges? Doe'st thou not know that all laws are lodged in our breast—'in scrinio pectoris nostri.' Sentence is given, and all shall obey it: I am pope, and have a power

¹ Bzovius ad ann. 1464, et Quirini in Vita Paul. II.

² Platina in Vita.

¹ Platina in Vita, et Bzovius ad ann. 1464.

² Platina et Summont. tom. 3. p. 474.

The pope deposes the king of Bohemia; who defeats the army sent against him;—[Year of Christ, 1466.] A new persecution against Platina;—[Year of Christ, 1467.]

to approve or condemn at my pleasure the actions of all other men." Platina applied for another audience, but not being able to obtain it, when he had waited several nights, (for the pope, he says, transacted no business in the day-time,) and despaired of ever getting admittance, he wrote and sent in to the pope the following letter: "If you have thought it lawful to deprive us of what we had lawfully purchased, it must be lawful for us to complain of the injury and injustice you have done us. As you, therefore, will not hear us, we shall apply for redress to the different kings and princes, and exhort them to convene a council, in order to call you to an account for treating us, in defiance of all the laws of justice and equity, in the manner you have done." This letter was construed by the pope into high treason, and Platina, being immediately seized and loaded with irons, was confined in a high tower, exposed to all the winds, without fire, though in the depth of winter. When he had been kept four whole months in this painful prison, Francis Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, his particular friend, obtained, not without great difficulty, his release, but upon condition that he stirred not out of Rome,¹ the pope probably apprehending that he might apply to the Christian princes, and, by laying his complaints before them, prejudice them against him. The pope bore Platina ever afterwards a secret grudge, of which we shall soon see the woful effects.

As Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, had favored the Hussites ever since his accession to that crown, and continued to favor them, insisting upon the sacrament being administered to all in both kinds, the pope, after repeated monitories, thundered out the sentence of excommunication against him, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and declaring that he had forfeited his kingdom as a heretic, granted it to the king of Hungary, and caused a crusade to be preached all over Germany against Podiebrad, a Christian prince, while the Turk pursued his conquests without opposition. As great indulgences were granted to all who took the cross, a numerous army was soon raised. But as it chiefly consisted of undisciplined rabble, the king, marching against them as soon as they appeared in the field, put them, with great slaughter, to flight at the very first onset, and in a few days returned triumphant to Prague, carrying with him such numbers of prisoners as far exceeded that of his army. After this defeat the pope was obliged to content himself with renewing his anathemas, and declaring, as he did by a special bull, George Podiebrad, styled king of Bohemia, a rebel to the church, and as such incapable of holding any dignity whatever.²

The following year the pope was privately informed by some, who wanted to recommend themselves to his favor by their zeal for his safety, that a conspiracy was hatching against him by a Roman citizen named Callimachus, and that it would be soon ripe for execution, since Lucas Tertius, who, being banished from Rome, had retired to Naples, had been lately seen, with a numerous band of other exiles, in the woods of Veletri, but twenty miles distant from Rome, and waited, no doubt, there to join, upon the first notice, the conspirators in the city. This information so alarmed the pope, that, not allowing himself time to inquire what foundation it had in truth, he ordered all whom he suspected of disaffection to his person or his government, to be immediately secured, and the unhappy Platina among the rest. His house was accordingly surrounded in the night by a troop of armed men, who, breaking open the door, rushed in, and not finding Platina himself, seized one of his domestics, Demetrius of Lucca, who informed them, being compelled to it by dreadful menaces, that his master supped that night at cardinal Gonzaga's. Upon that intelligence they flew to the cardinal's palace, and entering the very room where Platina sat with the cardinal, dragged him from thence, and carried him to be examined by the pope himself, who waited for him. He knew not yet what crime he had been arraigned of, but when the pope charged him with being concerned in a conspiracy, that Callimachus had formed against him, he not only vindicated his own innocence, without betraying the least symptom of fear or guilt, but that of Callimachus too, showing him to be of all men the most unfit to plan a conspiracy, and much more to head one. When he had done, the pope, turning to one Vanesius, who belonged, it seems, to his court, "nothing," he said, "but the rack will make this man speak the truth." He was therefore immediately carried by Vanesius to the castle of St. Angelo, and the following night tortured with the utmost barbarity. While he was groaning on the rack, and ready to expire amidst the most exquisite torments, the merciless priest, for Vanesius was of that order, diverted himself in talking of love affairs with a young man, named Sanga, who was present, asking him what young lady had presented him with the fine collar he wore. He now and then interrupted his discourse with the young man about his amours, and such like subjects, to interrogate the unhappy wretch, almost at the last gasp on the rack, concerning the conspiracy and his accomplices, threatening to double his torments, if he spoke not the truth. But as he continued to protest that he knew nothing of a conspiracy, and verily believed that the pretended plot was a mere fiction, he was at last taken

¹ Platina in Vita.

² Platina, et Annales Siles. ad hunc ann.

Some particular actions of this pope. His death;—[Year of Christ, 1471.] His character.

off the rack, and carried to a room in the castle, where he would have died of pain and hunger, had not a Roman knight, who, being charged with murder, had been confined in the same room, generously assisted him both with food and medicines. Many others were taken up upon groundless suspicions, in all about twenty, and tortured so unmercifully, though nothing could be proved against them, that most of them died on the rack. When many innocent men had thus lost their lives, or the use of their limbs, by the torments they had been made to undergo, it appeared at last, upon a strict inquiry, so plain, as to satisfy the pope himself, that no conspiracy had been dreamt of; that the whole was an invention of the court sycophants, and that Lucas Tertius, who was said to have been seen in the neighboring woods of Veletri, which most of all alarmed his holiness, had never stirred from Naples. The pope, now delivered from all his fears, sent his physician to comfort Platina, and let him know that, in a short time, he should be set at liberty. But upon Platina's asking when, the physician, who was a man free from all guile and deceit, answered, that it could not be done so very soon, lest they, whom his holiness had treated with so much severity as guilty, should be thought innocent, and he be thereupon arraigned of cruelty and injustice. To avoid that imputation, and keep the prisoners still confined, a new charge was brought against them, that of heresy. As learning began to revive at this time in Italy, a society of learned men was established at Rome under the name of the Academy. They frequently met, and had disputations concerning different subjects, in order to come at the truth by hearing all that could be said for or against them. At some of these meetings the immortality of the soul, and the Divine attributes, had been the subjects of their disputes, some impugning, and some maintaining them: and from thence the pope took occasion to charge them with heresy, as if they questioned the truth of those fundamental articles of the Christian belief. The prisoners, therefore, as most of them were members of that society or academy, were ordered to be kept more closely confined than ever. One Pomponius Lætus, a great promoter of the academy, was charged with changing the Christian names of such as entered into the society into Pagan ones; a custom that still obtains in all the Italian academies. Upon that accusation Pomponius was arrested at Venice by the pope's order, and sent prisoner to Rome, as if he had renounced Christianity, and embraced paganism. Platina tells us, that it was customary for the fellows of this society to assume the names of such of the old Greeks and Romans as had excelled in any branch of literature, in order to excite themselves to an imitation of those whose

names they bore. But Pomponius, when examined in relation to this custom, contented himself with telling his examiners, that it neither concerned them nor the pope by what name he called himself, so long as there appeared therein no evil design or intention. Platina, upon his examination, declared that he firmly believed all the articles of the Christian faith; that no word had ever dropt out of his mouth contrary to the apostles' creed, or that savored of heresy; and that he had constantly gone to confession, and received the sacrament once a year. He owned that the mysteries of the Christian religion had been sometimes the subject of their disputes, but added, that they ought no more to be arraigned or suspected of heresy on that account, than the divines, urging in their disputes the objections of the unbelievers, in order to elucidate the truth by solving them. The charge of heresy was found in the end to be no less groundless than that of treason. But the prisoners were, by the pope's order, nevertheless detained a whole twelvemonth, to persuade the world that they were not quite innocent of the charge brought against them; and thus palliate his holiness's injustice and cruelty.¹

Nothing occurs worthy of notice in the four remaining years of Paul's pontificate, besides his receiving and treating with the utmost magnificence the emperor Frederic, come to fulfil a vow he had made to visit the tombs of the apostles; his making up the differences of the Italian states and princes, and thus restoring peace to that country; his quarrelling with Robert Malatesta, lord of Rimini, and laying siege to that city without being able to reduce it; his ordering the jubilee to be celebrated every twenty-fifth year; his striving, but in vain, to unite the Christian princes against the victorious infidels, and his endeavoring, with no better success, to get the revocation of the "pragmatic" confirmed in France. He died suddenly of an apoplexy in the night of the 25th of July 1471, no one being present to afford him any assistance. He had held a consistory that day, had supped late at night, according to his custom, and eaten at supper two very large melons, "*Duos prægrandes pepones*," a fruit, which he was extremely fond of. He held the see six years, ten months, and twenty-six days, died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in St. Peter's with a pompous epitaph engraved on the monument erected over his remains by his nephew cardinal Barbo, patriarch of Aquileia. As to his character, Platina charges him with avarice and simony; with selling all offices for ready money; with putting up to sale all vacant benefices, and even bishoprics, and disposing of them, without regard to

¹ Platina in Vit.

Sixtus IV. elected. His birth and employments before his election.

merit, to the highest bidders. But the immense sums he expended, even according to Platina himself, in buildings; in receiving and entertaining the emperor and other princes who came to Rome in his time; in relieving the poor, especially the widows, the orphans, and the decayed nobility; in purchasing, at any rate, jewels and precious stones of all kinds to adorn the papal crown; and even in exhibiting public shows for the entertainment of the Roman people, sufficiently clear him from the imputation of avarice. He was greedy of money, says a contemporary historian, and little cared by what means he got it, but was too fond of pomp and show to board it up in his coffers.¹ He ordained by a public decree that none but cardinals should wear red caps, and presented them all with fine scarlet cloth to caparison their horses when they rode; that the church of Rome, says Mornay du Plessis, might at last be brought to a perfect similitude of the whore described in the Apocalypse. Paul, says Platina, instead of lessening the grandeur of the court, as all wise men thought he ought, increased it beyond

measure; and adds, that to make a more august appearance, he loaded the papal crown with such quantities of precious stones, that one would have rather taken him for the Phrygian goddess Cybele with turrets on her head, than for the vicar of Christ, who taught, by his example, the contempt of all worldly grandeur. He is called by Genebrard "an enemy to learning," and very deservedly. For he not only suppressed all the academies, or societies established for the improvement of the sciences, threatening to treat all who frequented them as heretics, but exhorted the Romans to content themselves with having their children taught to read and write.

By a manifest breach of the oath, which he had taken before and had confirmed after his election, he created eleven cardinals during the six years of his pontificate, and among them his two nephews. He observed no better the other articles he had sworn to, pretending all promises, oaths, and conventions, calculated to limit the unlimited power vested by Christ himself in his vicar upon earth, to be void and in themselves null.

SIXTUS IV., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[FREDERIC III., *Emperor of the West.*]

[Year of Christ 1471.] In the room of Paul II. was unanimously elected by the seventeen cardinals then in Rome, Francis della Rovere, a Franciscan friar, or Minorite. His election happened on the 9th of August of the present year 1471, when the see had been vacant fourteen days. At his election he took the name of Sixtus IV., and was crowned under that name on the 25th of the same month of August. He was descended, according to the most probable opinion, from the very ancient and noble family Della Rovere of Savona in the state of Genoa, but was born in a village named Cella, about five miles distant from Savona, whither his parents had retired to avoid the plague then raging in that city. He embraced, when yet very young, a religious life among the Franciscans, and being endowed with very uncommon parts, he soon became, by constant application, one of the most learned men of the order, was chosen, when not yet thirty years of age, to teach philosophy and divinity in the most renowned universities of Italy, and so acquitted himself in these employments as to be universally looked upon as a kind of prodigy. When he had done teaching, he was raised by his superiors

to the chief employments of the order, and having discharged them all with uncommon applause, was at last created general of the whole order. Being known in that office to the famous cardinal Bessarion, and to Francis Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, he was, upon their recommendation, preferred by Paul II. to the dignity of cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula on the 18th of October 1467, and, upon the death of Paul, raised to the pontificate, in the fifty-third year of his age, by the interest of the same cardinals, and that of the cardinals Latinus Ursini and Roderic Borgia, both leading men in the conclave.² From the Vatican the new pope went to the Lateran, to be crowned there, not on horseback, as was usual, but in a sedan, which had high cost him his life. For the horsemen who attended the pope having trampled upon some of the populace in clearing the way, a furious battle thereupon ensued between them and the multitude; and they, who carried the sedan, setting it down in the height of the fray to shelter themselves in the crowd from the showers of stones, discharged at the guards by the enraged mob, his holiness was left in imminent danger of being knocked on the

¹ Mathieu Hist. de Louis XI. l. 5.

² Geneb. in Chron.

³ Onuph. in Sixto IV.

Sixtus strives to unite the Christian princes against the Turks. What success attended the fleet sent against them?—[Year of Christ, 1472.] Sixtus clears the ecclesiastical state of the petty tyrants;—[Year of Christ, 1474.] He celebrates the jubilee;—[Year of Christ, 1475.] Occasion of the quarrel between Sixtus and the De Medicis.

head, or stifled in the crowd. But cardinal Ursini, a Roman, and a great favorite of the Roman people, interposing, they were appeased, and prevailed upon to disperse.¹

As the Turks had made themselves masters of Bosnia, Istria, and great part of Dalmatia, and threatened Italy itself with an invasion, Sixtus, in the letter he wrote to the Christian princes to acquaint them with his promotion, took care to represent to them their common danger, and at the same time invite them to assist at the council, which he intended to assemble very soon in the Lateran, in order to provide, jointly with them, for their common safety. But the pope and the emperor disagreeing about the place where the council should be held, and neither yielding to the other, Sixtus, laying aside all thoughts of a council, resolved, with the advice of the cardinals, to send legates into all the Christian kingdoms to reconcile the princes then at war, and promote a general league against the inveterate enemies of the Christian name. Pursuant to this resolution, cardinal Bessarion was sent into France, cardinal Roderic Borgia, at this time chancellor of the apostolic see, and afterwards pope under the name of Alexander VI., was sent into Spain, and cardinal Barbo, patriarch of Aquileia, into Germany and Hungary. To each of these legates were assigned five hundred florins of gold a month out of the apostolic chamber; which obliged the pope, as he was at the same time daily importuned by the creditors of the four preceding popes, to dispose of the jewels and precious stones, which his predecessor had purchased at an immense expense, and had only left five thousand florins in the treasury. The legates spared no pains to compose the differences of the princes, to whom they were sent; but their endeavors were no where attended with the least success.²

The pope, now despairing of being able to arm the French, the Spaniards, or the Germans, against the common enemy, had recourse to those whom it more nearly concerned to oppose them, to the Venetians, and to Ferdinand, king of Naples. The Venetians supplied him with fifty galleys, and the king of Naples with twenty-four. To these Sixtus added twenty-four of his own. But the only exploits performed by this mighty fleet of ninety-eight galleys in the space of two years, were the recovering of Smyrna, and the breaking of an iron chain, which the Turks had laid across the mouth of another harbor. They attacked the place; but being repulsed by the Turks, they soon raised the siege, contenting themselves with the glory of having broken the

chain, which they carried with them in triumph to Rome; and it was still to be seen in the time of Onuphrius, hanging before the door of St. Peter's church as a trophy, or token of so signal a victory.¹

The pope, discouraged with the little success his fleet had met with in the expedition against the Turks, though it had cost him one hundred and sixty-five thousand florins, resolved to turn his arms against the petty tyrants, who held several cities with their territories, that belonged to the church, and governed them as independent sovereigns. With that view he raised a numerous army, and being powerfully assisted by Ferdinand, king of Naples, with whom he had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, he soon cleared the state of those usurpers, and re-uniting the places they possessed to the apostolic see, doubled, almost, by that means, his yearly income.²

As Paul II. had reduced the jubilee to every twenty-fifth year, that solemnity was kept by Sixtus in 1475, that being the twenty-fifth year since the celebration of the last under Nicholas V. in 1450. Rome was not so crowded with pilgrims at this as it had been at most other jubilees, on account of the war, that most Christian states and kingdoms were, at this time, engaged in with one another. But to no other jubilee came so many sovereign princes, as are said to have come to this. These were Christiernus, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; the king of Bosnia and Walachia; Charlot queen of Cyprus; the duke of Saxony, and Ferdinand king of Naples, with his eldest son Alphonso duke of Calabria. Ferdinand had quarreled, as we have seen, with the late pope about the arrears of the sum, which he was to pay yearly into the apostolic chamber, as feudatory of the apostolic see; and it was, as most authors suppose, chiefly to accommodate that difference with Sixtus himself, that he came to Rome. The pope received and entertained both him and his son with the utmost magnificence, in the apostolic palace, during their stay in Rome, and not only remitted all the arrears of the tribute, but, by a special bull, absolved the king from the obligation of paying any for the future; only requiring him to send yearly, in lieu of the stipulated sum, a white Spanish genet, as an acknowledgment of his holding his crown of the apostolic see.³ This custom is still observed; and on St. Peter's festival a white genet is yearly presented to his holiness by the ambassador of the king of Naples in his master's name.

Sixtus had long borne a secret grudge to the two brothers Lawrence and Julian de

¹ Onuph. in Sixto IV.

² Idem ibid., et Bzovius ad ann. 1472.

¹ Onuph. in Sixto IV.

² Idem ibid., et Ciaconius.

³ Idem ibid., et Summont. Hist. Neap. tom. 3. p. 474.

Sixtus enters into a conspiracy against the De Medicis. Julian De Medicis murdered, but Lawrence escapes; [Year of Christ, 1477.] Most of the conspirators taken and executed. Lawrence De Medicis excommunicated, and the city interdicted;—[Year of Christ, 1478.]

Medicis, who at this time governed in the republic of Florence. His holiness had refused to confer the dignity of cardinal upon Julian; which so provoked both him and his brother Lawrence, that when the pope undertook to extirpate the petty tyrants throughout the ecclesiastical state, they supported them underhand both with men and money; and, besides, being informed that the Lord of Imola, in Romagna, was forced by his necessities to dispose of that lordship, and that the pope was about purchasing it for one of his nephews, they, to prevent its falling into his hands, as he was already become one of the most powerful princes of Italy, supplied the owner with all the money he wanted, and thus disappointed the pope of the intended purchase. This conduct Sixtus highly resented, and being a man of a most violent and vindictive temper, and one, who stuck at nothing to aggrandize the very numerous tribe of his nephews and relations, he concluded a secret treaty with Francis de Pazzi, a wealthy and powerful citizen of Florence, who was at the head of the party against the De Medicis. The chief articles of that treaty were, that the two brothers should be assassinated, and that upon their death the pope should dispose of the republic as he thought proper. But that his holiness might not be thought to have been privy to so wicked an attempt, or, as an historian expresses it, to have opened his sacred and holy ears to so horrible a plot, the managing of it was committed to Jerome Riario, the son of one of the pope's sisters, upon whom, it is supposed, that he intended to bestow the city and republic of Florence, should the conspiracy take effect. Jerome in the first place engaged Ferdinand, king of Naples, to send an army into Tuscany under the command of his son Alphonso, to protect the conspirators, whether their attempt was, or was not, attended with success. In the next place he communicated the whole affair to one John Baptist Montesecco, a bold enterprising man, and an avowed enemy to the De Medicis; and by him the time and place were settled with the other conspirators for carrying their design into execution. As they knew that the two brothers would assist at mass in the church of St. Reparata on Sunday, the 26th of April, that day and place were pitched upon, and the elevation of the host was to be the signal for the conspirators to fall upon them. Accordingly at that signal Bernard Bandini, falling upon Julian, mortally wounded him with a stiletto, and Francis de Pazzi dispatched him with repeated blows as he lay on the ground. Lawrence, being but slightly wounded by Montesecco, fled into the vestry, and the sextons shutting immediately the door, he was saved, by that means, from the fury of the other conspirators.

The report of so black an attempt spread in a moment all over the city; and the friends of the De Medicis, hearing that Julian was killed, but Lawrence had escaped, flew to arms, and, in the height of their rage, hanged, on the spot, such of the conspirators as fell into their hands. Among these were Francis de Pazzi, James Poggi, son of the famous historian of that name, Bernard Bandini, a priest named Stephen, and Bartholomew Salviati, archbishop of Pisa, but a native of Florence, and an enemy to the family De Medicis.—That prelate, to encourage the conspirators with his presence, had assisted with them at mass in his pontificals on the day appointed for the execution of their design; and with them he was hanged in his pontificals by the enraged multitude. The pope had ordered Raphael Riario, nephew to Jerome, a youth, but already a cardinal, to repair from Pisa, where he was pursuing his studies, to Florence, that he might be at hand to take the conspirators, when they had executed their design, into his protection, and the protection of the apostolic see. But the cardinal, finding that Lawrence had escaped, and the conspirators were all executed as soon as taken, instead of protecting others flew himself for protection to the high altar. But he was dragged from thence by the incensed populace, and would have undergone the same fate as the other conspirators, had not Lawrence generously interposed in his behalf. He was however committed to prison. But Lawrence interposing again in his favor, he was, after a few days confinement, set at liberty. Montesecco was likewise executed; but being first put to the torture, it appeared from his confession upon the rack, that the pope was the chief author and promoter of so execrable a plot.¹

Most authors are of opinion, that it was not so much to wreak his vengeance upon the family De Medicis, that the pope countenanced that conspiracy, as to make himself master of the republic of Florence, and grant it to his nephew Jerome Riario, as a fief of the apostolic see; and Onuphrius tells us in express terms, that Sixtus entered into the conspiracy upon condition that, if it succeeded, he should be allowed to dispose of the republic to whom he pleased. However that be, the pope no sooner heard that the conspiracy had not been attended with the wished for success, that Lawrence de Medicis was still alive, and that the archbishop had been put to death, and the cardinal imprisoned, than he thundered out the sentence of excommunication against Lawrence, though the cardinal owed to him both his life and his liberty, and it did not appear that he had been any ways accessory to the

¹ Machiavel. Hist. Floren. l. 8. Comines Memoir. l. 6. Paulus Æmil. in Ludov. XI.

The pope declares war against the Florentines; but is forced to conclude a peace, and upon what terms;—
[Year of Christ, 1479.] Otranto taken by the Turks;—[Year of Christ, 1480.]

death of the archbishop. At the same time he put the whole city under an interdict, declaring that he would not take it off till they had driven out of their republic the tyrant Lawrence de Medicis. But no regard being paid by the Florentines to the interdict, he resolved to employ against them his temporal as well as his spiritual weapons. And thus was a war kindled by the pope in Italy, at the very time that the Turkish fleet was hovering on the coast, and threatening a descent. The king of Naples, siding with the pope, sent a considerable body of troops to his assistance, under the command of his son Alphonso, duke of Calabria. On the other hand the Venetians, the dukes of Mantua and Ferrara, and Lewis Sforza, who at this time governed the state of Milan as guardian to his nephew John Galeazzo, declared for the Florentines, being all alike jealous of the power and designs of the pope, who seemed to have nothing less in his view than to subject to his see the many small principalities into which Italy was divided. At the same time Lawrence de Medicis dispatched, in the name of the republic, some of the chief citizens into France to acquaint the king, Lewis XI., with the subject of the quarrel between him and the pope, and to crave his protection. Lewis, shocked at the account the ambassadors gave him of the proceedings of the pope against the De Medicis and the Florentines, espoused their cause very readily, assured them of his protection, and sent immediately Philip de Comines with a body of three hundred horse to their assistance.¹

Lewis, having thus taken Lawrence de Medicis and the Florentines into his protection, sent the following year a solemn embassy to Rome, at the head of which was Gui d'Arpajon, viscount de Lautrec. Their instructions were to require the pope, in the king's name, to revoke the sentence of excommunication, to take off the interdict, and forbear all further hostilities against the Florentines. If he complied not with these demands, they were to notify to him, that the king would appeal to a general council, and insist upon his assembling one; that he would cause the "pragmatic sanction" to be strictly observed throughout his dominions, and would suffer no money to be conveyed from thence to Rome. The ambassadors met with a more favorable reception from the pope than they had reason to expect, but found him unalterably determined, in spite of the king's menaces, to pursue the war against the Florentines, till they gave him due satisfaction for the death of the archbishop, and the imprisonment of the cardinal. But Ferdinand, king of Naples, being, in the mean time, prevailed upon by Lawrence de Medicis to conclude a separate

peace with the republic, the pope, unable to withstand alone the united forces of the Florentines and their allies, was glad to come to an agreement with them; and by the interposition of the emperor, of the king of France, and the other Christian princes, an agreement was accordingly concluded upon the following terms; that all places, taken by either party, during the war, should be restored; that the Florentines should, by a solemn embassy, ask his holiness's pardon for having put to death an archbishop, and imprisoned a cardinal; that, to atone in some degree for so enormous a crime, they should furnish and maintain fifteen galleys against the Turks, and that the pope, on his side, should absolve them from the interdict, and all other censures, and receive them again into favor.¹ These articles were all executed before the end of the present year.

Thus was peace restored to Italy, but it was soon succeeded by a far more dangerous war. For the Turks having laid siege to the city of Rhodes, but been obliged to raise it by the vigorous resistance they met with from the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, then lords of that city and island, they unexpectedly appeared with a formidable fleet before Otranto in the kingdom of Naples. Some writers tell us that they were encouraged by the Venetians, jealous of the too great power of king Ferdinand, to invade his dominions.² Be that as it may, the Turks, having landed a numerous body of foot, and five thousand horse, laid close siege to the place, and, having taken it by storm after a two months' siege, plundered it, and, enraged at the resistance they had met with, put the whole garrison, and eight hundred citizens, to the sword. Their having thus got footing in Italy so alarmed the Italian princes, that some of them, instead of defending the country, thought of abandoning it. Sixtus, among the rest, had resolved to leave Rome, and retire to France. But being somewhat recovered from his fear, he immediately dispatched legates and nuncios to the courts of all the Christian princes to apprise them of his danger, and implore their assistance. At the same time, Alphonso duke of Calabria, returning with the army under his command from Tuscany, and being joined by all the barons of the kingdom, and their vassals, the Turks, instead of laying siege, as they intended, to Brindisi, thought it advisable to fortify themselves in Otranto, and there wait for a body of twenty-five thousand men, that was in full march to join them. Alphonso besieged the place with a superior force, both by sea and land; and he daily received new succors from the Christian princes, especially

¹ Volaterran. l. 5. Brutus Hist. Florent. l. 7. Onuph. in Sixto. Bzovius ad ann. 1480.

² Galat. de Situ Japigiæ, et Amarat. Miscell. dis. 8.

¹ Onuph. in Sixto, et Comin. ubi supra.

Otranto retaken by the Christians;—[Year of Christ, 1481.] New disturbances in Italy fomented by the pope; [Year of Christ, 1483.] Sixtus makes war upon the Venetians. His death;—[Year of Christ, 1484.] To what owing. His character. His nepotism.

from the pope, and the kings of Hungary, Portugal, and Spain. On the other hand, the besieged made a most obstinate defence, killed, in their frequent sallies, great numbers of the besiegers, and, expecting daily the promised reinforcement, would hearken to no terms, though reduced to the utmost extremity. But, fortunately for Italy, Mahomet died in the mean time, namely, on the 3d of May, 1481; and the Turks in Otranto, apprehending that, upon his death, the reinforcement they expected might be countermanded, and otherwise employed, thought it advisable to surrender the place, which they could no longer hold; and, accordingly, honorable terms being granted to them, it was, on the 10th of August, of the present year, delivered up to Alphonso by the commanding bashaw, who, to the inexpressible joy of all Italy, immediately embarked his troops, and set sail for Constantinople.¹

The fear of the Turk being thus removed for the present, the Italian princes, jealous of each other's power, began anew to quarrel among themselves; and the pope, instead of interposing to accommodate their differences, took part sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other, not scrupling to change sides, and abandon his allies, when it suited his interest so to do. Thus a war breaking out upon the retreat of the Turk, between the Venetians, the Genoese, and some other free states of Italy, on the one side; and the duke of Ferrara, the king of Naples, the Florentines, and Lewis Sforza, regent of the state of Milan, on the other; Sixtus sided with the former: and thus was all Italy involved in a new and most bloody war. In this war, Ferdinand king of Naples, highly provoked at the pope's inviting René, duke of Anjou, into Italy, to make good his claim to that kingdom, sent his son Alphonso into the dominions of the church at the head of a numerous army, to lay siege to Rome, and take his holiness himself prisoner.—But Alphonso being met, in the neighborhood of Veletri, by the pope's army, under the command of Robert Malatesta, and a battle thereupon ensuing at a place called Campo Morto, the king's army received a total overthrow; most of his officers were either killed or made prisoners, and carried in triumph to Rome, Alphonso himself having narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands.²

When this war had been carried on two years without any considerable advantage on either side, a peace was concluded to the entire satisfaction of both parties. But Sixtus was too fond of war to live long in peace.

As the Venetians, therefore, had seized on some territories claimed by the duke of Ferrara, he took that pretence to declare war against them; and entering into an alliance with the king of Naples, with the Florentines, and Lewis Sforza of Milan, threw all Italy again into the utmost confusion, when they had scarce begun to taste the sweets of peace and tranquillity. The Venetians suffered greatly in this war. But when the pope thought he had them at his mercy, his allies, growing as jealous of his power as he was of the power of that republic, concluded a peace with them quite unknown to him, being well apprized that he would leave nothing in his power unattempted to obstruct it. As he had promised himself great advantages from this war, he was so affected with the news of a peace being concluded without his consent or knowledge, that it brought upon him a most violent fit of the gout, a distemper to which he had been long subject; and it put an end to his life in five days time, when he had held the see thirteen years and four days, and had lived seventy years and twenty-two days. The circumstances of his death gave occasion to several ingenious compositions, and among the rest we read the three following:

"Non potuit sævum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum:
Audit tandem nomine pacis, obit."

"Dic unde, Alecto, pax ista refulsit, et unde
Tam subito reticent prælia? Sixtus obit."

"Pacis ut hostis eras, pace peremptus obis."

Sixtus carried nepotism to the most scandalous height; all the oppressions, rapines, murders, and violences, of which he was guilty, being wholly owing to his immoderate affection for his nephews and relations, and his desire of enriching and aggrandizing them. He was scarce warm in the chair, when he created two of them cardinals: Julian della Rovere, his brother's son, and Peter Riario, the son of his sister, though the former was but twenty-eight years of age at the time of his promotion, and the latter only twenty-six. Of Julian I shall have occasion to speak in the sequel under the name of pope Julius II. As for the other, he enjoyed his new dignity two years only: but affecting all the grandeur of a great prince in his equipage, in his entertainments, and in public sports, he spent, in so short a time, two hundred thousand florins of gold, and left a debt of seventy thousand. His brother, Jerome Riario, was created by the pope prince of Imola and Forli, and married to Catherine, the natural daughter of the duke of Milan, whose younger son, Ascanius, was, on that account, preferred to the dignity of cardinal. Leonard della Rovere, another of the pope's nephews, was married to the natural daughter of Ferdinand, king of Naples, and made upon that marriage governor of Rome.

¹ Bonfinius, Decad 4. Brutus Hist. Florent. l. 7. Onuph in Sixto.

² Brutus in Hist. Florent. Onuph. in Sixto. Ezovius ad ann. 1481.

In Sixtus' time all offices venal. His charities and public works. Found the Vatican library. His writings.

But he dying soon after, that government was given to John della Rovere, the brother of cardinal Julian, and with it the principalities of Sora and Sinigalia. John, being thus become a prince, married Joan, the daughter of Frederic of Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, and had by her a son, named Francis Mary, who, by the death of Frederic, as he had no other child, and of his brother Guidobaldi, who had none, succeeded to the dukedom. And thus did the pope's family become lords of the duchy of Urbino, which, upon the extinction of that family, reverted, as a fief of the Roman church, to the apostolic see. Sixtus took care to provide for all his other nephews and relations; and, that, indeed, seems to have been his first and chief care. His other nephews, Christopher, Dominic, Jerome Bassus, Raphael, were all created cardinals in the course of his pontificate, though Raphael was but seventeen years of age when preferred to that dignity. In short, he left not one of his very numerous relations, how distant soever, unprovided for, though most of them had no other merit to recommend them, but their being related to him, which was, indeed, of all other recommendations by far the most powerful.

As the several wars that Sixtus was engaged in, (for he is said to have made war upon the whole world,) the many stately edifices he erected, the pomp and grandeur in which he lived, and above all the extravagance of his nephews, had quite drained his coffers, he stuck at nothing to replenish them; exacting, under various pretences, such sums of the clergy as scarce left them enough for their own subsistence. He was not even ashamed to expose all the employments and offices at court to public sale; nay, and to establish a great many new ones, which were all sold to the highest bidder. Thus all bulls and patents, that had before been despatched by few persons, passed now through the hands of many, and, as all had purchased their places, all were to be paid for their unnecessary trouble by those in whose favor the said bulls and patents had been granted.

But, after all, to give this pope his due, no man was more generous in relieving the distressed than he. The prince of Morea, the despot of Albania, the queens of Cyprus and Bosnia, being forced by the Turk to abandon their dominions, were kindly received by him, and maintained, at a great expense, suitably to their rank. He rebuilt from the foundation the hospital of the Holy Ghost, placed the foundlings in it, maintained them at his own expense, and gave proper fortunes to such of the girls as chose to marry. This, if I mistake not, is the first instance that occurs in history of such a truly charitable foundation, and the hospital of S. Spirito in Rome, is to this day the most famous, and, perhaps, the best endowed in

all Christendom. He took particular care of the decayed nobility, allotted them a proper habitation where they lived together by themselves, and supplied them with all the comforts as well as the necessaries of life. He repaired many, I may say most, of the chief churches in Rome, erected a great number of stately edifices, restored the decayed aqueducts, rebuilt the Pons Janicularis over the Tiber, known to this day, as some of its arches still remain, by the name of Ponte Sisto; and, in short, he left, at his death, the city so improved, that one would have thought he had made it the whole business of his pontificate to beautify and adorn it. But what most of all redounds to his glory, and must render immortal the name of Sixtus IV. was his founding the Vatican Library, that inestimable collection of all the most useful and valuable books in the different branches of literature. For by him such books were purchased, and at any rate, in all parts of the then known world, and placed in his new library; men well versed in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, were appointed, with considerable salaries, to take care of them, and funds were assigned for adding such others to them, as should be judged by the library-keepers worthy of a place in so valuable a collection.¹ Platina, who had suffered so much under Paul II., was appointed one of the library-keepers, and in that office he died in 1481, being at the time of his death in the sixtieth year of his age.

Sixtus created, during the thirteen years of his pontificate, no fewer than thirty-four cardinals, and among them John Baptist Cibo, who succeeded him under the name of Innocent VIII., and John, the third son of Ferdinand, king of Naples, commonly called the cardinal of Arragon.

That Sixtus was a learned writer is allowed by all who speak of him; and indeed the writings he left behind him sufficiently show it, namely, a treatise on the blood of Christ, another on the power of God, a third "*De futuris contingentibus*," and a fourth upon indulgences granted for the relief of the souls in purgatory. But what gained him most credit was the piece he writ to reconcile the Thomists and Scotists, or the followers, in school divinity, of Thomas Aquinas and Scotus, showing, that in substance they agreed, and only differed in the mode of expression. Of this pope we have one hundred and thirty-five letters upon different subjects, and several bulls, by one of which he forbade the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary to be thenceforth disputed; and by another he confirmed that of his predecessor, appointing the jubilee to be celebrated every twenty-fifth year.²

As for the charge, brought against him

¹ Onuph. in Sixto. Bzovius ad ann. 1481. Bonfinius Decad. 6.

² Wadding. Bibliothec. Ord. Minor.

Innocent VIII. elected. Birth, employments, &c., before his promotion. Strives to unite the Christian princes against the Turks. Quarrels with the king of Naples ;—[Year of Christ, 1485.]

by some protestant writers, namely, his having granted a permission to the family of the cardinal of St. Lucia to indulge themselves in the sin against nature, during the three hot months of the year, June, July, and August, it has been unanswerably confuted by the learned Bayle.¹ Sixtus was buried in the church of St. Peter, before the high

altar, with an epitaph, recording all the chief actions of his life, the time of his death, and the years, days, and hours he had lived. For he is said there to have died on the 13th of August 1484, five hours after sun-set, when he had lived seventy years twenty-two days and twelve hours.

INNOCENT VIII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND ELEVENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[FREDERIC III., *Emperor of the West.*]

[Year of Christ, 1484.] Sixtus was succeeded, after a vacancy of sixteen days, by John Baptist Cibo, commonly called the cardinal of Melfi, from his having been preferred from that bishopric to the dignity of cardinal. He was raised to the see on the 29th of August by the suffrages of twenty-four cardinals out of twenty-eight; was crowned on the 12th of the following September, and on that occasion took the name of Innocent VIII. in memory of his countryman Innocent IV., a native of Genoa as well as himself. For the present pope's family, said to have come originally from Greece, had, for several ages, made a shining figure in that republic. His father, Aaron Cibo, had served with great reputation in the wars of Naples, first under René of Anjou, and, upon his retreat, under his competitor Alphonso of Arragon, and had been honored by both with a considerable command in the army. His son, born in 1432, was greatly favored both by Alphonso, and Ferdinand, Alphonso's son and successor. However he left that court, to try his fortune at Rome; and he had not been long in that city, when Philip, cardinal of Bologna, brother to pope Nicholas V., taken with his parts and address, received him into his family; and so pleased was the cardinal with his whole behavior, that at his death he left him his stately palace of St. Lawrence in Lucina. At the recommendation of the same cardinal he was preferred by Paul II. to the bishopric of Savona, was soon afterwards translated by Sixtus IV. to that of Melfi, in the kingdom of Naples, and on the 7th of May 1473, was by the same pope created cardinal. That dignity he chiefly owed to Julian della Rovere, cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, and nephew to Sixtus; and it was by the interest which Julian, and cardinal Roderic Borgia, then chancellor, had in the conclave, that, upon the death of Sixtus, he was raised to the see in his room.²

Innocent's first care, after his coronation, was to promote peace and union among the Christian princes, and apprise them of the danger which they were all alike threatened with; the enemy, whom they suffered thus to pursue his conquests unmolested, aiming at nothing less than to establish upon the ruins of their states, kingdoms, and dominions, an universal monarchy, and with it the most detestable of all superstitions. But his endeavours to reconcile the Christian princes, and unite them against the common enemy, were attended with no better success than those of his predecessors; and indeed no wonder, Innocent himself quarrelling with Ferdinand, king of Naples, and putting all Italy in a flame, at the very time he was exhorting the Christian princes to concord and unity.

Sixtus had remitted to Ferdinand, as has been said above, the arrears of the tribute due to the apostolic chamber, and contented himself with the king's presenting him thenceforth yearly on St. Peter's day with a white Spanish genet. The king therefore, upon the first notice he had of Innocent's promotion, applied to him for the same favor, alledging the great expense he had been at in driving the Turks out of Otranto, and the necessary charge of keeping constantly on foot a numerous army for the defence of his kingdom, the bulwark of Italy. But by no reasons, no remonstrances, could his holiness be prevailed upon either to remit the arrears of the tribute, or to content himself, for the future, with the genet in lieu of the usual sum. On the other hand, the king refusing to pay a debt and tribute, from the payment of which the late pope had been pleased to absolve him, several smart letters passed between him and the pope; and it was apprehended that an open rupture soon would ensue. This encouraged the discontented barons of the kingdom, who had formed a design of deposing Ferdinand, and excluding his son Alphonso from the succession, to impart that their de-

¹ Bayle Crit. Dict. art. Sixto IV. rem. C.

² Onuph. in Innoc. VIII.

Innocent joins the rebel barons against the king. The conspiracy of the barons discovered by the king. They offer the crown to his second son; who refuses it.

sign to the pope, and engage his holiness in the plot. As this good pope had several natural children, and flattered himself, that these public disturbances would afford him the means of providing for them all, he very readily took part with the rebels, promising them all the assistance in his power to carry their design into execution, and a safe asylum in his dominions, should it not be attended with the wished-for success. To procure the assistance of France, and thus secure the success of the undertaking, he resolved to restore the kingdom to the family of Anjou. As none of that family were now remaining but René, duke of Lorraine, the son of Violante, daughter of René the elder, the pope sent to invite him to come with all expedition, and conquer the kingdom of Naples, promising to assist him with his spiritual as well as his temporal arms, and grant him the investiture, provided the duke, in his turn, promised to bestow certain lordships and honors upon his son Francis, commonly called Francischetto. But René, mindful of the bad success, which his ancestors had all met with in their wars for that kingdom, thanked the pope for his kind offer, but declined it.¹

In the mean time Ferdinand, receiving private intelligence of the designs of the barons, ordered one of them, the count of Nola, to be arrested. The count had the good luck to make his escape; but his wife and children were taken, and carried prisoners to castle Nuovo in Naples. The barons, alarmed at their imprisonment, flew to arms, and openly shaking off the yoke, invited all true lovers of their country to join them, and redeem themselves, their wives, and their children, from the slavish condition which they had been reduced to by two lawless tyrants. As both Ferdinand, and his son Alphonso, to whom Ferdinand had yielded the reins of the government on account of his age and infirmities, were universally hated for their cruelties and oppressions, people flocked from all parts to join the barons; insomuch that Ferdinand, instead of marching against them, chose to treat with them, in order to gain time, and grant them what terms soever they should demand, being determined to observe them no longer than he could break them with safety. Antonetto Sanseverino, prince of Salerno, and high admiral of the kingdom, was appointed by the barons to treat, in their name, with the king; and though the terms he demanded were such as no man could expect the king would ever agree to, yet he very readily agreed to them all, pretending a great desire to leave the kingdom in peace at his death. The prince, pretending to believe him sincere, desired that Frederic, his second son, might be sent to Salerno, where

the chief barons were assembled, in order to put the last hand to the treaty. Frederic was sent accordingly, and received by the barons with the greatest marks of respect and esteem. He was a prince endowed with every princely virtue, of a mild disposition, humane, beneficent, and had, by his obliging behavior to all, gained the hearts of the whole nation. The barons therefore, hearing that René of Anjou had refused the crown when offered to him by the pope, had resolved to dispose of it to Frederic, and it was with that view, under color of having the treaty with the king signed by him, that they desired he might be sent to Salerno. The barons had several conferences with him before they discovered to him their real design. But the prince of Salerno, having one day invited him to meet the barons in his palace, and placed him in an eminent and stately seat in the middle of the assembly, addressed him in the following terms:—"You are no stranger to the cruel, oppressive, and tyrannical government of your father Ferdinand, and your brother Alphonso, duke of Calabria. Their illegal and arbitrary proceedings have obliged us to take up arms in our own defence, and shake off the yoke which we could no longer bear. However, the regard we have for your family will not allow us to recur to any other, and we, therefore, now offer to you the crown, which your father and your brother have justly forfeited by an open violation of the established laws of the kingdom. Your mild, compassionate, and humane disposition, the desire you have shown on many occasions of obliging all, and your strict observance of the laws trampled upon by those, who, at present, govern us, have won to you the affections of all ranks of people, and we are all, to a man, ready to stand by you to the last drop of our blood. Our happiness depends upon you. If you accept of our present offer, you will make us a happy people, and fix the crown in your family. If you decline it, the world will excuse our seeking a remedy, for the many evils we groan under, where we can find it."¹

Frederic heard the prince of Salerno without ever offering to interrupt him, or betraying the least aversion to the proposal, insomuch that the whole assembly believed that the offer was not displeasing to him, and he would accept of it. But, rising up when the prince had done; he thanked the "noble assembly" for the good opinion they entertained of him, and the honor they had done him; but added, to their great surprise and disappointment, that he would with joy accept of the crown at their hands, could he persuade himself that they had a power to dispose of it; but as he was convinced, that his father, and after him his elder brother,

¹ Mich. Rie. de reg. Sic. et Neap. l. 4. p. 36.

¹ Mich. Rie. de reg. Sic. et Neap. l. 4. p. 38.

The barons proclaim the pope their lord and sovereign; who openly espouses their cause. His conduct, how resented by the king. Rome besieged by the king's troops. The pope obliged to conclude a peace, and upon what terms;—[Year of Christ, 1486.]

had an undoubted right to it, he could not deprive them of their inheritance without a more notorious breach of the laws than any they complained of. He added, that from his conduct while a private man, they could not judge of that which he might pursue when raised to the throne; that many had been thought worthy of the crown before they wore it, and most unworthy when they wore it; that he himself should, in many instances, be obliged to tread in the footsteps of his father and his brother, and do the same things that had drawn the hatred of the nation upon them. He closed his speech with exhorting them to continue steady in their allegiance, pawning his word and honor for the religious observance of the terms which the king his father had agreed to.¹

The barons, provoked beyond measure at their disappointment, would not allow Frederic to return to his father, but kept him closely confined, under a strong guard, in Salerno, and, setting up the pope's standard, declared him their only lawful lord and sovereign. Hereupon Innocent, who had nothing less in his view, as most authors suppose, than to conquer the kingdom, and bestow it upon his son Francischetto, not only approved of what the barons had done, but, openly espousing their cause, left nothing unattempted to stir up the other states of Italy against Ferdinand, especially the Venetians, promising them a large share of the kingdom, provided they assisted him to conquer it. But that wise republic, unwilling to provoke Ferdinand at the present juncture, when he had a numerous army on foot to defend his kingdom against the Turk, with his son Alphonso, a most valiant and experienced commander, at their head, declined entering into an alliance against him; but, being jealous of the king's power, they promised to assist his holiness underhand. As no room was left to doubt of the barons being encouraged in their rebellion by the pope, nor of his holiness's ambitious views, Ferdinand ordered the duke of Calabria to march, without delay, to the borders of the ecclesiastical state, and at the same time assembling, on the 12th of November of the present year, the heads of the people, of the nobility, and the clergy, he laid before them the unjust and unwarrantable proceedings of the pope in joining his rebel subjects against him, and attempting, by encouraging their rebellion, to deprive him and his posterity of a kingdom which his predecessors had all confirmed to him; and that, in order to raise from the dust, to ennoble, and aggrandize his base-born children, and at a time when he himself was exhorting all Christian princes to sacrifice their feuds and animosities to the public good, and join against the common enemy. When he had spoken

thus, he caused a manifesto to be read, declaring that it was not his intention to make war upon the holy see, but only to maintain the just rights of his crown against the encroachments of the rebel barons, and of his holiness, their accomplice and ally. At the same time the king issued a proclamation, ordering ecclesiastics of all ranks, possessed of any benefice or benefices in the kingdom, and then residing at the court of Rome, to present themselves before him in the term of fifteen days, and then to go and reside at their benefices, on pain of having their revenues sequestered. With this order all complied but the archbishop of Salerno, and the bishops of Melito and Teano, whose rents were sequestered accordingly, and collectors were appointed by the king to receive them.¹

In the mean while the duke of Calabria, entering with his army the territories of the church, defeated, in several encounters, the troops sent by the pope to oppose him, and, advancing to the very gates of Rome, laid close siege at the same time to the city and the castle of St. Angelo, whither the pope had retired. As the army of the barons was not in a condition to face Alphonso's, and the Roman people begun to mutiny for want of provisions, all the avenues to the city being strictly guarded by the enemy, the pope, despairing of relief, and dreading to fall into the hands of Alphonso, thought it advisable to come to an agreement with the king. Accordingly, a treaty was set on foot, and soon concluded, upon the following terms: I. That the pope should absolve the king from the censures he might have incurred. II. That he should oblige the barons to lay down their arms, or abandon their protection. III. That the king should, on his side, pay the usual tribute. IV. That he should forgive the barons upon their submitting; should receive them into favor, and bury in oblivion all past offences. Lastly, That he should oblige Virginus Ursini, who had joined him against the holy see, to come bare-headed and bare-footed, with a rope about his neck, to ask his holiness's pardon on his knees. The barons knew by experience that Ferdinand's word was not at all to be relied on; that no treaties could bind him; and therefore refused to sign the present treaty, unless John, king of Arragon, Ferdinand's uncle, and his son Ferdinand, afterwards surnamed "the Catholic," and then king of Sicily, took upon them, as guarantees, to see the articles of it performed. To this both kings readily agreed, and the treaty was thereupon signed by the barons, on the 12th of August, 1486, in the presence of the ambassadors of both.² How-

¹ Mich. Rie. de Reg. Sic. et Neap. l. 4. p. 40.

¹ Mich. Rie. de Reg. Sic. et Neap. l. 4. p. 47, et Giannoni Hist. Neap. l. 28. c. 1.

² Constanzo, l. 20. apud Giannoni, l. 28. c. 1.

The barons put to death contrary to the articles of the peace, and the king excommunicated by the pope;—[Year of Christ, 1487.] Some particular actions of Innocent;—[Year of Christ, 1488.] Zizini, brother to Bajazet, delivered up to Innocent;—[Year of Christ, 1489.] How treated.

ever, it was not long ere Ferdinand, paying no regard to a treaty so solemnly concluded, caused, under various pretences, the leading men among the barons to be imprisoned, and put to death. We shall see in the sequel Ferdinand of Sicily, when become king of Arragon and Castile, alledging the breach of this treaty as one of the motives that induced him to drive the family of king Ferdinand from the throne of Naples, and annex that kingdom to his own crown.

As for the pope, he no sooner heard of the imprisonment of the barons, than he ordered the bishop of Cesena, his nuncio at the court of Naples, to remonstrate against so manifest a breach of so solemn a treaty, and threaten the king with excommunication and deposition, if he did not immediately set the prisoners at liberty. But Ferdinand, who had already caused many of them to be put to death, not intimidated in the least by the pope's menaces, ordered the rest to be strangled privately in prison, and their bodies to be conveyed away by night in sacks, and thrown into the sea, lest the pope should take occasion from the execution of so many persons of the first rank, were it known, to stir up the people, and raise a new rebellion against him. Thus were these executions kept some time concealed. But a gold chain, which one of the prisoners, Jerom Sanseverino, prince of Bisignano, used to wear about his neck, being found in the custody of the executioner, it was concluded from thence that he, and with him all the rest, had been dispatched in prison. Hereupon Innocent, provoked beyond all measure at the cruelty and treachery of the king, not only pronounced, with great solemnity, the sentence of excommunication and deposition against him, but declared the kingdom of Naples to belong of right to the royal family of France, and invited the king, Charles VIII., to come and conquer it. But Charles being then otherwise employed, and the states of Italy refusing to take part in this quarrel, Ferdinand continued to reign undisturbed either by the French or his own subjects, in spite of the repeated excommunications thundered out by his holiness against him.¹

Innocent spent the four remaining years of his pontificate in striving, but with very little success, to recover the several cities, belonging to the church, that private persons had made themselves masters of, and governed as their own; in clearing the ecclesiastical state from thieves, robbers, assassins, and other malefactors, who had fled thither from the neighboring states, as to a safe asylum; and in erecting several stately buildings, and, among the rest, a magnificent villa, or house of pleasure, for the use of

his successors, which, from its pleasant and extensive view, was styled Belvedere. We are told that, in repairing the church called "of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem," part of the title of our Saviour's cross, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, was found in the old wall, having been placed there, as is said, about one thousand years before, by the emperor Valentinian, the founder of that church.

The most remarkable event of the four last years of Innocent's pontificate was, his receiving at Rome, and keeping there as his prisoner, Zizini, or, as others call him, Zizim, brother to the Sultan Bajazet, son and successor of Mahomet II. Zizini had, upon the death of his father, set up for himself; but his brother having gained a complete victory over him near Prusia in Bithinia, he fled for refuge to the island of Rhodes, then possessed by the knights of that name. Peter Daubusson, at that time grand master of the order, sent him to the king of France, by whom he was soon afterwards delivered up to the pope, to be employed by his holiness in the war, which he was then exhorting the Christian princes to undertake against his brother Bajazet. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honor due to a sovereign prince; was attended to the pope's palace by several cardinals, and presented to his holiness, in a full consistory, by the grand prior of Rhodes and the French ambassador.² Spondanus tells us that he kneeled before the pope, and kissed his foot, uttering some words, in his own language, with great indignation.³ But Matthew Bossi, canon of Verona, who was present, assures us, that he could by no means, not even by menaces, be brought to submit to such acts of humiliation.⁴ However that be, he was kept prisoner at large, in the Vatican palace, so long as Innocent lived; and lest the pope, grudging the expense necessary to maintain him, should grant him his liberty, Bajazet remitted yearly to Rome the sum of forty thousand crowns of gold for his subsistence; nay, and, to court the favor of the pope, he sent him the head or iron of the spear, believed to be that which our Saviour's side was pierced with on the cross;⁵ and as such it is worshipped to this day in St. Peter's church at Rome.

As great preparations were carrying on, at this time, in France by Charles VIII. with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples, claimed by him as lawful heir to the family of Anjou, Ferdinand, who had hitherto made no account of the sentence of the pope, excommunicating and deposing him, resolved to accommodate matters with his holiness upon the best terms he could get, and have his title to the kingdom confirmed

¹ *Surita Annal.* l. 20. c. 66. *Constanzo*, l. 20. c. 17. *Camillo Porzio Congiura de Baroni.*

² *Onuph. in Innocent VIII.* ³ *Spond. ad ann.* 1489.

⁴ *Bossi*, ep. 30. ⁵ *Onuph. in Innoc. VIII.*

The pope and king Ferdinand reconciled;—[Year of Christ, 1491.] Death and character of Innocent;—[Year of Christ, 1492.] His natural children.

by the apostolic see. Innocent, now wholly bent upon a Turkish war, was not averse to an accommodation, and an agreement was concluded, on the 28th of January 1491, upon the following terms: That the king should pay yearly the usual tribute; should dispose of no benefices nor bishoprics without his holiness's knowledge and consent; and should indemnify the bishops and other ecclesiastics, whose revenues had been sequestered on account of their not complying with the king's ordinance, requiring them to withdraw from the court of Rome. On the other hand, the pope was to revoke all the censures that the king had incurred, and confirm the bull of his predecessor, Eugenius IV. in favor of his family against the pretensions of the house of Anjou. Pursuant to this agreement, Innocent, who had issued a bull but four years before, declaring the right of the family of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples, published another on the 4th of June of the present year, acknowledging Ferdinand for lawful king of Naples, and ordaining that he should be succeeded by his son Alphonso; and, in case Alphonso died before his father, by Ferdinand, duke of Capua, Alphonso's eldest son. Upon the publication of this bull, the duke of Capua went to Rome to do homage, and take the usual oath of fidelity to his holiness, in his father's name and his own, and was received by Innocent and the college of cardinals with all possible marks of respect and esteem.¹

Innocent died soon after the conclusion of this treaty, that is, on the 25th of July of the present year, 1492, when he had held the see seven years, ten months, and twenty-seven days, and was buried in the chapel, which he had erected in the church of St. Peter, for the holy spear. On his tomb were engraved the following words, alluding to the name of Innocent: "*Ego autem Innocentia mea ingressus sum; redime me, Domine, et miserere mei.*" His manners did not answer that name, it being agreed on all hands that he led a most profligate life, at least before his promotion. Onuphrius allows him to have had several natural children; no fewer, says Marullus in his famous epigram, than sixteen—eight sons, and as many daughters. The epigram runs thus:

"*Quid quæris testes sit mas an feminis Cibo?
Respice natorum, pignora certa, gregem.
Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas;
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem.*"

I need not tell the reader, that the poet here alludes to the use that was said to have been made of the perforated chair after the supposed election of pope Joan.² July, in

his remarks upon Bayle's Dictionary under the article Innocent, maintains him to have had only two illegitimate children. However that be, only two of them survived, as Onuphrius informs us, his promotion to the pontifical chair, namely, Francis and Theodorina. Francis he married to Magdalen, the daughter of Lawrence de Medicis, one of the most beautiful women of her time; and Theodorina to Gerard Usumari, a wealthy nobleman of Genoa: to Francis he granted, on occasion of his marriage, several castles and lordships in the neighborhood of Rome, and is said to have heaped immense wealth upon Gerard. As he was a great lover of money, he established, after the example of Sixtus, his immediate predecessor, a vast number of new offices, and, exposing them to public sale, replenished, by that means, his coffers quite drained with the Neapolitan war.¹

What we read in Raphael of Volterra, namely, that Innocent permitted mass to be celebrated in Norway without wine, because it was either frozen or turned into vinegar before it could be used in that cold country, has been unanswerably confuted by the very learned Benedict XIV., in his treatise "*De Canonizatione.*"

By this pope eight cardinals only were created, during the seven years of his pontificate; and among them were Lawrence Cibo, his brother's natural son, whom he had preferred before to the archbishopric of Benevento, and John de Medicis, the son of Lawrence, and brother to his son's wife, though he had not yet completed the thirteenth year of his age.² Of him I shall have occasion to speak at length, in the sequel, under the name of Leo X.

Innocent, though said to have been a man of learning, left no writings that we know of, behind him, besides some letters and bulls. By one of his bulls, dated at Rome the 2d of March, 1486, he confirmed the marriage of Henry VII., with Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., "notwithstanding their being related within the fourth degree of affinity, and, perhaps, of consanguinity." By another he declared the children, who should be born of that marriage, legitimate in virtue of that dispensation; commanded all to obey Henry as their lawful king, on pain of excommunication, from which none could absolve them but the pope himself, except at the point of death; and enjoined them, upon the same penalty, to acknowledge the children Henry might have by a second wife, in case Elizabeth died without issue. This bull is dated at Rome, the 27th of the same month of March, of the same year, 1486.³

¹ Coestanz. l. 20. c. 17. Raynald. ad ann. 1491, et Surita, l. 20. c. 13.

² See vol. ii. p. 226.

³ Onuph. in Innoc. VIII.

² Idem ibid.

³ Rymer. Fœdera, &c. tom. 12. p. 294, 297.

ALEXANDER VI., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWELFTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[FREDERIC III., MAXIMILIÁN III., *Emperors of the West.*]

[Year of Christ, 1492.] In the room of Innocent was unfortunately chosen Roderic Borgia, whose pontificate was, as we shall see in the sequel, a continued series of the blackest crimes, of murder, rapine, perfidiousness, lust, and cruelty. He was the son of Godfrey Lenzolio, a wealthy nobleman of Valencia, by Joan Borgia, sister to Calixtus III. As the Borgian family was more conspicuous than that of Lenzolio, Godfrey, with the consent of Calixtus, changed the original name of his family for that of Borgia, which from him was transmitted to all his descendants. His son Roderic gave, from his tender years, proofs of an extraordinary genius, and an uncommon capacity, but at the same time betrayed a disposition of mind so cruel and wicked, that one might have foreseen what fruit such a tree would produce, when it grew to produce any. When he had attained to the eighteenth year of his age, he betook himself to the study of the law, and, in a very short time, outshining most others of that profession, he was employed, as an advocate, in the most intricate cases, and soon acquired, by that means, a considerable fortune. But growing tired of the retirement and constant application, indispensably required in one of his profession, he, all on a sudden, bid adieu to the law, and, being taken with the gaiety of a military life, appeared in the world in a military character. Being now free from all restraint, and at full liberty to gratify his passions, he fell in love with a widow, who had two daughters, and was lately come with her family from Rome; and having, with his insinuating manners, gained the affections of the mother, and robbed her of her honor, he bent all his thoughts upon making the daughters a prey to his lust as well as the mother. In the mean time the mother died, and Roderic, to whose care she had committed her two daughters, having them now in his power, as their guardian, put one of them into a monastery, and continued with the other, whom some called Rosa, and some Catherine Vanozza, the incestuous commerce, which he had begun in her mother's life time. By her he had five children, four sons, and one daughter, namely, Francis, Cesar, Giuffre, and another, whose name is uncertain. His daughter was called Lueretia; and of her, as well as her brother, we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel. Roderic spared no expense, being a most tender and affection-

ate father, to give his children the best education, but acted therein with such caution and secrecy, that they were not known to be his till after his exaltation to the papacy. While he thus enjoyed the company of his beloved Vanozza quite undisturbed, news was brought him of his uncle's promotion to the pontifical dignity under the name of Calixtus III. As he thought that no addition could be made to his present happiness, he neither felt, nor expressed, on that occasion, any extraordinary joy. However, he wrote immediately a most submissive and respectful letter to the new pope, to congratulate him upon his promotion; to wish him a long and happy pontificate; and beg him to continue to him, as his relation, his protection and countenance. To this letter Calixtus, who entertained the highest opinion of his nephew's parts and good qualities, returned a most affectionate answer, requiring him to repair, with all expedition, to Rome, in order to be employed in state affairs, and bear part of the burden that had been laid upon him. But Roderic, preferring the company of his dear Vanozza to all the honors and wealth that his uncle could confer on him, put off, under various pretences, from time to time, his journey to Rome. The pope, not knowing what his affected delays were owing to, and impatient to have one about him whom he could trust with his most secret designs, dispatched a prelate with express orders to bring his nephew with him to Rome, and at the same time bestowed on him, as a pledge of what he might expect, a benefice of twelve thousand crowns a year. Roderic, no longer able to withstand the pressing instances and kindness of his uncle, and on the other hand his passion for Vanozza not allowing him to leave her behind him, and live at so great a distance from her, it was agreed between them, that they should both repair to Italy, but by different roads, and to different places, he to Rome, and she, with her children, to Venice. Accordingly they both set out, after many tender embraces, about the same time, and both arrived safe at their journey's end. Roderic was received by the pope with all possible marks of esteem and affection, and, being frequently admitted to his presence, he raised in his holiness so high an opinion of his merit, that, in a very short time, he preferred him to the archiepiscopal see of Valencia, his native country; created him cardinal of St. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano,

Alexander's election. Bargain made with the cardinals.

and appointed him vice-chancellor of the holy Roman church, with the yearly income of twenty-eight thousand crowns to support that dignity. Roderic refused, at first, the dignity of cardinal, knowing that he would thereby be confined to Rome, and have fewer opportunities of visiting Vanozza and his children, in whom centered all his cares and affections. But his friend, cardinal Sanseverino, urging to him the folly of refusing a dignity that was the last step to the highest upon earth, his ambition prevailed, and he accepted the red hat. Having now the triple crown in his view, he applied himself wholly to acts of devotion, preaching, administering the sacraments, visiting the sick, protecting the widows and orphans, and relieving, with uncommon generosity, persons of all ranks in distress; insomuch that he was universally looked upon, and honored by the cardinals themselves, as a saint. But these acts of charity did not take up his mind so as to leave no room in it for his dear Vanozza. He wrote a most affectionate letter to her to acquaint her with his promotion to the rank of cardinal, which, he said, opened him a way to the supreme dignity; to assure her that he retained, and ever should, the same affection for her; and recommended to her secrecy and continence till he had the pleasure of seeing her again. In the mean time Calixtus died; and in the two following pontificates of Pius II. and Paul II. no mention is made of cardinal Roderic. But Sixtus IV., the successor of Paul, bestowed upon him the abbey of Subiaco, and sent him with the character of legate into Spain, to mediate a peace between the kings of Arragon and Portugal at war about the kingdom of Castile. His negotiations at both courts proved unsuccessful. For, finding himself at a distance from Rome, instead of attending to the affair upon which he was sent, he spent most part of his time in intrigues with the ladies; which rendered him contemptible in the eyes of both kings as well as their ministers. On his return to Italy on board a Venetian galley, he was overtaken with a violent storm on the coast of Pisa; and though his galley had the good luck to escape, another in company, with his baggage and retinue, was dashed to pieces, and all on board perished, namely, one hundred and eighty persons, and among them three bishops, and some doctors. In the pontificate of Innocent VIII., elected in the room of Sixtus, we find nothing of cardinal Roderic worthy of notice, besides his begging leave of his holiness to go to Venice, pretending to have some very urgent business there, and his calling Vanozza to Rome upon the pope's forbidding him to depart from that city. Vanozzo on her arrival lodged first near the capitol, but removed soon from thence to a more private place beyond the Tiber. As they were both sensible that the affair could in no place be

long kept secret, it was agreed between them, that Manuel Melchiori, a Spanish gentleman, who had hitherto passed for a near relation of the lady's husband, and was the only person upon earth who had been let into the intrigue, should now personate her husband. Accordingly, he assumed the title of count Ferdinand of Castile, and she of countess, and being plentifully supplied with money by the cardinal, they both made a figure suitable to their title. The cardinal, pretending to have been acquainted in Spain with the count, under color of visiting him, paid frequent visits to the countess unobserved, and when he had spent the whole day in visiting churches and hospitals, he passed the night in the arms of his mistress.¹

The cardinal, however, did not suffer his amours to engross his attention so as to neglect his true interest. He had the papacy constantly in his view ever since he accepted the dignity of cardinal, and had made it his business to cultivate the friendship of the cardinals, who had the most interest in the conclave, especially of the two cardinals Sforza and Riario, of whom the former had nine votes at his disposal. While cardinal Roderic was thus employed, Innocent died on the 25th of July, and the cardinals, in all twenty-seven, entering into the conclave as soon as they had performed his exequies, the following bargain was concluded between the leading cardinals and cardinal Roderic, namely, that cardinal Orsini should have Roderic's palace, with the two castles of Monticelli and Suriani; that cardinal Sforza should succeed Roderic in the office of vice-chancellor; that cardinal Colonna should have the abbey of St. Benedict; that the cardinal of St. Angelo should be made bishop of Porto, the city of Nepi should be given to the cardinal of Parma, and the town of Civita Castellana to cardinal Savelli. Five cardinals only, out of the twenty-seven, protested against so open and so barefaced simony, and could by no offers be brought to concur with the rest. But as cardinal Roderic had twenty-two votes out of twenty-seven, he was, in spite of their opposition, declared pope on the 2d of August of the present year, under the name of Alexander VI. His election was received by the Roman people, who looked upon him as a pattern of every virtue, with all possible demonstrations of joy; and on the 26th of August he was crowned with extraordinary solemnity. And now the cardinals, his electors, were expecting the performance of the promises he had made them. But instead of that, Alexander, in a speech full of zeal for the observance of the canons, exhorted them to reform their lives, to set a good example to others, and, above all, to

¹ Pavist. in Alex. VI. Tomaso Tomasi. vita Due. Valentin. Cicon. Vit. Alex. VI. p. 148. Burchard. Hist. Arian. p. 3-23. Anonym. ad Tomasi, p. 305. apud Gordon. p. 1-15.

Alexander's son, Cæsar Borgia, comes to Rome. Created archbishop of Valencia, and cardinal ;—[Year of Christ, 1493.] Charles, king of France, invited to the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Ferdinand, king of Naples, dies ;—[Year of Christ, 1494.]

avoid simony ; adding, that he would spare none whom he ever found guilty of that detestable crime. Indeed he was as good as his word. For, far from paying to his corrupt electors the wages of their iniquity, in process of time he either confined them to prison, or banished, or put them to death, as we shall see in the sequel.

At the time of Alexander's promotion, his children were all living privately at Rome, except Cæsar, his second son, who was then pursuing his studies at Pisa. But he no sooner heard of his father's promotion, than he flew to Rome, not doubting but he should be immediately preferred to some high post, or be made a cardinal. The pope received him with the greatest marks of affection ; but at the same time told him, that if he and his brothers walked in the virtuous path that he should point out to them, they might depend upon his protection and favor ; but if they built their greatness upon any other foundation than that of virtue, he would look upon them as strangers to him, having been exalted to his present high station for the good of the church, and not of his family. This speech did not a little mortify Cæsar's ambition ; and he complained of it to his mother. But she bid him take courage, saying, she knew his holiness's mind, and for what end he had expressed himself to him in that manner ; that is, she knew all to be dissimulation and rank hypocrisy. In the mean time Ferdinand, king of Arragon and Castile, created the pope's eldest son, Francis, duke of Gandia. For though Alexander called them his nephews, they were by this time commonly known to be his children. From the promotion of the pope's eldest son, the cardinals and flattering courtiers took occasion to recommend to him his second son, Cæsar Borgia, and his nephew, John Borgia, archbishop of Monreal in Sicily, as persons worthy of a place in the college of cardinals ; and his holiness, as it were to gratify the cardinals, conferred that dignity on his nephew, but, refusing it to his son, nominated him to the archbishopric of Valencia, which he himself had formerly held. However, the following year he made a promotion of twelve cardinals ; and among them was his son Cæsar, whom he created cardinal of Sancta Maria Nova ; but he is commonly called cardinal Valentine, on account of his having been preferred from the archbishopric of Valencia to that dignity.¹

Italy had enjoyed for some years a profound peace and tranquillity, the little states, as well as the great, having joined in a league to defend each other, by whomsoever attacked. But that peace was unexpectedly disturbed by the ambition of the French

king, Charles VIII., claiming the kingdom of Naples, as heir to the Angevin family. For Charles of Anjou, the last of that family, dying without male issue, appointed Lewis XI., his cousin-german, as he called him, his universal heir, and after him his son Charles the dauphin. By virtue of this will Lewis took possession of Provence and the duchy of Anjou, but would not concern himself with the affairs of Italy. But Charles, a youth covetous of glory, coming to the crown in 1483, began to entertain thoughts of making good his claim to the kingdom of Naples. He was encouraged to that undertaking only by some of his favorites, and some malcontents, who, flying from Naples, had taken refuge in France. But men of penetration left nothing unattempted to divert the young king from an enterprise which they apprehended might be attended with the loss of his army, and even of his life. Thus was the expedition put off till the present year, 1493, when the king received unexpectedly an invitation from Lewis Sforza, regent of the duchy of Milan, pressing him to come and conquer the kingdom of Naples, to which he had an unquestionable right, and promising to assist him therein to the utmost of his power. Lewis had been appointed guardian to the young duke John Galeazzo, his nephew ; and though the duke had already attained to the twentieth year of his age, the guardian still continued to keep the government in his own hands. As John had married the daughter of Alphonso, duke of Calabria, and king Ferdinand's grand-daughter, Lewis apprehended that they would oblige him to resign the duchy to its lawful owner ; and it was to give them sufficient employment at home, that he invited Charles to the conquest of the kingdom.¹

Charles, now relying on the invitation, and encouraged by the offers of Lewis, would no longer hearken to the pacific counsels of his best friends, but, looking upon the kingdom of Naples as already half-conquered, he began to make vast military preparations by sea as well as by land. On the other hand, Ferdinand, not doubting but they were designed against him, omitted nothing to put the kingdom in a good state of defence. But being seized with a fever, occasioned by the extraordinary fatigue he was obliged to undergo, and the uneasiness of his mind, he died on the fourteenth day of his illness, the 25th of January 1494. He was succeeded by his son Alphonso, duke of Calabria, who sent immediately a splendid embassy to Rome, with many valuable presents for the pope, and his favorite son, cardinal Valentine, by whom his holiness was, in a great measure, governed.

¹ Onuph. Tomaso Tomasi, &c.

¹ Guicciardin. l. 1. Comin. c. 4.

Treaty concluded between Ferdinand's successor, Alphonso, and the pope. The king crowned, and his daughter married to the pope's youngest son. The French king enters Italy. Pursues his march to the ecclesiastical state. The pope and Alphonso apply to the Turk.

The ambassadors were charged to obtain of the pope the investiture for the new king, to pay homage to him in his name, and to propose an alliance between their master and his holiness in defence of their respective dominions. The ambassadors met with a most favorable reception; and after several conferences with cardinal Valentine, an alliance was concluded between the pope and the king upon the following terms: That both should maintain a determined number of troops for their mutual assistance; that the king should pay immediately to his holiness thirty thousand ducats; that he should give his daughter Sancia in marriage to Giuffre, the pope's youngest son; should create him prince of Squillace with the yearly income of ten thousand ducats; should confer upon him the office of prothonotary, one of the seven great offices of the kingdom; should settle upon Francis duke of Gandia, his eldest son, an estate of ten thousand ducats a year; should bestow upon him the first great employment of the kingdom that should be vacant, and a considerable command in the army; and lastly, that to cardinal Valentine he should grant the best benefices of the kingdom, as they happened to become vacant. The pope knew that the king stood in great need of his assistance; and, taking advantage of his present situation, demanded such terms as were neither consistent with reason nor justice. Alexander was, on his side, to assist the king, to the utmost of his power, with his spiritual as well as his temporal arms; to grant him the investiture; to send a cardinal to crown him, and to prefer his nephew, Lewis of Arragon, to the dignity of cardinal.¹

These articles being agreed to, the pope dispatched his nephew, cardinal Borgia, archbishop of Monreal, to Naples to crown the king, and perform, at the same time, the nuptial ceremony. The bridegroom went with the cardinal, attended by the flower of the Roman nobility, and the appearance they made during their stay at Naples, was the most pompous and splendid that had ever been seen in that city. The king being crowned, with great solemnity, by the cardinal legate, and the nuptial ceremony performed with no less solemnity, Giuffre, or, as I shall henceforth call him, the prince of Squillace, after a short stay at Naples, returned, with his bride, the princess, to Rome, his holiness being impatient to see them. Most extraordinary honors were paid them, by the pope's order, in all the cities on the road through which they passed, and on their arrival at Rome they met with a more honorable reception than any king or emperor had done to that time. They were received, at some distance from the gate, by

the magistrates of the city in a body, by the cardinals, and the Roman nobility of both sexes, and conducted by them, in solemn procession, to the Vatican palace. There the princess was presented to the pope by his daughter Lucretia, attended by all the ladies of distinction in Rome, and the prince by his brother, cardinal Valentine, accompanied by the chief Roman princes and barons. His holiness, scarce allowing them time to perform the usual ceremony of kissing his foot, embraced them with great tenderness; and placing the bride in a chair of state on his right hand, and Lucretia in another on his left, the conversation was kept up several hours by his holiness and the ladies; and it looked more like an assembly of the last kings of Assyria, than a meeting in the presence of the vicar of Christ.¹

On this occasion great rejoicings were made, by the pope's express command, in all the cities of the ecclesiastical state, as well as at Rome, as if the marriage of his holiness's bastard son with the daughter of a king, had been one of the greatest blessings that could have befallen them. But their joy was suddenly damped by the unexpected advice of the arrival of the French king with his army at Asti in Piedmont, on his march to the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. He arrived at Asti on the 9th of September; but falling ill of the smallpox in that city, he was obliged to halt there a whole fortnight. As soon as he found himself in a condition to bear the fatigue of the march, he left Asti, and directing his route through Pavia, Piacenza, and Parma, passed the mountains, choosing rather to enter the kingdom of Naples through Tuscany and the territory of Rome, than by the way of Romagna and the March of Ancona. He met with some opposition in passing through the territories of Florence; but matters being in the end accommodated between him and those republicans, to their mutual satisfaction, he pursued his march to the ecclesiastical state, being determined to pass through Rome, and oblige the pope to renounce his alliance with the king of Naples, and abandon his protection.

The pope had, upon the first notice he received of the king's design upon the kingdom of Naples, applied for assistance both to the Venetians and to the emperor Maximilian, who, in 1492, had succeeded to his father Frederic in the empire. But finding that neither would take any part in the war, he resolved, for want of other allies, to recur to the Turk. This resolution he communicated to Alphonso; and it was agreed between them, that both should send deputies to Constantinople to negotiate an alliance with Bajazet. Pursuant to that agreement,

¹ Guicciardin. l. 1. Tomasi apud Gordon. p. 52, &c.

¹ Tomasi apud Gordon. p. 53, et seq.

Embassadors sent by the pope and the king to Bajazet. Instructions given by the pope to his nuncio. Five letters from Bajazet to the pope. Their contents published to the world.

one George Buzardo, a Genoese, well skilled in the oriental languages, was immediately despatched to the court of Constantinople by the pope, and one Camillo Pandone by the king. Their instructions were, to inform his sublime highness of the mighty preparations that were carrying on by the French king in France, with a design to conquer the kingdom of Naples, and, when he had conquered it, to invade his highness's dominions; that the king had, with that view, demanded of his holiness his highness's brother Zizini, whom he intended to send with a powerful army and fleet to recover the countries taken from the Christians; that out of the great regard and friendship his holiness had for his sublime highness, he was determined to oppose the French to the utmost of his power. But as he would be thereby put to a far greater charge than he was able to bear, the nuncio was ordered to beg of his highness, that he would remit to him immediately the forty thousand crowns that would be due, on his brother's account, about the end of the ensuing November. Of Zizini, and the sum allowed yearly by his brother to him, or rather to the pope, for his maintenance, I have spoken in the life of the preceding pope Innocent VIII. As the Venetians had refused to join the pope and Alphonso against the French, or to concern themselves at all in their quarrel, the nuncio was ordered to get the sultan to interpose his good offices with those republicans, in favor of the king and his holiness; and to despatch, without loss of time, an ambassador for that purpose to Venice. The nuncio was received by Bajazet with all possible marks of honor, his demands were all readily complied with, and he was remanded in a very short time with fifty thousand crowns, though forty thousand only were due; and with him Bajazet sent one Casimus Dautius with the character of his ambassador to the pope. They embarked on board the same vessel at Constantinople. But the vessel being unfortunately stranded on the coast of the Adriatic, between Sinigaglia and Ancona, John della Rovere, lord of that country, seized on the money, the fifty thousand crowns, pretending that sum to have been owing to him by the apostolic see ever since the pontificate of Innocent VIII. With the money were found the above-mentioned instructions, and five letters from Bajazet to the pope, all dated at Constantinople, one on the 12th of September, and the other four on the 18th of the same month, in the year 1494, "since the nativity of the prophet Jesus." The direction common to them all, with very little variation, was: "Sultan Bajazet Chan, by the grace of God, king and emperor of Asia and Europe, to the most worthy father and lord of all Christians, Alexander VI., by Divine providence, pontiff of the Roman church." Bajazet,

being alarmed at the intelligence the pope had given him of the French king's design to invade his dominions, and employ his brother against him, applies in the first of these letters to his holiness, his good friend and ally, to get, by his means, so dangerous an enemy removed out of the way. The sultan well knew, that there was no crime, which the "most worthy father of all Christians" would scruple to commit, provided he were well paid for it; that the love of money, to enrich and aggrandize his children, was his predominant passion; and that the offer of a sum, worthy of his acceptance, would prove a temptation, which he could not withstand. Upon these considerations he exhorts the pope, in the letter before us, to cause his brother to be removed, as soon as possible, from the miseries of this world to a more happy life; shows the many advantages, that he pretends would accrue to the Christians, as well as to his own subjects, from his death, which he says would be life to him, and solemnly promises, upon oath, to remit to his "Greatness," the title he gives to the pope, as soon as he shall have complied with this his request, the sum of three hundred thousand ducats, to be employed by him in purchasing lordships for his sons. He closes his letter with renewing, for the pope's further security, his promise and oath in the following terms: "I, the abovesaid sultan Bajazet Chan, do again swear by the true God, who made heaven and earth, and every thing in them, in whom we believe, and whom we adore, that, if you, on your part, agree to the above-mentioned request, I shall, on my part, perform and execute every thing I have promised."

Two of the four remaining letters contained the Turkish ambassador's credentials: the third was a letter of thanks for the intelligence Alexander had given to Bajazet concerning the designs of the French, with a promise of sending speedy assistance to Alphonso, and dispatching, without delay, an ambassador to Venice, with orders to exhort that republic, in his name, to declare for that prince, and the pope his ally. In the fourth Bajazet desires the pope to make Nicholas Cibo, archbishop of Arles, "a perfect cardinal—ut faciat ipsum cardinalem perfectum." The archbishop had been sent, in the late pontificate, upon what errand we know not, to the court of Constantinople, and having, in his embassy, given entire satisfaction to Bajazet, he was, at his earnest request, nominated by the pope, Innocent VIII., to the dignity of cardinal. But Innocent dying before he received the red hat, and his promotion was published, he was not yet looked upon as a true cardinal, nor did he enjoy the privileges common to all of that order. These particulars we learn from Bajazet's letter, entreating the pope,

The pope refuses to admit the king of France into Rome; but is forced to yield. The king's entry into Rome. Agreement between him and the pope;—[Year of Christ, 1495.] The pope pretends great zeal for the king's service.

by the friendship subsisting between them, to make the archbishop a perfect, or a true, cardinal.

These papers were all sent to king Charles, while he was yet at Florence, by John della Rovere, who had intercepted them, in order to their being made public: and they were, accordingly, published in Italian and Latin, with two certificates annexed to them; the one of Buzardo, the nuncio, certifying that he had received the instructions, spoken of above, from his holiness's own mouth, at Rome, in the month of June 1494, and had executed them at Constantinople; the other was a declaration by Philip de Patriarchis, clerk of Forli, and notary public, attesting that he had translated, word for word, the above-mentioned papers sent from Sinigaglia. His declaration is dated at Florence, in the convent of the Minorites, the 25th of November, 1494. For these letters we are indebted to Burchardus, a contemporary writer of unexceptionable authority, and master of ceremonies to Alexander, who has inserted them at length in his *Diarium*, or journal of that pope's actions.¹

As for the unhappy Zizini, he died soon after he was put into the French king's hands; and it was universally believed that his holiness had caused him to be poisoned, in order to earn, by his death, the promised reward of three hundred thousand ducats.²

To return now to Charles, whom we left on his march from Florence to the ecclesiastical state. As he approached the territories of the church, he was met by envoys from the pope, sent to propose a treaty between him, the holy see, and the king of Naples. Charles received the envoys with great politeness, but returned answer, that he was ready to treat with his holiness, and would treat with no other: and, accordingly, he dispatched immediately ambassadors to Rome. The ambassadors peremptorily insisted, pursuant to their instructions, upon the king's being admitted, with his whole army, into Rome, and the pope's ordering Ferdinand of Arragon, duke of Calabria, who was come with a body of troops to defend the city, to withdraw, and return to the kingdom of Naples. As the pope would thus be left entirely at the mercy of the king, who had several cardinals in his retinue, known to be the avowed enemies of the Borgias, and all men capable of the most violent resolutions, the demands of the ambassadors were rejected by his holiness himself as well as his two sons, cardinal Valentine and the duke of Gandia, in the most haughty and insolent terms. However, when news was brought that the king had entered the patrimony of St. Peter; had possessed himself of Viterbo; had left a garrison there, and was advancing, full march, to Rome,

the pope, finding that he must either stand a siege, or receive him into the city, chose the latter, and sent immediately deputies to acquaint the king therewith, and settle the conditions. The king appointed deputies to confer, and adjust matters, with those of the pope; and it was agreed, that the king should pass through Rome when, and in what manner, he pleased; that his troops should be supplied with the necessary provisions, paying for them; and that the duke of Calabria should withdraw all his forces from Rome before the king entered it. These conditions being agreed to, Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, marched out of Rome with his Neapolitan forces, on the last day of the present year, in the morning, and Charles made his entry in the evening, by torchlight, at the head of his troops, all armed, and the king resting his lance on his thigh, as if he were entering an enemy's town. The streets were all illuminated, and the people, flocking from all quarters, received the king with loud acclamations, crying out, as he passed, "viva la Francia, viva la Francia." Charles dismounted at the palace of St. Mark, which had been prepared for his reception; and not trusting the pope, who had retired to the castle of St. Angelo, he caused strong guards to be placed, with part of his artillery, in all the avenues leading to his palace. The same night the pope sent his secretary, the bishop of Nepi, and one of the masters of the ceremonies, to compliment the king on his safe arrival, in his name, as well as in the name of the college of cardinals, and the people of Rome. The next day a treaty was set on foot, and in a few days concluded, between the pope and the king. The articles of that treaty were, that a perfect harmony should thenceforth subsist between his holiness, and the most Christian king; that the cities of Terracina, Civita-Vecchia, and Spoleti, should be delivered up to, and kept by, the king, till he had completed the conquest of the kingdom of Naples; that his holiness should not molest the cardinals, nor the Roman barons, who had declared for the king; that Zizini, brother to sultan Bajazet, should be delivered up to the king, to be employed by him in the war which he intended to make upon the Turks after the conquest of Naples; and lastly, that cardinal Valentine should attend him, in the present expedition, with the character of apostolic legate. By this last article the king thought that he had, in the son, a pledge for the fidelity of the father. These articles being all agreed to, the pope returned from the castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican, and was there visited by the king on the 16th of January. They had some other interviews the following days; and in all the pope expressed the most cordial affection for the king, and the sincerest attachment to his person and interest. At his desire he created

¹ Burchard. p. *Diar.* 14, et seq. apud Gordon. in Appendix.

² Idem *ibid.*

Cardinal Valentine's treacherous conduct. Alphonso resigns the crown to his son Ferdinand, and quits the kingdom.

two cardinals, William Bricconnet, bishop of St. Malo, and the bishop of Mans of the Luxemburg family; and on that occasion told the king, that he could ask nothing of him, that he was not ready to grant; that he had always favored the French nation in his heart, and had only wanted an opportunity of receding, with honor, from the engagements which he had entered into with the king of Naples. Before Charles left Rome, most of the Roman barons, and with them several cardinals, informing him privately of the manner in which the pope had been elected, and had hitherto governed; of his lewd and debauched life; of his want of all faith, religion, and principles, &c., earnestly entreated him to cause a general council to be called, in order to depose him, and deliver the city of Rome, as well as the church, from so lawless a tyrant. They added, that notwithstanding the zeal he pretended at present, for his majesty's service, he would soon find him, as soon as the terror of his arms was removed, a most bitter and implacable enemy. The king returned answer, that it was to ascertain his right to the kingdom of Naples, and not to concern himself with the government, or the affairs of the church, that he came into Italy, and that, if his holiness of a friend became an enemy, he would then, but not till then, treat him as such.¹

The king, having now settled all matters with the pope, set out from Rome on the 28th of January, having made near a month's stay in that city. He halted the first day at Marino, but twelve miles distant from Rome, and the next at Veletri, about fourteen miles from Marino. From thence cardinal Valentine, who, by one of the articles of the treaty, was to attend the king in this expedition, made his escape. He had appointed one of his servants to wait for him, with two horses, about half a mile out of town; and walking thither in the dusk of the evening, in the disguise of a groom, he mounted his horse, and returned, full speed, to Rome. The king knew nothing of his flight till the next morning, when he sent to complain to the pope of so manifest a breach of one of the chief articles of the treaty, to which, he said, he was very well satisfied that his holiness was privy. The pope pretended to have been no ways concerned in it, but could not be prevailed upon to send the cardinal back to the army; which left no room for the king to doubt of his insincerity. But not thinking it worth his while to return to Rome on that account, he took no further notice of it for the present.² Burchard tells us, that the cardinal, to remove all suspicion from the

mind of the king of his intending to leave him, and prevent his being too narrowly watched, ordered nineteen covered carriages to attend him, all loaded, in appearance, with things of great value for his own use; that he caused three of them, containing a great quantity of plate, to be unloaded, in the sight of the whole army, at the place where the king halted the first day; but that the drivers of these three carriages had private orders to keep behind, and when at a considerable distance from the army, to turn about, and make the best of their way for Rome; which they did, and arrived safe. The same writer adds, that when the cardinal's flight was known in the army, the soldiery fell upon the remaining carriages, in order to plunder them, but, to their great disappointment, found them loaded only with stones, or things of no value; and that the cardinal, nevertheless, gave out, that being sent for to Rome, upon an affair of the utmost importance, unknown till then, the French soldiers had laid hold of that opportunity to plunder his baggage, and, in order to conceal it, filled the carriages with rubbish.¹

In the mean time the king, thinking that he should hereafter have no great occasion for the assistance or friendship of the pope, pursued his march to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. Upon his approach the people and most of the barons, who hated the very name of Alphonso on account of his avarice, cruelty, and tyrannical government, flew every where to arms, and proclaiming Charles their lawful king and deliverer, set up the French standard in all their towns not awed by garrisons. Alphonso having no hopes of receiving any assistance in due time from either of his allies, the Turk or his holiness, and not daring to quit Naples, lest that city should follow the example of the rest, he took a very extraordinary resolution, that of resigning the royal title and authority in favor of his son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria. Ferdinand was not above twenty-four years of age, of a mild disposition, of an obliging behavior, and as universally beloved as his father was hated. Alphonso therefore flattered himself, that he being removed, and so promising a youth placed on the throne in his room, the people would prefer him, who was born among them, and whom they all knew, to one who was as great a stranger to them as they were to him. Having therefore signed the act of renunciation in the presence of his brother Frederic, and all the nobility, and caused Ferdinand to be crowned with the usual ceremonies, he fled in his galleys to Mazara in Sicily, and, after a short stay there, to Messina, where he embraced a religious life, and ended his

Guicciardin, l. 2. De Comines, c. 11. Burchard. Diar. p. 34. Tomasi, p. 97.

² De la Vigne Journal de Charle VIII. Tomasi, p. 97. Burchard. Diar. p. 34.

The whole kingdom, and Naples itself, submits to Charles. Ferdinand retires to the island of Ischia. Charles makes his public entry into Naples. The Italian princes join in a league against him. He returns to France. Battle on the banks of the Taro.

days on the 19th of November of the present year, when he had lived forty-seven years and some days, and reigned one year, wanting two days.¹ He was buried with royal pomp in the great church of Messina, and his tomb is there to be seen to this day.

The resignation of Alphonso would have had the wished for effect, in the opinion of Guicciardin, had it been made sooner. But the revolt was already become general; and the French, having taken by storm two places that opposed them, Montefortino and Mount St. John, and, putting all they found in them to the sword, reduced them to ashes, struck such terror into the rest, that they all submitted as soon as the enemy appeared before them. The new king advanced with his army to defend the cities of St. Germano and Capua, and thus prevent the French from advancing to Naples. But being either abandoned by his troops, or betrayed by his generals, he set out from Capua with the small remains of his army, on his return to the capital. But, finding upon his arrival there, that the inhabitants had openly revolted, had proclaimed Charles, and sent to him to come and take possession of their city, he resolved to abandon a kingdom which it was no longer possible for him to defend. Having therefore assembled the chief of the nobility and people, he absolved them from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to him but a few days before, and gave them leave to submit, upon the best terms they could get, to their new masters. This the young king did in so affecting a speech, and such tender expressions, as they are related by Guicciardin, that they drew tears from all who were present. But as they had no other effect, the king, embarking on the galleys, that waited for him in the harbor, with his uncle Frederic, the old queen, his grandfather's wife, her daughter Joan, and a few lords who did not forsake him in his misfortunes, sailed for the island of Ischia, often repeating, while in sight of Naples, the words of the 127th Psalm: "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh in vain."²

Charles, being, by Ferdinand's flight, left master of almost the whole kingdom, made his public entry into Naples on the 21st of February of the present year, amidst the loud acclamations of people of all ranks, and having in a few days reduced Castel Nuovo and Castello dell' Uovo, in which Ferdinand had left some troops, he employed the remaining part of the short time he stayed there in giving orders for the securing of his conquests, in receiving the oaths and submissions of the provinces,

cities, and towns, and above all in tournaments, shows, and rejoicings. While he was thus employed, he received certain intelligence from Philip de Comines, his ambassador at Venice, of a league concluded against him, into which had entered, the pope, the Venetians, the republic of Florence, and Lewis Sforza, the usurper of the duchy of Milan, and the chief author of the king's expedition into Italy. They were all alike jealous of the power of the French, who carried all before them; and this league they formed not only with a design to drive them out of the kingdom of Naples, but to prevent the king's return to France, and to seize on his person, in order to oblige him to surrender every foot of ground he held in Italy. Sforza, apprehending, as has been said, that king Ferdinand the elder would oblige him to deliver up the duchy of Milan to John Galeazzo, the lawful heir, who had married that king's granddaughter, had, in order to divert him from that undertaking, invited the French to the conquest of his kingdom. But having, with a large sum of money, purchased of the emperor Maximilian the investiture of the duchy, and despatched with poison the young duke, his nephew, he thought that he no longer stood in need of the French, and therefore very readily joined in the league against so powerful and so dangerous an enemy; the rather as the duke of Orleans, afterwards Lewis XII., laid claim to that duchy. The intelligence Charles received of this league obliged him to hasten his departure from Naples; and having placed garrisons in the fortified towns, he set out on his return to France, on the 20th of May, about three months after his entering that kingdom. He passed through Rome, but found that the pope, and the cardinals who adhered to him, had all fled first to Orvieto, and from thence to Perugia. The Romans supplied his army with plenty of provisions; and to them, as he knew they did not approve of the conduct of the pope, he behaved in the most obliging manner. He marched five weeks without the least opposition: but, upon his arrival at the river Taro in the Parmesan, he found the confederates encamped on the opposite bank, to the number, says Comines, of thirty thousand combatants, whereas his army consisted only of seven thousand regular troops. After several motions, the two armies came at last, on the 6th of July, to a general engagement, which Guicciardin has described at length, not much to the honor of the Italian soldiery. For the confederates had three thousand three hundred men killed on the spot, and the French not above two hundred. Besides, the king carried his point, which was to open a passage for his army; and he pursued his march quite unmolested. He halted a few days at Asti, to

¹ Guicciard. l. 1. Comines, l. 7. c. 11. Summont. Hist. Neap. et Constanzi. l. 20.

² Guicciardin, l. 1. p. 36, 37, 38.

Summons sent by the pope to Charles, and his answer to it. Ferdinand resolves to attempt the recovery of his kingdom. Ferdinand, king of Spain, espouses his cause. A new war kindled in Italy. The Neapolitans revolt, and invite Ferdinand to return;—[Year of Christ, 1496.]

refresh his troops, who had suffered greatly for want of provisions, and then continuing his march, arrived, with his army, at Lions on the 7th of November.¹

Charles had not yet reached the borders of France, when a monitory was delivered to him by a messenger from the pope, commanding him, on pain of excommunication, to quit Italy in the term of ten days, and recall all of his troops out of the kingdom of Naples. If he complied not with that command, he was by the same monitory summoned to appear, in person, before his holiness at Rome. The king could not help smiling at this summons; and he returned to it the following answer: That he was not a little surprised at his holiness's commanding him to leave Italy, since, having demanded a free passage for his troops to return to France, his holiness's allies had denied him his request, and raised what troops they could to stop him; that he was no less surprised at his requiring him to withdraw his troops from the kingdom of Naples, since it was not without his consent, approbation, and even good wishes, that they had entered that kingdom; and, lastly, that as to his appearing before his holiness at Rome, such a command seemed to him quite unaccountable; since being desirous on his return from Naples, of seeing him at Rome, and returning him thanks for the many obligations he owed him, he had not thought fit to grant him that satisfaction; but, nevertheless, that he would strive to obey, in due time, his holiness's command; and only begged that he would wait for him, and not make him undertake, a second time, the same journey in vain.²

And now briefly to relate what happened in the kingdom of Naples, after the departure of Charles. He had left some troops under the command of Gilbert, count of Montpensier, prince of the blood, but too small a number, as he wanted them himself for his return, to guard so great a country. Besides, he had very imprudently neglected to reduce some strongholds, that had not yet submitted; and the people of Naples, the most inconstant and fickle in the world, began already to be dissatisfied with the French government. All this encouraged king Ferdinand, who had fled, as has been said, to the island of Ischia, to attempt the recovery of his kingdom. Having formed this design, he passed over, in a light galley, from the island of Ischia to Messina, to advise with his father, Alphonso, who was still living, about the most effectual means of carrying his design into execution. They had several private conferences, and in the end it was agreed, that recourse should be had to

Ferdinand, king of Spain, surnamed the Catholic, a title lately conferred on him by the pope, on account of his victories over the Moors of Granada. As he was nearly related to them, being the son of John, king of Arragon, brother to Alphonso, the first king of Naples of that family, they did not doubt but he would very readily espouse their cause, and afford them all the assistance in his power; the rather as he had reason to apprehend that, should the French be left in the quiet possession of the kingdom of Naples, they would lay hold of the first opportunity to invade the neighboring island of Sicily, that belonged to him, and unite it to their new kingdom. Of this the Catholic king was aware, and therefore upon the first application from Alphonso and his son Ferdinand, he ordered a body of troops to assemble, with all expedition, at Messina, and to pass over from thence to the kingdom of Naples, in order to assist the banished king in recovering his kingdom. These troops were commanded by the famous Gonsalvo Fernandes, of the family of Aguilar, a man who had signalized himself in a very eminent manner, against the Moors of Granada, and had, by his courage, his conduct, and his military achievements, acquired the glorious title of the "great captain;" and by that title he is commonly mentioned in history. Gonsalvo and the young king landed their army, without opposition, at Reggio, in Calabria, opposite to Messina. The town opened its gates to them, and the castle surrendered after a three days' siege. In Calabria commanded for Charles, Edward Stuart, a Scotchman, commonly known by the name of d'Aubigni. He was originally captain of the king's life guards, who were all of that nation, the French kings reposing greater confidence in them on account of their known valor as well as fidelity, than in their own subjects. Edward had no less distinguished himself, on many occasions, by his courage and conduct in the field, than by his penetration and wisdom in the cabinet; and had therefore been created Lord Aubigni, and raised to the highest military honors. Charles, upon his return to France, appointed him lord high constable of his new kingdom, bestowed upon him the county of Asti, with the lordship of Squillace, held by the pope's youngest son, and committed to his charge the defence of the province of Calabria, lying next to Sicily. He therefore no sooner heard of the surrender of Reggio, than he took the field, attacked Gonsalvo and the king, utterly defeated them, and obliged Gonsalvo to shut himself up in Reggio, and the king to return to Sicily. This was a very inauspicious beginning, and it tarnished, not a little, the glory of the Spanish "great captain." In the mean time the people of Naples, no longer able to

¹ Guicciardin, l. 2. p. 45, 59. Tomasi. p. 145—148. Comines, l. 8. c. 1—7. La Vigne Jour. de Charles VIII.

² Guicciardin, ubi supra, et Spond. ad ann. 1495.

The French are every where driven out, and Ferdinand restored. He dies. Is succeeded by Frederic. The pope makes war upon the Orsini. His army defeated.

bear with the haughty and insolent behavior of the French, sent privately to invite Ferdinand to return, assuring him, that they were all, to a man, ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his cause. Upon that invitation he immediately put to sea with a fleet of sixty large and twenty small ships, which the Catholic king had furnished him with, and had the satisfaction as he sailed along the coast, to see his standard displayed upon the towers of Salerno, Amalfi, and the other maritime towns. He appeared the third day off Naples; and Montpensier, who commanded there, having very imprudently marched out with the greater part of the garrison to prevent his landing, the people laid hold of that opportunity, flew to arms, seized all the gates, and, crying out "God save king Ferdinand," brought him in triumph into the city, on the 7th of July of the present year. He rode through the city amidst the loud acclamations of people of all ranks; and the ladies, not satisfied with covering him from the windows with flowers, and sprinkling him with odoriferous waters, many of the first distinction among them came out to embrace him, and wipe off the sweat from his face. The other cities followed the example of the metropolis, and the revolt was now become as general in favor of Ferdinand, as it had been, but a few months before, against him. The French were every where driven out, and Montpensier himself was besieged in the city of Atella by Gonsalvo and the king, and made prisoner, with his whole army, still five or six thousand strong. But it was agreed, that he should be supplied with shipping to transport his troops with their baggage to Provence; upon condition, however, that he obliged Aubigni to deliver the towns that he still held in Calabria. The brave Scot had recovered several towns that the "great captain" had reduced, and among the rest the city of Cosenza, capital of the hither Calabria, and refused to surrender them, alledging, that he had not signed the treaty of Atella, and therefore was not bound to stand to it. Montpensier was therefore kept prisoner at Puzzolo, where he died soon afterwards. Aubigni held out some time longer; but finding that the king had laid aside all thoughts of the kingdom of Naples, and being, at the same time, reduced to great straits for want of provisions, as well as money to purchase any, or to pay his soldiers, he thought it would reflect no disgrace upon him to abandon an enterprise which his master had abandoned; and accordingly he concluded a treaty with the enemy, by which he and all the other French commanders were allowed to return unmolested to France, with all their men and their baggage.¹ Such was the success of the famous

expedition of Charles VIII. against the kingdom of Naples; an expedition, to use the words of father Daniel, undertaken with much imprudence, pursued with wonderful success, and little conduct, and at last shamefully abandoned, with the loss of a great many brave men.¹ Indeed, no kingdom, it must be owned, was ever more easily conquered, and more shamefully lost.

By the departure of the French, peace was restored throughout the kingdom. But the king had scarce tasted the sweets of it, when he was taken dangerously ill at Soma, a town situated at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, and, being carried to Naples, he died there in a few days. His death happened in the month of October of the present year, when he had not yet completed the 28th year of his age, nor the second of his reign. As he died without issue, he was succeeded by his uncle Frederic, the brother of Alphonso. Thus did Naples see, in the space of less than two years, five kings; Ferdinand the elder, Alphonso his son, Charles VIII. of France, Ferdinand the younger, and Frederic his uncle.

Of pope Alexander we find nothing recorded worthy of notice, during the course of the Neapolitan war, besides his simoniacal practices in conferring not only benefices and bishoprics, but even the red hat, upon such only as were able to come up to the price he set upon them; his instituting new offices, and exposing them to public sale, and his creating the duke of Gandia, his eldest son, captain general of the church, and sending him to make war upon the Orsini, whom he had declared guilty of high treason, for siding with the French against his ally Ferdinand, king of Naples. The duke entered the territories of the Orsini at the head of a very considerable army, made himself master of several strong holds, which that family was possessed of in the neighborhood of Rome, and, at last, laid siege to Bracciano, a very strong place, situated on the lake of that name. Here he met with a most vigorous resistance, was repulsed, with great loss, in all the attacks he made; and, in the mean time, landed at Gaeta a body of chosen troops, sent by Charles, king of France, to the relief of his allies. These were joined, on their march, by most of the other Roman barons and their vassals, who, being well apprised that the pope made war upon the Orsini with no other view but to enrich his family at their expense, looked upon their cause as their own. The duke of Gandia no sooner heard of the landing of the French, than he raised the siege, and marched with his whole army to meet them. The two armies met at Soriano, a village belonging to the Orsini, and an engagement thereupon ensuing, the pope's army was put to flight, with the loss of five

¹ Guicciard. l. 2 et 3. Comines, l. 7 et 8. Govius, l. 3. Georgius Florus de exped. Caroli VIII. Oricellarius de Bello Ital. La Vigne Jour. de Charles VIII.

² Daniel Hist. de Franc. l. 8.

Benevento erected into a duchy, and given by the pope to his eldest son ;—[Year of Christ, 1497 ;]—who is murdered by his brother the cardinal. Circumstances attending that murder. The pope's behavior on that occasion.

hundred men, of all their standards, baggage, and artillery. The duke himself was wounded; and very narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. This battle was followed by a treaty of peace between the pope and the Orsini, which his holiness, bent upon enriching and aggrandizing his own children with the spoils of that illustrious family, no longer observed, than he thought that he could break it with safety, as we shall see in the sequel.

The following year the pope, not satisfied with having created the duke of Gandia, his eldest and favorite son, captain general of the church, proposed, in a consistory, called on the 7th of June, the erecting of the city of Benevento, with its territory, into a duchy, and bestowing it upon him. To that proposal the cardinals all agreed except cardinal Piccolomini, afterwards Pius III., who had the courage to declare, that he never would consent to the alienating of the lands or estates of the church. But in spite of his opposition, Benevento was declared a duchy, and the duke of Gandia received the investiture at his father's hands. This new honor proved fatal to the duke. For his brother, the cardinal, provoked beyond measure at the partiality shown by the father for him, and envying him the extraordinary honors that were heaped daily upon him, while he himself was, in a manner, neglected, resolved to remove him out of the way, and thus engross his father's affections to himself. To this barbarous and horrid resolution he was instigated by another motive of a different nature. His brother was his rival in an amour; and the lady seemed to prefer the duke to the cardinal, which the latter could not bear. Being therefore determined upon the fratricide, he charged four of the many assassins, whom he kept constantly in his pay, with the execution of it; and the time fixed for that purpose was the night preceding the 15th of June, the cardinal knowing for certain that his brother was to visit his mistress that night. As he himself was to set out early next morning for Naples, to crown the new king, he supped with the duke and the rest of his relations at his mother's. After supper the duke and the cardinal came away together; but the duke telling the cardinal, with his usual familiarity, that he had a mind to pass some hours with a lady of their acquaintance before he went home, the cardinal wished him much pleasure, and thus they parted. As the duke did not return that night, nor the day following, and persons even of distinction were at this time frequently missing, it was surmised by some, that he had been murdered, and that his body, which upon the strictest search, could be nowhere found, had been thrown into the Tiber. Upon that surmise the pope, distracted with grief, ordered the watermen, and all

who had houses on the river, to be examined, whether they knew of any dead body being lately thrown into the river. Amongst the many who were examined, one George, a Slavonian, who used to bring timber up the river in his boat, declared, that on Wednesday night (the night preceding the 15th of June) while he was watching his timber, which he had put ashore, he saw two men, and soon after two others, coming out of an alley, and looking every where around them, to see, as he supposed, whether the streets were clear from passengers; that, upon their seeing nobody, they made a signal to their companions to advance, which they immediately did; that one of them was on horseback, and had behind him the body of a dead man, the head and arms hanging down on one side, and the legs on the other; that as he approached the river, two of his companions taking the dead body, the one by the arms, the other by the legs, after swinging it two or three times, threw it, with all their might, into the river. The Slavonian being asked, upon this his deposition, why he had not made such a discovery to the governor, he answered, that he had seen an hundred bodies of persons who had been murdered thrown into the river, and that, as no notice had been ever taken of those murders, he thought it was no business of his to take any notice of this. Upon this intelligence all the watermen, in and about Rome, were employed to fish for the body, with a promise of a great reward to those who should find it. It was found, and hauled ashore the same day about the hour of vespers, and, upon their washing it, they discovered nine wounds, all of them mortal. The body was carried in the evening, with great funeral pomp, to the church of St. Mary de Populo, and there interred, as he had been general of the church, with all the military honors. The pope, affected beyond expression with the tragical end of his eldest and favorite son, and taking it for granted that the murder had been perpetrated by the enemies of the family, caused the strictest inquiries to be made after the authors of it, that he might have, at least, the satisfaction of wreaking his vengeance upon them. None could bear witness against the cardinal but the ruffians whom he had employed, and they dared not, lest they should be sent after the duke. However, from the discoveries that were made in the course of these inquiries, it evidently appeared, that the cardinal, and no other, was the author of the murder. The pope himself was convinced of it, and, overwhelmed with grief, he shut himself up in his closet, and there remained, without admitting any person whatever, or taking any kind of nourishment, from Wednesday to Saturday, when he was prevailed upon by the cardinal of Segovia, who had never departed from his

The pope grants the investiture to Frederic, king of Naples, and sends cardinal Valentine to crown him. Quarrels with the king;—[Year of Christ, 1498.] Occasion of that quarrel. The pope concludes an alliance with France against Frederic; and upon what terms.

chamber door, to admit him, and take some food. The following night Vanozza, whose favorite the cardinal was, as the duke was the pope's, visited his holiness, and staid several hours with him in private. What passed at that interview we know not. But in this all authors agree, that the pope thenceforth, by a sudden and unaccountable change, appeared quite unconcerned; that all further inquiries concerning the duke's death were stopt; and his name no more mentioned, than if he had never existed.¹ Some authors suppose Vanozza to have been privy to the murder; nay, and to have instigated the cardinal to it, finding him endowed with much better talents than the duke, and more capable of raising the family to the highest pitch of grandeur, if the honors, bestowed upon the duke, were conferred upon him. And now let us see what measures his holiness pursued to exalt this fratricide, and in him his family.

Ferdinand II., king of Naples, was succeeded, as has been said, by his uncle Frederic, who immediately wrote a most submissive letter to the pope, to acquaint him with his accession, and beg his holiness to send him the bull of investiture. Alexander, in compliance with the king's request, sent him, the very next day, the bull he had applied for, and with it a letter, filled with the most friendly and kind expressions, wishing him a long and prosperous reign, and assuring him, that he should ever employ all his power, temporal as well as spiritual, to support him upon a throne, to which he had so just a title. To do him greater honor, he sent soon afterwards cardinal Valentine, with the character of his legate *a Latere*, to crown him; and on the 10th of August of the present year, that ceremony was performed by the cardinal, with the utmost magnificence, not at Naples, where the plague then raged, but at Capua.²

As Charles VIII. of France died on the 7th of April of the following year, 1498, and great military preparations were carrying on by his successor Lewis XII., with a design of making a new attempt upon the kingdom of Naples, the pope, thinking that king Frederic, to engage his favor and protection against so powerful an enemy, would readily grant him whatever he should ask, demanded his daughter for the cardinal, who wanted to renounce that dignity, and the principality of Taranto for her portion. The pope's view in this was, as is supposed by the contemporary writers, to raise his son, so unbounded was his ambition, to the throne of Naples. For should his son marry the king's daughter, and get possession of so considerable a part of the kingdom, he thought it

would be no difficult undertaking, with the wealth and forces of the church, to drive out the father-in-law, who had but few troops, and empty coffers. Of this Frederic was aware, and therefore rejected; in the least disobliging terms he could, the proposed marriage. Lewis Sforza, the usurper of the duchy of Milan, whose dominions the French king claimed, and intended to invade, as well as the kingdom of Naples, used his utmost endeavors to persuade Frederic to gratify the pope, lest the desire of aggrandizing his family, the only object he had in his view, should induce him to recur to France, and unite with that king against both, which would be inevitably attended with the ruin of both. But Frederic still refused to comply with the pope's demand, saying, that he well knew he should thereby forfeit his holiness's friendship, and expose himself to the danger of losing his kingdom; but that he likewise knew, that by giving his daughter in marriage to the pope's son, with the principality of Taranto, he should expose himself to the same danger, and was therefore determined of two evils to choose that which was the least derogatory to his honor, and proceeded not from his own act.¹

That the duke of Milan's apprehensions were not ill-grounded appeared soon afterwards. For upon Frederic's obstinately persisting to reject the proposed match, the pope resolved, as the duke had foreseen, to apply to France, not doubting, but, at so critical a juncture, that king would purchase his friendship at any rate. Accordingly the archbishop of Ragusa was sent, with the character of nuncio, to the French court, to conclude an alliance with the king; though the pope gave out, that his only business was to congratulate the new king upon his accession to the throne. As the king promised himself great advantages, in his intended expedition into Italy, from the friendship of the pope, a treaty was soon concluded upon the following terms; that his holiness should assist the king in the war he intended to make upon the duke of Milan, and the king of Naples; that he should declare null his marriage with Jane of France, daughter to Lewis XI.; should grant him a dispensation to marry Anne of Brittany; and prefer George of Amboise, archbishop of Roan, to the dignity of cardinal. The king, on his side, was to confer some considerable estates, titles, and dignities in France, upon cardinal Valentine, as soon as he had renounced that dignity; to procure a match between him and Charlotta, daughter of Alan d'Albret, and sister to queen Jane of Navarre, and to put the pope in possession of some towns in Romagna, held by petty princes, styling themselves "Vicars of the Church." Anne of Brittany, mentioned in

¹ Guicciardin, l. 3. p. 96. Tomasi, p. 197—262; et Burcard, p. 36—40. apud Gordon, v. 152—159.

² Camill. Peregrin in Append.

¹ Guicciardin, l. 4. Tomasi, p. 311.

Remarkable instance of the pope's baseness and cruelty. Valentine renounces the ecclesiastical state. Is created by the French king duke of Valence. Valentine's marriage;—[Year of Christ, 1499.]

the treaty, was heiress to that duchy, and the widow of the late king Charles VIII., who had married her to annex Brittany to the crown of France. But he dying without issue, it reverted to her by one of the articles of the marriage treaty; and it was to secure that principality to France, that Lewis sued for a dispensation to marry her, and obtained it, though he had lived twenty years with Jane, in all appearance, as his lawful wife.¹

Under this year we read of a remarkable instance of Alexander's baseness, cruelty, and injustice. He had granted a dispensation to a nun, heiress to the crown of Portugal, to quit her religious profession, and marry the natural son of the late king. That dispensation gave great offence to Ferdinand the Catholic, who claimed that kingdom as the next heir to it after the nun; and the pope was, on the one hand, unwilling to revoke it, and, on the other, apprehensive of the consequences that might attend his maintaining it, in opposition to so powerful a prince. But Valentine extricated him out of his perplexity, advising him to deny his having ever issued such a dispensation, and to charge the archbishop of Cosenza, the secretary of briefs, with having forged it. This expedient the pope readily embraced; and the archbishop was immediately apprehended by his order, as guilty of forgery, and sent prisoner to the castle of St. Angelo. As he, conscious of his own innocence, denied the fact with great constancy and firmness, and all who were acquainted with his character looked upon the charge as a malicious and groundless calumny, the pope sent John Merades, bishop elect of Toul, one of the noted instruments of his cruelty, to assure the prisoner in his name, that, though he was innocent, if he would, for some weighty reasons, take the guilt upon him, his holiness would cause him to be immediately set at liberty, and prefer him to the greatest dignities. The unhappy bishop, allured with the hopes of liberty and preferment, fell into the snare, pleaded guilty in the presence of several witnesses, and most humbly begged his holiness to forgive him. But instead of the promised liberty and dignities, the pope ordered him to be more closely confined than ever. He was soon afterwards brought before a private consistory, and being there found guilty, upon his own confession, of having forged the dispensation in question, the following sentence was pronounced by the pope himself against him: that he should be degraded, that his effects should be confiscated, and his person delivered up to the civil magistrate. This cruel and unjust sentence was executed with the utmost rigour; all the bishop's effects, and the money he was possessed of, were given to Valentine,

and he himself was, by the civil magistrate, confined for life to a dungeon in the castle of St. Angelo, without any other food but bread and water. But death soon put an end to his misery.¹

The way being paved for Valentine's secular grandeur by the above-mentioned treaty concluded with the king of France, he applied to the pope, and the college of cardinals, for leave to quit the ecclesiastical state; alledging, that he had embraced it against his will, merely out of obedience to his holiness's command; and therefore hoped, that they would not oblige him to continue in it. It was a thing quite unprecedented for an archbishop and a cardinal to become a layman; but the cardinals knowing that the affair had been determined beforehand by the pope, they all agreed to it; and Valentine went the very next day in a rich lay habit to meet the ambassador, whom the king of France had sent to confirm the above-mentioned treaty. The ambassador stayed about a month at Rome, and had the satisfaction, during that time, to notify to the pope, that his master, in compliance with the treaty, had created Cæsar Borgia, duke of Valence in Dauphine, had settled upon him a pension of twenty thousand livres, and given him the command of a company of one hundred lances, with twenty thousand livres more by way of pay. Cæsar (whom I shall henceforth call duke Valentine, the title given him by almost all the Italian historians) set out from Rome with the French ambassador for the court of France, carrying with him the pope's bull for the divorce; and the cardinal's cap for the archbishop of Roan. He was received with most extraordinary marks of honor in all the towns of France through which he passed, and above all at Chinon, where the French court then resided. The magnificence of his entry into that city, as described by Tomasi and Burchard, almost exceeds all belief.² Tomasi tells us, among other things, that he had in his train a considerable number of led horses, all shod with massy gold. The king, to gratify his vanity and that of the pope, received and entertained him, in a manner, as a sovereign prince; created him knight of the order of St. Michael, an order greatly esteemed at that time in France; and continued daily heaping new honors upon him, though he had already sufficiently discovered his genius and temper, and despised him in his heart.

The following year, 1499, Valentine's marriage with the daughter of Alan d'Albret was brought about, not without some difficulty, by the king, and the nuptials were celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence. And now the king, thinking he might safely rely upon the pope's steady

¹ Guicciardin. l. 4. Seyssel. *Annal. de France*. *Argentre Hist. de Bretagne*, l. 12.

² Burchard, p. 40—44. Tomasi, p. 294.

² Tomasi, p. 314. Burchard. *Diar.* p. 85.

The duchy of Milan reduced by the French. Some cities of Romagna reduced by Valentine. General insurrection against the French in the state of Milan. The insurrection quelled, and the duke taken prisoner;—[Year of Christ, 1500.] Valentine completes the reduction of Romagna. Instance of Valentine's cruelty and treachery.

adherence to his interest, ordered the troops, designed for the conquest of the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples, to rendezvous at Lions, and he went thither himself, attended by duke Valentine and the chief of the French nobility. The king remained at Lions, but his army passed the Alps in the beginning of August of the present year, and before the end of that month made themselves masters of the whole duchy. So rapid a conquest was owing to the cowardice of some of the duke's commanders, and the treachery of others, but above all to the hatred his subjects universally bore him, on account of his usurpation, and the severity of his government. The king, upon the news of the surrender of Milan, immediately set out to go and take possession of so glorious an acquisition; and on the 16th of October he made his public entry into that city, in the ducal habit, amidst the loud acclamations of the people. The reader will find a particular detail of the events of this war in Guicciardin, and to that excellent historian, as they are foreign to my subject, I refer him.¹

The pope sent to congratulate the king upon his success, as soon as he heard of his arrival at Milan, and at the same time took care to remind him of his promise to put the holy see in possession of the towns that were held by petty princes in Romagna, but had originally belonged to the church. This was the only article of the treaty, that the king had not yet fulfilled, and, in compliance with it, he immediately granted to duke Valentine, whom the pope had appointed captain-general of the church, a body of three hundred lances, and four thousand Swiss, the former to be paid by the king, and the latter by the pope. With these troops the duke began his expedition by besieging Imola, which, as it was not defensible, immediately surrendered, Catherine Sforza, the governess, having retired with her young son, Octavian Riarius, lord of the place, to Forlì, that belonged to the same family. As the governess had not a sufficient number of troops to defend that city, she abandoned it, and, having sent away her children and her most valuable effects to Florence, withdrew to the citadel. There she held out, for some time, with a courage and resolution far above her sex. But the citadel being taken as well as the castle, to which she had retired, she was made prisoner, and, being sent to Rome, was there shut up in the castle of St. Angelo. But the pressing instances of the Florentines, and the remonstrances of Ivo d'Allegre, whom the king had appointed to command under the duke, saved her from falling a victim, as many others had done, to the Borgian cruelty and avarice. Valentine was

prevented, for the present, from pursuing this war, by an incident quite unforeseen, a general insurrection against the French in the state of Milan, which obliged them to recall the troops, employed in reducing the cities of Romagna. Thus was a new and far more bloody war than the former kindled in the Milanese. But the king, who was returned to France, having, upon the first news of this sudden revolution, sent a strong reinforcement to Trivulzio, whom he had appointed governor of his new duchy, all the places, that had revolted, were recovered, and on the 10th of April of the following year 1500, the duke himself was taken prisoner, being betrayed by the Swiss in his pay, and carried into France. As he had usurped the duchy of Milan, had poisoned his nephew the lawful heir, and had frequently put all Italy, by his unbounded ambition, in a flame, the king confined him for life to the castle of Loches; and he died there about the year 1510.¹

As the king had not yet made the necessary preparations for his intended expedition into the kingdom of Naples, he sent, at the request of the pope, a strong body of chosen troops to assist Valentine in renewing the war against the princes of Romagna. With that reinforcement the duke soon made himself master of Pesaro and Rimini, the first place being abandoned by its lord, John Sforza, and the latter, which was held by Pandolfo Malatesta, opening its gates to him as soon as he appeared before them. At Faenza he met with a most vigorous resistance from Astor Manfredi, lord of that city, though only a youth of about eighteen years of age. The duke is said to have lost, in the course of this siege, above two thousand of his best troops. But the besieged being, in the end, reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and dreading the consequences of their falling into the hands of so merciless an enemy without any previous agreement, prevailed upon their young prince to capitulate; and the town was, accordingly, delivered up upon the following conditions; that the persons and effects of the inhabitants should be safe, and that Astor should be allowed to retire unmolested to what place soever he pleased, and carry with him all his effects. Valentine swore to the observance of these articles; but, regardless of his oath, he retained the young prince at his court, and for some time treated him, in appearance, with great respect. But not long after he was sent to Rome; and there, when a certain person, as was reported, had satiated his lust with him, he being a most beautiful youth, he was, with his natural brother, privately put to death. Thus Guicciardin. Tomasi adds, that about a

¹ Guicciardin, l. 4.

¹ Guicciardin, l. 5. Hist de Bayard. c. 16. Anton. Hist. de Louis XII.

Valentine is created duke of Romagna. The kings of France and Spain agree to divide the kingdom of Naples between them. Treachery of the king of Spain. The partition treaty confirmed by the pope. Frederic driven out, and the kingdom divided between the kings of France and Spain.

twelvemonth after, the young prince was found in the Tiber with a bow-string about his neck, and his brother, a youth of fifteen years of age, with his hands tied behind his back.¹ As the reduction of Romagna was completed by the taking of Faenza, great rejoicings were made, on that occasion, at Rome; and the pope not only confirmed to Valentine the title of duke of Romagna, which he had assumed, but granted to him the whole province to be held by him and his heirs, and invested him with it in a full consistory; so that the church got nothing by this war, in which so many lives were lost, though the pope had undertaken it under color of recovering to her her ancient domains; and the duke was, in the end the only gainer.

The pope and Valentine were for carrying the war next into the state of Bologna, held, with that city, by the Bentivogli. But the king of France, having, by this time, made the necessary preparations for adding the conquest of the kingdom of Naples to that of the duchy of Milan, recalled the troops he had lent to Valentine; and thus was the intended attempt upon Bologna put off to a more proper season. Of the king's expedition against the kingdom of Naples, and the success that attended it, authors give us the following account. As Ferdinand the Catholic claimed that kingdom as well as Lewis, they privately agreed to conquer it, with their joint forces, and divide it between them, laying it down as a principle, that Frederic, the prince then on the throne, had no right to it, being descended only from a natural son of the house of Arragon, and that they two were the only persons who could have a lawful claim to it; Lewis, as heir to the family of Anjou, and Ferdinand, as nephew to Alphonso, who conquered it, he being the son of John, king of Arragon, Alphonso's brother, and consequently lawful heir, as he pretended, to the kingdom of Naples, which his uncle had conquered with the arms and the money of Arragon. By that convention Ferdinand was to have Calabria and Apulia, lying next to Sicily, which belonged to him, and Lewis the rest of the kingdom with the capital. Each was to conquer his own share, and neither was obliged to assist, but only not to hinder the other. This treaty was signed by Ferdinand at Granada on the 11th of November of the present year. But by both princes it was thought expedient, that it should be kept secret till such time as the French army, destined for the conquest of Naples arrived at Rome.² In the mean time the unhappy king Frederic, hearing of the march of the French army, and knowing nothing of this treaty, applied to Ferdinand as a prince of the same family, earnestly

entreating him to take him into his protection, and assist him as powerfully against Lewis of France, as he had assisted his nephew against Charles. Ferdinand, in compliance, as he pretended, with Frederic's request, ordered Gonsalvo, called the "great captain," having first let him into the secret, to embark immediately on board the fleet, that lay at Malaga with a great number of troops on board, and sail to Sicily. The news of his arrival there gave great joy to Frederic, who entertained not, (and how could he?) the least suspicion of the Catholic king's treachery, and he immediately wrote to Gonsalvo, pressing him to pass over, without delay, to Calabria, that he might be ready at hand to make head against the French in full march to invade his kingdom. Gonsalvo demanded, and obtained some towns in Calabria, that he might have places to retreat to, as he pretended, in case of any misfortune; but his real design was thus to get more easily possession of his master's share. Upon the landing of the great captain with his troops in Calabria, the deluded king drew together the few forces he had, in order to join him. But, in the mean time, the whole secret was disclosed. For the French army being arrived in the neighborhood of Rome, the ambassadors of Spain and France demanded an audience of the pope in a full consistory, and having obtained it, they notified to him and the cardinals the treaty concluded between the two kings, begging his holiness to confirm it by granting the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to the king of France, and that of Apulia and Calabria to the king of Spain. Their request was immediately granted, and a bull was soon afterwards issued, depriving Frederic of the kingdom, and confirming the above-mentioned division. The unfortunate Frederic was thunder-struck at the news of this treaty, and could scarce believe, that a prince of his own family would be so base as to abuse the confidence he placed in him, to procure his ruin more effectually. But being soon convinced of it, by the hostilities that the great captain began to commit in Calabria, and finding it absolutely impossible for him to resist two such formidable powers, he put the few forces he had into his towns to defend them as long as they were able, and retired himself to Castel Nuovo in Naples. But being there besieged, without any hopes of relief by Aubigni, who commanded the French army, he surrendered upon the following conditions: That he should be permitted to withdraw to the isle of Ischia with what effects he could carry with him; should be allowed to remain there six months, and then retire to what place he pleased out of the kingdom of Naples. He was so provoked at the baseness and treachery of Fer-

¹ Guicciardin, l. 5. Tomasi, p. 139.

² Recueil de Traites de Leonard. tom. 1.

Valentine invades, and reduces the state of Piombino. Seizes on the duchy of Urbino by treachery ;—[Year of Christ, 1502.]

dinand, that, before the six months expired, he retired to France, and being well received by that king, he made over to him, out of spite to Ferdinand, all his rights to the kingdom of Naples, and had, upon that account, the duchy of Anjou, and a pension of thirty thousand ducats a year, which he enjoyed to the hour of his death. The great captain met with as little opposition in reducing Calabria and Apulia, as Aubigni had done in conquering the rest of the kingdom. Taranto held out for some time, but was, in the end, forced to capitulate; and one of the articles of capitulation was, that the duke of Calabria, the dethroned king's son, then in that city, should be at liberty to retire to what place soever he should think proper. They obliged the great captain to swear, upon the consecrated host, to the observance of this article in particular. But, notwithstanding his oath, he sent the young prince, under a strong guard, into Spain, where he met with kind usage, but was kept, in a manner, as a prisoner, so long as he lived.¹ Thus ended the reign of this unhappy branch of the house of Arragon in the kingdom of Naples. Great numbers of manifestoes were published by the king of Spain's friends to justify his conduct in this war. But with all their manifestoes they could not hinder people, as Guicciardin informs us, from making a joke of his title of "catholic," as well as of his pretences to piety and religion in driving the Moors out of the kingdom of Granada, which procured him that title.

While these things passed in the kingdom of Naples, the pope, waiving every opportunity of extending his power, and aggrandizing his family at the expense of his neighbors, formed a design of making himself master of the republic of Florence, divided, at this time, into two opposite factions. Accordingly, he sent duke Valentine, with all the forces of the church under his command, to invade the dominions of that republic, under color of reinstating Peter de Medicis, who had been lately driven out by the popular faction. The duke made himself master of some places; but while he was advancing full march to Florence, he received a letter from the king of France, to whom the Florentines had applied, requiring him instantly to withdraw his troops from the Florentine dominions, to restore the places he had taken, and not concern himself with the affairs of that republic. With this order Valentine complied much against his will; but turning his arms, before he left Tuscany, against Appiano, prince of Piombino, to whose dominions he had no shadow of claim or right, he made himself master of all the places belonging to that prince, and after a siege, that lasted some time, of Piombino it-

self, his capitol. The prince had gone in person, upon this unexpected invasion, into France, to implore the protection of the king, who was bound by former stipulations to maintain him in the quiet possession of all his dominions. Lewis received him very coldly, and returned to his request the following answer: That he could afford him no assistance without the breach of a posterior treaty concluded with his holiness and duke Valentine. However, the prince saved, at least, his life by his journey into France. For the city of Piombino being taken in his absence, he escaped, by that means, falling into the hands of the duke, who, to secure to himself the possession of the states, which he had unjustly seized, seldom failed to remove the proprietors, by some means or other, commonly by poison, out of the way. From Piombino, Valentine returned to the neighborhood of Rome, and there seized on all the towns and territories belonging to the Colonnas and the Savellis, pretending that they had forfeited them by joining the king of Naples against the French. Out of the states of these two wealthy and powerful Roman families, the pope created two duchies, the one of Nepi, the other of Serrmoneta. With the former he invested John Borgia, another natural son of his, not by Vanozza, but by a Roman lady after his accession to the pontificate. But in the bull of investiture he is called the son of Cæsar Borgia. The other duchy he bestowed upon Roderic of Arragon, the supposed son of his daughter Lucretia by her third husband, the natural son of Alphonso II. king of Naples.¹ I said "the supposed son;" for it was commonly believed, that Roderic was his holiness's own son by his own daughter.

Valentine's next undertaking was to make himself master of the duchy of Urbino; with that view he sent part of his troops to invest Camerino, belonging to the Varani family, and soon after came himself, with the rest of his army, to Perugia, to assist in person, as he pretended, at the siege. From Perugia he dispatched two messengers to Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino, to compliment him in his name, and beg he would lend him some troops and artillery to be employed in the siege of Camerino. As the duke had lately compounded some differences with the pope to the entire satisfaction of both, and received most affectionate letters from his holiness, he apprehended no evil consequences from his complying with Valentine's request. But no sooner had he put himself out of a state of making any defence by complying with it, than Valentine, marching with incredible speed, entered the duchy in a hostile manner, seized on Cagli, and advancing with the same expedition to Urbino, made himself master of that city with-

¹ Guicciard. l. 5. Antonin. Hist. de Louis XII. Hist. du Chevalier Bayard.

¹ Guicciard. l. 5.

Valentine seizes on the city of Camerino. Confederacy against him. The confederacy broken, and four of the chiefs treacherously murdered. Several cities reduced. Persecution of the Orsini;—[Year of Christ, 1503.]

out the least opposition. He had placed guards on all the roads, in order to get the duke and his nephew into his power. For it was a rule with him to extirpate the whole race of those princes whom he had divested of their states. But the duke mounting a peasant's horse, in the disguise of a peasant, had the good luck to escape undiscovered, first to Ravenna, and afterwards to Venice; and his nephew, escaping a thousand snares, got safe to Asti.¹

Valentine, after a short stay at Urbino, returned to pursue the siege of Camerino. As he met there with a most vigorous resistance from Julius da Varano, lord of the place, a treaty was set on foot, and a few days truce agreed to by both, in order to settle the terms. But Valentine, observing that the besieged, depending upon the truce, were less vigilant, he assaulted the place on all sides with his whole army, and carried it sword in hand. The attack was so sudden, and so unexpected, that the unhappy prince, not having time to make his escape, fell into the hands of the perfidious conqueror, with two of his sons; and they were all three by his order immediately strangled.² The prince's eldest son had been sent some time before to Venice, and thus happily escaped the fate of his two younger brothers.³

The treatment that the duke of Urbino, and the Lord of Camerino had met with, taught the other princes of Italy to provide for their own safety. With that view they met at a place called Magione, not far from Perugia, and there agreed, all to a man, to join their forces in their own defence, and stop the career of Valentine's unjust usurpations. At this meeting were present Vitellozzo Vitelli, lord of Città di Castello; Paul Baglione, lord of Perugia; Liverotto, lord of Fermo; Hermes, son of John Bentivoglio, lord of Bologna; Antony de Venafrò, as the deputy of Pandolfo Petrucci, the chief magistrate of the republic of Siena; cardinal Orsini, with Paul, and Francis Orsini, duke of Gravina. This confederacy alarmed Valentine, the rather, as the people of Urbino had revolted and recalled their lawful sovereign, who, landing at Sinigaglia, had recovered the whole duchy, except some strong holds, and was ready to join the confederates. At the same time the city of Camerino, shaking off the yoke, put John da Varano, their late lord's eldest son, in possession of the place. Upon the first news of this alliance, the pope and Valentine, sensible that they were not then in a condition to oppose so many enemies with any success, resolved to recur to their usual arts, and, instead of arms, employ guile and deceit. Accordingly they proposed the accommoda-

ting matters in an amicable manner, and by treaty; his holiness engaging his word with the most solemn protestations, that the articles agreed to should, on his part and Valentine's, be most religiously observed, they applied to Paul Orsini in particular, and having gained him by promising to restore to his family all the towns and territories that had been taken from them, they met with very little difficulty in gaining the rest, and thus breaking the confederacy. Valentine, being thus delivered from all his fears, appointed the heads of the confederacy to meet him at Sinigaglia, in order to give their opinion concerning an affair of the utmost importance, he being, he said, no less willing to confide in the council of his friends, than in their arms. The two Orsini, Paul, and the duke of Gravina, Vitelli of Città di Castello, and Liverotto of Fermo, in compliance with Valentine's invitation, repaired to Sinigaglia, and were there received by him with all the marks of the most sincere friendship. When he had talked some time with them in a most friendly manner, he took them into an inner room, under color of having something to communicate to them in private. But no sooner had they entered the room than they were made prisoners, and two of them, namely, Vitelli and Liverotto, strangled upon the spot. The two Orsini underwent the same fate soon afterwards, and the cardinal of that name, when he had been confined for some time in the castle of St. Angelo, was dispatched with poison.¹

And now the duke, having no enemy to oppose him, recovered the duchy of Urbino; and, without the loss of a single man, made himself master of Città di Castello, Fermo, and Perugia; the Baglioni, lords of the latter place, having abandoned it at his approach. He turned his arms next against the Orsini; and, pretending that they had formed a design of seizing even on Rome itself, as they had many strong holds in that neighborhood, he possessed himself of all their territories, and having laid their fortresses level with the ground, returned to Rome, loaded with the spoils of that ancient family. He had long aspired at the sovereignty of the free state of Siena, of Pisa, and of Florence, and had even set out on his march, with all the forces of the church under his command, in order to invade those states, beginning with that of Siena. But by an express order from the king of France, he was obliged to drop that undertaking, and withdraw his troops from the territory of Siena, where he had already committed many shocking and unheard-of barbarities. However, being afterwards emboldened by the misfortunes of the French, in the war

¹ Guicciard. l. 5; et Buonacorsi.

² Idem ibid.

³ Tomasi, p. 234.

¹ Guicciardin. l. 5. Tomasi.

Alexander dies. Account of his death. His character. His vices.

carried on between them and the Spaniards, in the kingdom of Naples, about the division of that kingdom, he resolved, and so did the pope, to pursue the war against the above-mentioned states, whether the French king approved of it or not; nay, though they owed to him all their grandeur, they had determined to abandon his party in case he opposed them, and espoused that of Spain against him. But the sudden and quite unexpected death of the pope defeated at once all their vast projects.

It was universally believed, says Guicciardin, that the death of the pope was owing to poison; and, as that author informs us, it happened, according to the more common report, in the following manner. Valentine had resolved to despatch with poison Hadrian, cardinal of Corneto, one of the most wealthy of the sacred college; and being one night to sup with him, with his holiness, and other guests, in a vineyard, near the Vatican, that belonged to the said cardinal, he sent thither, before supper, some flasks of wine infected with a most deadly poison. These flasks were delivered to the waiter, with strict orders not to open them for any person whatever. In the mean time the pope arrived, and being overcome with thirst, as the season was extremely hot, he asked for something to drink. As the waiter, who was trusted with the wine, had not been let into the secret, he imagined that it was some of the choicest, and presented his holiness with it. While the pope was drinking, Valentine arrived, and took a draught of the same wine. The poison operated immediately; the pope was carried for dead to the pontifical palace, and his son after him in the same condition.¹ Such is the account Guicciardin gives us of Alexander's death; and from that account it does not appear that the pope was privy to the affair. But by other authors the plot is charged upon the father as well as the son. Alexander, says cardinal Bembo, died on the 18th of August, having by a mistake of the waiter, drank the poison which he had privately ordered to be given to his intimate friend, cardinal Hadrian, in whose gardens he supped with his son Cæsar. It providentially happened, that they who had despatched, with poison, so many illustrious persons, in order to possess themselves of their treasures, and designed to have added their intimate friend and their guest to the rest, should, by the same means, have destroyed themselves instead of him.² Tomaso Tomasi writes, that the pope intended to have poisoned all the rich cardinals, as well as the cardinal of Corneto, and seize on their wealth, as he stood in great want of money for his expedition against Tuscany; that he invited them, with that view, to sup with him and his son, in a vineyard near

the Vatican, that belonged to the said cardinal of Corneto; that Valentine consigned the poisoned wine to the head waiter and acquainted him with the whole; but that the pope arriving in his absence, and asking for something to drink, the under-waiter, who had received no instructions, gave him some of the poisoned wine, imagining, as it was set apart, that it was reserved for his holiness. Tomasi adds, that the pope had scarce sat down to supper, when being seized with a racking pain in his bowels, he fell off his chair, and was taken up and carried to his palace for dead.¹

He died the next day, the 18th of August, in the seventy-second year of his age, when he had held the see eleven years and sixteen days: his body, all swelled, black, and shockingly disfigured, was carried to St. Peter's, in order to be there interred, the people crowding, with incredible joy, about it, and congratulating each other upon their being, at last, delivered from one who, with his immoderate ambition, and unexampled treachery; with innumerable instances of horrid cruelty, of monstrous lust, and unheard-of avarice, exposing all things to sale, both sacred and profane, had, like a venomous serpent, intoxicated the whole world. Such is the portrait Guicciardin has left us of this pope.²

I shall pass over, in silence, the many shocking instances that occur in history of his holiness's "monstrous lust," but cannot help taking notice of his being strongly suspected of incest with his own daughter, and his having, in his amour with her, his two sons, the duke of Gandia and Valentine, for his rivals. This gave occasion to several pasquinades, and, among the rest, to the following famous distich of Pontanus, written by way of epitaph for Lucretia's tomb:

"Hoc jacet in tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais; Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus."

He is charged with the same crime by the celebrated Sannazar, in the following lines:

"Humana jura, nec minus cœlestia,
Ipsosque sustulit Deos;
Ut scilicet liceret heu scelus! Patri
Nate sinum permingere."³

His holiness, says Burchardus, was a great lover of women, and in his time the apostolic palace was turned into a brothel, a more infamous brothel than any of the public stews. He then tells us of an entertainment given by Valentine, in the apostolic palace, to fifty of the most noted harlots then in Rome, and describes, perhaps too minutely, the obscenities practised on that occasion, in the presence of the pope, and his daughter Lucretia.⁴ In short, none of the Eastern, none of the Roman emperors, however lewd and debauched, exceeded Alexander in lewdness and debauchery.⁵

¹ Guicciardin, l. 5.

² Bembo, l. 6.

³ Tomasi apud Gordon. Vita Alex. p. 361, et seq.

⁴ Guicciard. l. 5.

⁵ Sanna. l. 2. Epi. 29.

⁶ Burchard. Diar. p. 77. ibid.

⁷ Tomasi, p. 187.

All things venal in Alexander's time at Rome. Allowed to have had some good qualities. His writings. Disturbances on occasion of the death of Alexander.

Of his "immoderate ambition," his "unexampled treachery," and his "horrid cruelty," I have already alledged several shocking instances. As for his "unheard-of avarice," he stuck at nothing to accumulate wealth wherewithal to feed the extravagance of his unnatural brood, and raise them to the highest pitch of grandeur. It was a common practice, says Guicciardin, both with the father and the son, to dispatch with poison, not only those whom they had resolved to sacrifice to their revenge and jealousy, but all other persons whose wealth tempted their unhallowed avarice, not sparing cardinals, nor other courtiers, nor even their most intimate friends, and their most faithful and useful ministers.¹ Innumerable instances are to be met with in the writers of these unhappy times, especially in Tomasi and Burchardus, of persons thus dispatched, and charged, after their death, with crimes, for which, it was pretended, that they had forfeited their estates; and thus were they twice most barbarously murdered.²

In simony he far surpassed all his predecessors; exposing to sale all ecclesiastical preferments, dignities, benefices, and even bishoprics; nay, and admitting none into the sacred college, but such as had purchased that dignity with ready money; which gave just occasion to the following pasquinade:

"Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum.
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest."

To conclude; all, who speak of Alexander, seem to agree in this, that for lust, avarice, cruelty, treachery, and perfidiousness, he scarce ever had his equal. But, at the same time, they allow him to have been endowed with most extraordinary talents, and a capacity equal to the government of an empire.

No man ever proposed matters with more art, or drew others with more ease into his own sentiments. His language was attracting, and his eloquence irresistible. He made it his study to accommodate himself to the temper and genius of others; with the grave and serious he was so too, but jocose and facetious with men of pleasantry. He loved shows, and public sports; but never suffered his diversions to interfere with business. He contented himself with little sleep, was very temperate in his diet, and never known to have been guilty of the least intemperance. He is said, for all his love of money, never to have withheld from the professors of the liberal arts their salaries, from the soldiers their pay, nor from the workmen their wages: it was a maxim with him, that "who takes from the great must give to the little;" and it was by adhering to that maxim, that he caused so many Roman barons to be divested of their estates, and barbarously murdered, without any insurrection ensuing thereupon in Rome, or any danger to himself.¹

Alexander left behind him a treatise under the title of "Clypeus defensionis fidei Romanæ Ecclesiæ," with several bulls; and amongst these the bull relating to the disputes between the kings of Castile and Portugal, concerning the discovery of the West Indies. That affair being by both princes referred to his arbitration, he determined it thus: that their conquests in those parts should be bounded by a line supposed to be drawn from North to South, passing about one hundred leagues from the islands of Cape Verde, and that the part of the ocean lying to the west of that line, should belong to the king of Castile, and the other to the South to the king of Portugal.²

PIUS III., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTEENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[MAXIMILIAN, *Emperor of the West.*]

[Year of Christ, 1503.] The death of Alexander was attended with great disturbances, not only at Rome, but throughout the ecclesiastical state. For no sooner was it known that he was dead, and his son Valentine lay dangerously ill, than the cities of Pesaro, Sinigaglia, Citta di Castello, Camerino, Urbino, Piombino, and Perugia, shaking off the yoke, recalled their old lords, and reinstated them in their dominions. Thus did Valentine lose at once what it had cost him so much blood and treasure to gain.

However the people of Romagna showed no inclination to revolt, being entirely satisfied with their new governor, and his new government. In Rome every thing was in the utmost confusion. For the Orsini, and the other Roman barons whom Valentine had divested of their estates, being returned upon the news of the pope's death and Valentine's illness, battles were daily fought in the streets between the two opposite parties; insomuch that the cardinals were obliged to raise a considerable body of troops to protect

¹ Guicciardi. l. 5.

² Burchard. et Tomasi, ubi supra.

¹ Burchard. Tomasi, ubi supra; et Onup. in Alex. VI.

² Cherubini Bullar. mag. et Bembo, l. 6.

Pius III. elected. His family, preferments, &c. New disturbances in Rome. Death of Pius. Julius II. elected. His preferments before his election.

them while they were shut up in the conclave. Besides, they applied to the French, Spanish, and Venetian ambassadors, and having by their means prevailed upon Valentine, as well as upon the heads of the opposite party, to withdraw, with their men, from Rome, till the election was made, they began at last to celebrate the funeral solemnities of the deceased pope, not in the church of St. Peter, where he was buried, but in that of the Dominicans, called the Minerva. They did not, it seems, think it safe to meet in the Vatican, as being too near the castle of St. Angelo, garrisoned by Valentine's men.¹ However, being assured by the governor that they should meet with no disturbance nor interruption, they assembled in the Vatican, to the number of thirty-eight, and, in a very short time, elected, with one consent, Francis Piccolomini, cardinal deacon of St. Eustathius. His election fell on the 22d of September, when the see had been vacant thirty-five days, and he was crowned on the 8th of October, under the name of Pius III.

He was a native of Siena, of the Todeschini family; but being nephew to Pius II., by his sister Laodamia, of the Piccolomini family, he was allowed by that pope to take the name and bear the arms of that family. He was preferred by his uncle to the dignity of cardinal, when only twenty-two years of age, and not long after to the bishopric of Siena, and it was to renew the memory of his benefactor that he took the name of Pius III. The succeeding popes, Paul II., Innocent

VIII., and Alexander VI., employed him in several legations, which he is said to have discharged to their entire satisfaction, being a man of great experience and equal probity.¹

Upon the news of his election, Valentine, who still continued greatly indisposed, and was obliged to travel in a litter, returned to Rome with two hundred men at arms, as many light horse, and eight hundred foot. But the Orsini being likewise returned, the war was renewed within the walls, and the city thrown again into the utmost confusion. But as the Orsini received daily new reinforcements they prevailed in the end, and obliged Valentine to fly for refuge to the castle of St. Angelo. Upon his flight his men dispersed; and thus was he left at the mercy of the pope, who nevertheless would allow no violence to be offered to him, but ordered the governor to let him depart unmolested whenever he pleased. Thus was peace restored to the city, but Pius did not live to enjoy it; for being advanced in years and very infirm, he died on the 26th day after his election. Some ascribe his death to poison, conveyed into an ulcer he had in his leg, at the instigation of Pandolfo Petrucci, lord of Siena. His death happened on the 18th of October, when he had lived sixty-four years, five months, and ten days.² He was buried in the church of St. Peter, in a marble sepulchre, near that of his uncle Pius II., in the chapel of St. Andrew. Guicciardin speaks of him as a man of an unspotted life, and not unworthy of the high dignity to which he was raised.³

JULIUS II., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[MAXIMILIAN, *Emperor of the West.*]

[Year of Christ, 1503.] As at the time of Pius's death the troops of the Orsini were still in Rome, the cardinals delayed entering into the conclave till they had evacuated the city. But in the mean time they agreed in their choice without doors, and assembling on the last day of October, elected that night, without shutting the conclave, Julian della Rovere, cardinal presbyter of St. Peter ad Vincula, who took the name of Julius II. This unanimity in electing a man, who was known to be of a restless and untractable temper, and to have spent his whole life in contentions and bustles, is ascribed by Guicciardin, partly to his being looked upon as the principal defender of the immunities and rights of the church, but chiefly to the great promises he had made to the car-

dinals, that is, to simony, corruption, and bribery. He even courted the favor of Valentine, and to gain him, and, by his means, the Spanish cardinals, he proposed a marriage between the duke's daughter and his own nephew, Francis Maria della Rovere, governor of Rome. He promised, besides, to confirm Valentine in the post of captain general of the church, and to assist him in the recovery of the cities of Romagna, that had begun to revolt.⁴

Julius, thus elected, was a native of Savona in the state of Genoa, and the son of Raphael della Rovere, brother to Sixtus IV. By that pope he was preferred to the see of Carpentras, and in 1471 created cardinal

¹ Onuph in Vit.

² Guicciard. l. 6. Tomasi, Onuph. in Vita.

³ Idem ibid.

⁴ Guicciard. ibid.

¹ Guicciard. l. 6. Onuph. in Pio III.

Misunderstanding between the pope and the Venetians; who make themselves masters of Faenza. Valentine arrested by the pope's order;—[Year of Christ, 1504.] Flies to the kingdom of Naples. Is there imprisoned and sent to Spain.

presbyter of St. Peter ad Vincula. By the same pope he was made bishop of Albano, then of Ostia, and lastly high penitentiary, and apostolic legate at Avignon. He was greatly esteemed and caressed by Innocent VIII., the successor of Sixtus. But having reason to believe that Alexander, coveting his wealth, intended to remove him out of the way, as he had done many others, he retired to France, and attended king Charles in his expedition against the kingdom of Naples.¹

The new pope was scarce warm in his chair, when a quarrel broke out between him and the Venetians, on the following occasion. The people of Romagna, who, in the general revolution of the other states and cities, had continued faithful to Valentine, hearing that he had fled into the castle of St. Angelo, and his troops were dispersed, began to take different parties. Some returned under their former obedience to the church, while others recalled their ancient lords. But the Venetians, aspiring at the dominion of all Romagna, broke unexpectedly into that province, and having got possession of Forlimpopoli, of Rimini, and of several other places, laid siege to Faenza. Hereupon the Faentines, sensible that they could not long hold out, with their own force alone, against so powerful an enemy, sent deputies to Rome to implore the protection and assistance of the pope. Julius was provoked beyond measure at the proceedings of the Venetians. But being newly placed in the chair, and destitute both of men and money, he was obliged to content himself for the present with sending a nuncio, to remonstrate against their attempting to subject to their republic a city that belonged to the church, to which they themselves could not but know, that they had no shadow of right. The nuncio, the bishop of Tivoli, was ordered to add, that his holiness had been most cordially affected to their republic, before his exaltation, and that now he was raised to so high a station, they might expect to feel the effects of his ancient benevolence. The senate received the nuncio with the greatest marks of honor and respect, and after deliberating some time among themselves, returned him the following answer: That the senate had always most ardently wished for the promotion of the cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula to the pontificate, on account of the friendship that had subsisted so long between them, and his holiness could not doubt that they would pay him more deference and respect now he was pope, than they had done while he was cardinal; but that they did not understand why his holiness should be offended at their embracing the opportunity that offered of possessing themselves of Faenza, since the church had divested herself of all right to it

in a full consistory, and transferred the sovereignty to duke Valentine. They added, that the city of Faenza, with its small state, had been governed, time out of mind, by its own princes, who received the investiture of the popes, and paid no other acknowledgment of their subjection to the holy see than a small tribute, which the senate was ready to pay, provided it was really due. The senate having dismissed the nuncio with this answer, ordered Christopher Moro, their commander, to pursue the siege, and the town was soon obliged to submit.¹ The pope dissembled for the present, but it was not long ere the Venetians had occasion to repent their having made him an enemy, as we shall see in the sequel.

As some castles in Romagna still held out for Valentine, though the cities had revolted, the pope proposed his delivering them up to him, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Venetians. That proposal Valentine rejected, which so provoked the pope, that he ordered him to be arrested, and conveyed to the castle of Ostia, to be committed there to the custody of cardinal Carvajal, till he had put the pope in possession of his fortresses in Romagna. The pope did not intend to set him at liberty even upon his delivering up those fortresses; but the cardinal, to whose custody he was committed, no sooner heard of their being put into the pope's hands, than he restored the duke to his liberty, without the knowledge of his holiness. The duke, instead of returning to Rome, and putting himself in the power of the pope, whom he began to mistrust, repaired, in great haste, to the kingdom of Naples, and met there with a most friendly reception from the great captain, who, having driven the French quite out of that kingdom, governed it as the catholic king's viceroy, or lieutenant. The duke, in the several conferences he had with that general, communicated to him the vast projects he was still forming, especially his design upon the states of Pisa and Florence, all which Gonsalvo not only pretended to approve, but gave him leave to raise in the kingdom, what number of troops he thought necessary to carry his design into execution; nay, and offered his galleys to convey him and his troops to Pisa. The troops being raised with incredible expedition, and the galleys ready to receive them on board, the duke, before he embarked, had a long conference with Gonsalvo, who, at parting, embraced him with the warmest expressions of friendship. But he no sooner came out of the room than he was arrested by the general's order, and carried prisoner to the castle. When Gonsalvo was charged with breaking his faith, he alledged, in his own vindication, the express commands of his sovereign, to which,

¹ Guicciard. l. 6; et Onuph. in Vit. Julii II.

¹ Guicciard. l. 6.

Valentine's death. Julius resolves to recover Bologna and Perugia;—[Year of Christ, 1506.] The king of France strives in vain to divert him from that undertaking. Marches in person against both those cities, and both submit. The pope and the emperor endeavor to stir up the Germanic body against France;—[Year of Christ, 1507.]

he said, all private engagements ought to give way.¹ Giovio will have the pope to have been the chief author of the imprisonment of Valentine, consulting therein his own safety and the peace of Italy. However that be, by his imprisonment, an end was at last put to all his grandeur, fortune, and hopes. He had taken for his motto the words, "aut Cæsar aut nihil—Cæsar or nothing," and he was, for some time, as great and victorious as Cæsar. But falling from the greatness to which he had raised himself by fraud and cruelty, he became, before his death, "nothing," as has been elegantly expressed by Sannazar in the two following lines:

*Omnia vincebas, sperabas omnia, Cæsar:
Omnia deficiunt, incipis esse nihil.*

And by another poet thus:

*Borgia Cæsar erat, factis et nomine Cæsar.
Aut nihil, aut Cæsar dixit; utrumque fuit.*

He was soon afterwards sent, on board a light galley, prisoner to Spain, and there confined in the castle of Medina del Campo; nor was he ever more heard of, though he had made so much noise in the world, except on occasion of his death, which happened some years afterwards. He had made his escape from the castle of Medina, and having fled to John, king of Navarre, his brother-in-law, he was killed in a skirmish with some rebels, who had taken up arms against that prince.² I cannot help observing, that Valentine, guilty, on so many occasions, of the blackest treachery, of so many horrid murders, unheard-of cruelties, and most unjust usurpations, is proposed by Machiavel in his *Principe* for a pattern, to be imitated by all, who aspire to, or have arrived at empire.³ But with that writer all justice, morality, and religion, were out of the question.

As the new pope found, at his accession to the chair, the treasury of the church quite exhausted, he continued quiet and unactive, though full of vast projects during the three first years of his pontificate. But having, in that time, by retrenching all unnecessary expenses, and living himself with great parsimony, amassed a very considerable sum, he begun in 1506 to carry his designs into execution. As the city of Bologna was held by John Bentivoglio, and that of Perugia by Gianpagolo Baglione, but were parts of the ancient domains of the church, the pope resolved to recover them out of the hands of those tyrants, as he called them, and reunite them to the church. Pursuant to that resolution he applied to the king of France, Lewis XII. begging he would assist him in so just an undertaking. Lewis, sensible that it was his interest to have the pope his friend,

promised him, very readily, the assistance he required. But, at the same time, he endeavoured to divert him, in the most friendly manner, from such an undertaking, for the present, as calculated to involve all Italy in a war. However, when the pope imparted his design to the cardinals, in a full consistory, he told them, that the king of France had promised to assist him; and that, depending upon his assistance, he would go immediately, in person, upon the intended enterprise. When this was told to the king, he expressed no small surprise at the pope's depending upon his forces, before he had given them any orders to march, especially in an undertaking which he did not approve; and turning to those about him, surely his holiness, he said with a smile, must have indulged, more than usual, his love of wine, when he declared what must oblige me either to quarrel with him, or to countenance his unseasonable undertaking.¹

Julius, however, whom no difficulties could discourage, set out from Rome, on the 27th of August, on his march to Perugia; being attended by twenty-four cardinals, and four hundred men at arms. Gianpagolo Baglione, not acting, on this occasion, with the same courage he had shown on all others, went to meet the pope as far as Orvieto, and delivered up to him the keys of the city, which the pope entered in a kind of triumph. In the mean time the king of France, unwilling to disoblige the pope, ordered Chaumont, governor of the Milanese, to march in person, with five hundred lances, to assist the pope in the reduction of Baglione. As the pope's army received daily new reinforcements from the Florentines, from the duke of Ferrara, and the Marquis of Mantua, Bentivoglio, despairing of being able to withstand so great a force, had recourse to Chaumont; and upon his interposing in behalf of that family, the pope consented, that John Bentivoglio, with his wife and children, might retire from Bologna unmolested, and settle in any part of the duchy of Milan; that they should be allowed to sell, or carry with them, all their effects, and enjoy the revenues of the estates to which they had a just title. These articles being agreed to, the Bentivogli quitted the city, and the pope made his public entry into it, with extraordinary pomp, on St. Martin's day, the 11th of November of the present year, and continued there, settling the new government, till the end of February of the following year, when he returned to Rome.²

In the mean time the city of Genoa revolted from the French, to whom it was subject, as well as the state of Milan, and great dis-

¹ Guicciard. l. 6.

² Machiavel, c. 7.

³ Idem, l. 7. Jovius, l. 8.

¹ Guicciard. l. 7. Onuph. in Vita Julii II.

² Guicciard, et Onuph. ibid.

League concluded at Cambray against the Venetians;—[Year of Christ, 1508.] They are excommunicated by the pope. Lose their dominions on the continent;—[Year of Christ, 1509.]

putes arising between the people and the nobility, the king resolved to go in person into Italy, and re-establish his authority by force of arms. With that view he began to make great preparations both by sea and land, which did not a little alarm the pope, who could not persuade himself that such vast preparations were only designed for the reduction of Genoa. He therefore left nothing unattempted to divert the king from leading an army, in person, against the rebels of Genoa. But finding that it was to no purpose, and, at the same time, giving way to his own groundless suspicions, he notified to the emperor by his nuncio, and by a brief directed to him and to the electors of the empire, that the king of France was preparing to come into Italy at the head of a very powerful army, under color of quelling the tumults in Genoa, but that his real design was to enslave the church, and usurp the imperial dignity. The Venetians, no less apprehensive than the pope of the coming of the French king into Italy with so great an army, assured the German princes that he had nothing less in his view than to raise his great favorite, the cardinal D'Amboise, to the pontifical throne, and receive the imperial crown at his hands. Upon this intelligence the emperor summoned a diet of all the princes of Germany to meet at Constance; and having caused the pope's brief, and several other letters of the same import, to be read to them at the opening of the Diet, he endeavored, in a long speech, to unite the whole Germanic body in one common league against France. But the conduct of the king in returning, with his whole army, to France, as soon as he had reduced Genoa, deprived both the pope and the emperor of the pretence which they made use of to animate the princes of the empire against him; and it was only resolved, in the diet, that the emperor should be furnished with eight thousand horse, and twenty-two thousand foot, at the expense of the empire, for six months, when he designed to go to Rome to receive the imperial crown.¹

The following year, 1508, was concluded the famous treaty or league of Cambray against the republic of Venice, that had been long aspiring at the empire of all Italy. The contracting parties were, the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and the king of Spain; and it was agreed, that they should enter the state of Venice on all sides; that each of them should recover what that republic had taken from them; that they should therein assist one another; and that it should not be lawful for any of the confederates to enter into an agreement with the republic, but by common consent. The duke of Ferrara, the marquis of Mantua,

and whoever else had any claims upon the Venetians, were to be admitted into this treaty. The Venetians had some suspicion of what was contriving against them at Cambray, but they had no certain knowledge of it till the pope informed them of the whole. For Julius, no less apprehensive of the increase of the emperor's power in Italy, than of the French king's, acquainted the Venetian ambassador at Rome, before he signed the treaty, with all the articles it contained, represented to him the danger that his republic was threatened with, and offered not to confirm the league, but to start difficulties, and raise obstacles against it, provided they only restored to him the cities of Rimini and Faenza. This demand appeared very reasonable to the pope; but it was rejected by a great majority in the senate, when communicated to them by their ambassador; and the pope thereupon confirmed the league by a bull dated at Rome the 22d of March 1508.¹

The Venetians, hearing of the mighty preparations that were carrying on all over Christendom against them, began to repent their not having complied with the pope's request, and by that means broken the confederacy. They therefore renewed their negotiations with his holiness, and offered to restore to him the city of Faenza. But Julius, instead of accepting their offer, published, by way of monitory, a thundering bull against the republic, summoning them to restore, in the term of twenty-four days, all the places they had usurped, belonging to the apostolic see, as well as the profits they had reaped from them, since the time they first usurped them. If they obeyed not this summons, within the limited time, not only the city of Venice, but all places, within their dominions, were, *ipso facto*, to incur a general interdict, nay, and all places that should receive or harbor a Venetian. They were, besides, declared guilty of high treason, worthy to be treated as enemies to the Christian name, and all were empowered to seize on their effects, wherever found, and to enslave their persons. This monitory gave no great uneasiness to the republic: they appealed from it to a future council, and no regard was paid to it, except by a few monks and friars.²

In the mean time the king of France, entering from the Milanese, the territories of the republic at the head of a numerous army, gave the Venetians a total overthrow on the 14th of May of the present year, and pursuing the blow, made himself master, in a few days, of Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona, and all the Ghiaradadda, which he pretended to have anciently belonged to the duchy of Milan. The loss of the Venetians

¹ Onuph in Vita Julii II.

¹ Onuph. l. 8.

² Idem ibid. et Raymund. ad ann. 1509.

The pope concludes a peace with the Venetians; and upon what conditions. Absolves them;—[Year of Christ, 1510;]—and takes them into his protection. Quarrels with the duke of Ferrara.

did not end here. The pope's army, entering Romagna under the direction of the cardinal of Pavia, with the character of apostolic legate, recovered the cities of Faenza, Cervia and Ravenna, while the emperor, the duke of Ferrara, and the marquis of Mantua, retook most of the places that the Venetians had taken from them, and the king of Spain obliged them to deliver up all the towns and ports in Apulia, that Ferdinand, king of Naples, had mortgaged to them. Thus every prince recovering his own, that haughty republic was stript of the best part of its dominions on the continent, and well nigh confined to the marshes, where it first sprang up.¹

The Venetians were well apprised of the jealousy the pope entertained of the immoderate increase of the French king's power in Italy, and likewise of the emperor's, and therefore resolved, in their present distress, to apply to his holiness; the rather, as he had now recovered all the places to which he had a just claim. Accordingly they sent six ambassadors, all men of the first rank, to implore his holiness's protection; and beg he would absolve them from the censures, which they had incurred. The pope would not admit them to his presence, but appointed a congregation of cardinals to treat with them in his name. The ambassadors of the emperor, and the king of France warmly opposed his granting them their request, as contrary to one of the articles of the league of Cambray, by which it was stipulated, that none of the contracting powers should make a separate peace. But his holiness, thinking that it highly conduced to the safety of Italy, as well as his own, to preserve the republic from utter ruin; and the archbishop of York, Thomas Wolsey, whom the king of England, Henry VIII., had sent to Rome with the character of his ambassador, interposing in their favor by the express order of his master, they were absolved on the 24th of February 1510, upon the following mortifying conditions: I. That the Venetians should dispose of no benefices nor ecclesiastical dignities, nor oppose the provisions made concerning them in the court of Rome. II. That they should not obstruct the trials of causes relating to benefices, or other ecclesiastical matters. III. That they should lay no imposts upon the goods of the church, nor of places exempt from the secular jurisdiction. IV. That they should withdraw their appeal to a future council, and renounce all right, however acquired, to the towns possessed by the church. V. That the subjects of the church should have a free navigation in the gulf, or the Adriatic sea; that their ships should not be searched, nor obliged to pay any duties, whether their cargoes belonged to them, or to other nations.

VI. That all conventions with the subjects of the church, to the prejudice of the ecclesiastical immunity, should be annulled. VII. That they should afford no shelter, in their dominions, to any dukes, barons, or other vassals of the church, who should be declared rebels, or enemies to the apostolic see. Lastly, That they should repair all the losses the church had sustained, by their means, during the course of the war, and restore to the ecclesiastics the sums they had raised upon their estates. These articles being agreed to by the Venetian ambassadors in the name of their republic, they repaired to the porch of St. Peter's church, and there prostrating themselves at his holiness's feet, they humbly begged pardon for their past conduct. The pope absolved them with the usual ceremonies, and enjoined them no other penance than to visit the seven chief churches of Rome. He did not content himself with absolving them, but, by a manifest breach of faith against his confederates, he took them into his protection, granted leave to all the feudatories and subjects of the church to serve under their banners, and, growing daily more and more jealous of the power of the French in Italy, left nothing unattempted to prevail upon the emperor to come to an agreement with the Venetians, and join them and himself against the king of France as a common enemy.¹

The pope had formed a design of driving the French quite out of Italy, and, wanting a pretence to quarrel with them, he laid hold of the following opportunity to quarrel with the duke of Ferrara, their friend and ally. As salt was made both at Comachio, that belonged to the duke, and at Cervia, lately restored by the Venetians to the church, the pope, as lord paramount of both places, the duke being his feudatory, forbade the making of salt, for the future at Comachio, in order to engross the sale of that useful commodity to himself. The duke, Alphonso d'Este, thinking it hard, that he should be obliged to purchase of others, for the use of his own subjects, what he could supply foreign countries with, refused to comply with his holiness's prohibition. Upon that refusal, the pope, threatening to do himself justice by force of arms, ordered part of his army to march into the territory of Bologna and the province of Romagna, to be there ready at hand to enter the dominions of the duke. The king of France, to leave no pretence for the pope to quarrel with his ally, and consequently with himself, persuaded the duke to gratify his holiness; and Alphonso sent, accordingly, ambassadors to Rome, offering to his holiness all the salt he had made at Comachio, and promising to make no more. But the pope, who wanted the

¹ Raymund. ad ann. 1509.

² Guicciard. l. 7, 8. Raynald. ad ann. 1510. Buonac. in Diar.

The duke of Ferrara and all the French officers excommunicated. The French disappointed in an attempt upon Bologna. Miranda besieged by the pope; who narrowly escapes falling into an ambuscade. He assists at the siege in person.

duke to quit the French party, without hearkening to his ambassadors, ordered the army of the church to march immediately against him. They made themselves masters of several places in the Ferrarese without opposition. But the marshal of Chaumont, governor of the Milanese, and the duke, joining their forces, soon obliged them to abandon all the places they had taken. The pope's forces took them a second time; and his holiness, determined either to crush the duke, or oblige him to renounce his alliance with the French, ordered the duke of Urbino, the commander of his army, to make the necessary preparations for the siege of Ferrara.¹

The pope, now wholly bent upon the reduction of Ferrara, and laying aside, for the present, all other projects, set out for Bologna to hasten the preparations, and made his public entry into that city in the end of September. He had not been long in Bologna, when he solemnly excommunicated Alphonso d'Este, and all who had taken, or should take, arms in his defence, and Chaumont by name, with all the chief officers of the French army. Chaumont paid no regard to the pope's thunders, but in order to silence them with the thunder of his cannon, he marched unexpectedly towards Bologna, with a design to seize his holiness, and got within ten miles of that city before they received any intelligence of his march. The news of his approach, and of his having the Bentivogli with him, occasioned an universal terror and consternation among the nobility and prelates of the court, as well as among the people. The pope alone remained, in appearance, quite undisturbed, and, without betraying the least symptom of fear, he sent Pico, count of Miranda, to treat with the French general about a peace. Chaumont knew that the king wished for nothing so much as to accommodate matters with the pope, and therefore drew up such conditions as he thought his holiness might agree to, and the king would approve. But his holiness only wanted to gain time; and he no sooner heard that his own forces, as well as those of the Venetians, were in full march, from all quarters, to relieve him, than thinking himself out of danger, he sent his final answer to Chaumont, which was, that he might save himself the trouble of making any new proposals, unless he previously consented to abandon the duke of Ferrara. In the mean time the expected succors arrived at Bologna, and Chaumont, now despairing of success in attempting to reduce that city, thought it advisable to abandon the enterprise, and return to his former camp.²

As the season was already far advanced, the Venetians were, upon the retreat of

Chaumont, for putting their troops into winter quarters. But the pope, though just recovered from a severe fit of illness, declared that he would first make himself master of Ferrara. That project was disapproved by all the general officers; and they advised his holiness against it, thinking it high time, as winter drew near, to allow the troops some rest after the fatigues of so long a campaign. But the pope answering in great wrath, that it was their part to obey, and not to advise, the siege of Ferrara was determined upon. But as it was necessary, in order to prevent the French from relieving it, to get possession of Miranda, the pope's army sat down before that place so late as the latter end of December. It was defended by Frances, the widow of the late count of Miranda, and daughter of the marquis of Trivulzio; and from her the besiegers met with a most obstinate resistance, though the garrison consisted of no more than four hundred foot and seventy horse, under the command of Alexander Trivulzio, her cousin-germain. The pope, to encourage his men, attended the army in person, and took up his quarters at the village of St. Felix about three leagues from the camp. It was not long before the besiegers were reduced to the utmost distress, not only on account of the extraordinary rigor of the season, but for want of provisions, their convoys being intercepted by parties placed on all the roads by the duke of Ferrara, and marshal Chaumont.¹

As the pope went daily from St. Felix to the camp before Miranda to animate his men, he one day narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade, laid for him by the famous partisan Peter du Ferrail, commonly known by the name of Chevalier Bayard. The Chevalier placed an hundred men at arms in ambush on the road from St. Felix to the camp, who sallying out, as soon as some of the pope's retinue appeared, seized them, and pursued the rest, full speed, in their flight back to St. Felix, not doubting but the pope was just behind them. But, fortunately for him, a heavy snow had obliged him to return, when he was as yet but at a small distance from the town, and he reached it before the Chevalier came up with him, having just time to cause the drawbridge to be pulled up, to which he himself lent a helping hand.²

As the pope, impatient to get possession of Ferrara, thought the siege of Miranda advanced but slowly, he took a resolution to assist at it in person. Accordingly, he left St. Felix, and, repairing to the camp, took up his quarters at a place so near the walls, that he had two persons killed with a cannon ball in his kitchen. He was perpetually on horseback, riding about the lines, notwithstanding the intense cold, scarce sup-

¹ Guicciard, l. 9. Buonac. in Diario. Bembo Hist. Venet.

² Guicciardin, et Buonac. ibid.

¹ Guicciardin, et Buonacorsi in Diario.

² Hist. du Chevalier Bayard, c. 42.

Mirandola taken;—[Year of Christ, 1511.] Congress proposed for a general peace, but rejected by the pope. Bologna taken by the French, and restored to the Bentivogli. The pope's army defeated. The cardinal of Pavia murdered by the duke of Urbino.

portable by the soldiery, reprimanding some, animating others, and acting, in every respect, the part of a general. It was no unusual sight, says here the historian, to behold the high priest, the vicar of Christ upon earth, old and infirm, employed, in person, in carrying on a war, kindled by himself against Christians, exposing himself to all the fatigues and dangers incident to commanders of armies, and retaining nothing of the pontiff but the name and the habit. The town held out till the 20th of January, when it capitulated, and the pope entered it by the breach, as conqueror:¹ and he was now wholly bent upon the reduction of Ferrara, which he ordered to be immediately invested. But the duke, falling unexpectedly upon the pope's troops, obliged them to raise the blockade with the loss of a great many men, and of all their baggage and artillery: and thus was Ferrara saved to the great disappointment of the pope.² This exploit is ascribed by Brantome to the Chevalier Bayard, who, according to that writer, cut five or six thousand of the enemy in pieces, and obliged the rest to save themselves by flight.³

In the mean time the king of Spain, no less jealous than the pope of the increase of the French power in Italy, and under apprehensions for his kingdom of Naples, which he thought to be in danger from the greatness of the king of France, proposed a Congress to be held at Mantua for a general pacification. To that proposal the emperor and the king of France readily agreed upon certain conditions. But when the bishop of Goritz came to wait upon the pope, who was still at Bologna, in the emperor's name, and invite him to the Congress, he found his holiness unalterably determined to make no peace with France till he was put in possession of the duchy of Ferrara, and its capital. Upon this occasion the pope offered the dignity of cardinal to the bishop, provided he prevailed upon the emperor to quit his alliance with the king of France, and join the Venetians and himself against him. That offer the bishop rejected with no small indignation at the pope's thinking him capable of betraying his trust, and immediately set out on his return to the imperial court.⁴ As the emperor had honored him with the title of his lieutenant-general in Italy, when the pope sent some cardinals to treat with him upon his arrival at Bologna, he appointed some of his gentlemen to confer with them, saying, that it was beneath him to treat with any but his holiness himself.⁵

The pacific measures of the other princes being thus defeated by the invincible obsti-

nacy of the pope, and his inveterate hatred to the French, marshal Trivulzio, who had taken the command of the French army upon the death of Chaumont, that happened at this time, drew his forces together early in the spring, and having retaken all the places in the Ferrarese, that the ecclesiastical army had taken the year before, he came unexpectedly, and encamped at the distance of five miles from Bologna. The pope had already retired from that city to Ravenna, leaving the cardinal of Pavia with a body of troops to defend it. But the cardinal fled, in disguise, out of the city at the approach of the enemy, and his example being followed by the greatest part of his troops, the Bentivogli, who attended the French army, were admitted, without opposition, into the city. Thus was that family once more put in possession of their ancient inheritance. The populace of their party, overjoyed at the return of their old lords, fell upon a statue of the pope in brass, and having dragged it about the streets with great contempt and derision, broke it in pieces.¹

That statue represented the pope standing, and in the attitude of holding up his right hand to give the people his benediction. That posture gave them occasion to ask, whether it was to bless or to curse them, that his holiness thus held up his hand; which coming to the pope's ears, he answered, that "it was for both, as they should deserve to be blessed or cursed."²

Marshal Trivulzio, wisely apprehending, that his keeping Bologna would give umbrage both to the emperor, and the king of Spain, left that city in the possession of the Bentivogli, and marching the very next day, the 22d of May, against the army of the pope and the Venetians under the command of the duke of Urbino, put them to flight at the first onset, took all their baggage and artillery, a great many colors, and the doge's own standard, with several general officers. Upon the news of this defeat, the citadel of Bologna, which the present pope had built, surrendered, and the people immediately demolished it. From this victory the duke of Ferrara took occasion to drive the pope's forces and those of the Venetians quite out of his dominions.³

The melancholy death of the cardinal of Pavia, late legate at Bologna, that happened at this time, added greatly to the concern his holiness was under for the loss of that city and the defeat of his army. As the cardinal was charged by some with treachery, by others with cowardice, he came to Ravenna to justify his conduct, and demanded an audience of the pope. His holiness, overjoyed at his safe arrival, as he was one of his chief favorites, not only granted him his request,

¹ Guicciard. l. 9. Bembo, Buonacorsi in Diario.

² Guicciard. *ibid.*

³ Brantome *Eloge du Chevalier Bayard.*

⁴ *Idem ibid.* ⁵ Mezerai *Abregé Chron.* tom. 4.

¹ Guicciard. l. 9.

² Guicciard. l. 9.

³ Ciacon. in Jul. II.

A general council summoned by some of the cardinals. Another summoned by the pope. His holiness's double dealing. Is taken dangerously ill; but recovers.

but sent him an invitation to dine with him. But as he was going to the palace, the duke of Urbino, who knew the city of Bologna to have been lost by the cowardice of the cardinal, and the army, which the duke commanded, to have been defeated in consequence of that loss, made up to him, and in the transport of his rage stabbed him with his own hand. His manifold and enormous vices deserved, says Guicciardin, the worst of deaths. But when the news of it was brought to the pope, he burst into tears and loud lamentations, bewailing beyond measure the loss of one, who was so dear to him; the more, as he had set up for a zealous asserter of the ecclesiastical immunity, and the high dignity of cardinal was so notoriously violated before his eyes, and by his own nephew.¹ As we read of no punishment inflicted by the pope on his nephew for so daring an attempt, some will have his holiness to have been privy to it. But of that no notice is taken by Guicciardin, nor by any other contemporary historian.

The pope, for all his firmness and intrepidity, could not help showing his concern at so many misfortunes, and thinking himself no longer safe at Ravenna, after the taking of Bologna, and the defeat of his army, he set out from thence on his return to Rome. To aggravate his concern, he received certain intelligence, upon his arrival at Rimini, that an order, for the assembling of a general council at Pisa, was set up at Modena, Bologna, and other cities of Italy, and that he himself was summoned to appear at it in person. For the emperor and the king of France, finding the pope would hearken to no terms of accommodation, and looking upon him as a disturber of the public peace, had agreed to call a general council, and lay their complaints against his holiness before them. This their design they had communicated to some of the cardinals, and five of them approving of it, had left the pope the preceding year, while he was on his journey from Rome to Bologna, and fled first to Florence, and afterwards, for their greater security, to Milan. These were the cardinals of Santa Croce, St. Malo, Bayeux, St. Angelo, and Cosenza. They maintained, that as the church stood in evident necessity of a reformation both in its head and members, as the necessary reformation could only be procured by a general council, and the pope neglected to assemble one, the power of applying that remedy was lawfully devolved to them; the rather as they acted therein by the authority of the emperor, and with the consent of the most Christian king, and the concurrence of the German and French clergy. On the other hand the pope, to defeat their views, and clear himself from the charge of neglecting to assemble a gene-

ral council, appointed one to meet the following year in the church of St. John Lateran at Rome, pretending, that he had thereby dissolved the council convoked by the cardinals. But they maintained, that as theirs had been called and proclaimed the first, it ought to take place, and appointed the 1st of September next ensuing for the opening of it. The king of France sent immediately twenty-four bishops to Pisa to represent the Gallican church in the council, and ordered all the prelates of his kingdom to assist at it in person, or by their proxies.¹

The calling of a council gave the pope a great deal of uneasiness; and indeed not without reason, the king of France being in a condition, after the victory lately gained by Trivulzio, to cause the decrees, that should be issued by that assembly, to be carried into execution. He therefore ordered the bishop of Tivoli, his nuncio at the French court, to negotiate a reconciliation between the apostolic see and the king. But being, in the mean time, informed, that the king, instead of improving the opportunity, afforded him, by his victory, of reducing the whole state of the church, had, with more piety, says Guicciardin, than policy, ordered the marshal to return with the army into the duchy of Milan, he was thereby encouraged to make such demands, as the king could not, in honor, agree to. The pope only wanted to gain time; and while he was negotiating a peace with France, he was privately carrying on a treaty with the king of Spain and the Venetians against the French, and using his utmost endeavors to persuade the king of England, Henry VIII., to enter into that confederacy.²

During these negotiations, the pope was taken ill on the 17th of August, and on the fourth day of his illness thought to be dead. The report of his death occasioned great disturbances in Rome. But it was only a fainting-fit, and being recovered out of it, though with very small hopes of his life, he assembled, the next day, the cardinals in the form of a consistory, and in their presence absolved his nephew, the duke of Urbino, from the murder of the cardinal of Pavia, not by way of justice, but of apostolic favor and indulgence. In the next place, to prevent others from being raised by simony to the pontificate, as it happened to himself, he caused a bull to be published, which he had drawn up before, fraught with terrible penalties and curses against any, who should procure that dignity by money or any other reward whatever, and declaring all such elections to be in themselves null. In the mean time he grew daily better, and was no sooner out of danger, than he resumed his former schemes, treating of peace with the king of France, and negotiating, at the same time, an offen-

¹ Guicciardin. l. 9.

² Guicciardin, l. 9, et l. 10.

² Idem, l. 10.

Council of Pisa opened. The cities of Pisa and Florence interdicted. The Florentines appeal to a general council. League between the pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetians against France. Proceedings of the council of Pisa; which is adjourned to Milan. Bologna besieged by the confederates;—[Year of Christ, 1512.]

sive league with the Venetians, and the king of Spain, against him.¹

In the mean time the council of Pisa was opened on the day appointed, the 1st of September, but with very little hopes of success. None of the cardinals, who had convoked it, were present, nor were any of the French bishops, though many of them were already arrived in Italy. They kept back, as long as they could, through fear of censures or the loss of their benefices; so that the council was opened by none but deputies or proxies. But the archbishops of Lions and Sens being ordered by the king to attend the council, they repaired to Pisa with fourteen bishops, and several French doctors and abbots; and the first session being held soon after their arrival, Bernardine Carvajal, cardinal of Santa Croce, and the chief promoter of the council, was chosen president. As the city of Pisa was, at this time, subject to the Florentines, the pope, provoked at their suffering such a schismatic conventicle, as he called it, to be held within their dominions, laid the city of Florence, as well as that of Pisa, under an interdict, excommunicated all who should any way countenance that execrable assembly, and, summoning a public consistory, pronounced, with great solemnity in his pontifical robes, the sentence of deposition against the cardinals, authors and promoters of the schism, declaring them liable to all the pains and penalties denounced against schismatics and heretics. The Florentines, taking no notice of the council then sitting at Pisa, appealed from the pope's sentence, interdicting their city, to a holy council of the church universal, and, after their appeal, obliged the ecclesiastics to perform Divine service, as usual, in the four principal churches of the city.²

The pope continued to amuse the king of France with proposals of peace. But, in the mean while, the league, which he had been long negotiating with the catholic king and the Venetians against that prince, was brought to a conclusion, and published, with great solemnity on the 5th of October, in the presence of the pope and all the cardinals, assembled in the church of St. Mary del Popolo. No mention was made of the king of France in the articles of that confederacy. But the contracting powers engaged to preserve the unity of the church, in imminent danger from the council of Pisa; to put the pope in possession of the city of Bologna, as well as of every other city to which he had a just claim, meaning thereby the city of Ferrara; and to act with a powerful army against any who should oppose the execution of these, their designs, in order

to drive them quite out of Italy. Upon the first notice the king received of this new confederacy, evidently calculated to divest him of all his Italian dominions, if he did not comply with all the pope's demands, however inconsistent with his honor and his interest, he acquainted his generals in Italy with it, ordering them to maintain, at all events, the Bentivogli in possession of Bologna, and defend the city of Ferrara, as they would the city of Paris. At the same time he wrote to the cardinals and the bishops, assembled at Pisa, to pursue the work for which they had met, the reformation of the church in its head and members.¹

No German bishops had yet appeared at Pisa; nay, in an assembly held at Augsburg, they had condemned that council, as tending to produce a schism; but with this clause, that they were ready to change their opinion, if satisfactory reasons were offered to the contrary. The four cardinals therefore, for the fifth, Francis Borgia, cardinal of Cosenza, had died at Lucca, and the French bishops, meeting in the church of St. Michael, declared, in the three sessions they held there, on the 5th, 7th, and 10th of November, that they represented the church universal, were lawfully assembled, held their power immediately of God, and all, the pope himself not excepted, were bound to obey their decrees; that none should be allowed to withdraw from the council without just cause, and that all acts made, or attempted, to the prejudice of the council, should be deemed in themselves null. In the mean time the people of Pisa, alarmed at the interdict, began to insult in the public streets, the members of the council, and even the cardinals themselves, who had brought it upon them. This occasioned daily quarrels between the people and the French soldiers, whom the king had appointed to guard the council; which so terrified the cardinals, and the rest of the prelates, that they passed an act for translating the council to Milan, and departed in all haste the very next day.²

While these things passed at Pisa, the forces that the king of Spain was bound to furnish by one of the articles of the league, arrived in Romagna, namely, twelve hundred men at arms, one thousand light horse, and ten thousand Spanish foot, under the command of Raymund de Cardona, then viceroy of Naples. They joined the ecclesiastic army in the neighborhood of Imola, and after taking some places in Romagna that belonged to the duke of Ferrara, they advanced to Bologna, and, at the repeated instances of the pope, impatient to recover that important city, they laid siege to it in

¹ Guicciardin, l. 10.

² Idem: et Petrus de Anglerin. ep. 468.

¹ Guicciardin, l. 10; et Petrus de Anglerin. ep. 468.

² Idem ibid.; et Concil. Pisan. II. p. 73, et seq.

The siege of Bologna raised. King of England inclined to accede to the league. Ravenna besieged by the French. Battle of Ravenna. Complete victory gained by the French. The pope exhorted to peace.

the beginning of January. But they were soon obliged to abandon that enterprize by Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, the king's nephew, who had been lately made governor of the Milanese, though, at that time, not above two or three and twenty years of age. He found means to get into the place with a strong body of troops; and the confederates, despairing of being able to reduce it, when defended by so numerous a garrison with their general at their head, silently withdrew in the night, and returned to Imola.

As the king had taken the city of Bologna under his protection, and it served as a bulwark against the attempts of the pope upon the duchy of Milan, he expressed an unusual joy at that event. But his joy was allayed by the news he received soon afterwards, that the parliament and king of England had been prevailed upon by the pope's nuncio, the bishop of Moravia, a Scotchman, to send prelates to represent that kingdom in the Lateran council, and that the king had ordered the French ambassador to depart, saying, that it was not fit that the representative of one who so openly persecuted the apostolic see, should be seen near the person of a king, and in a kingdom, so devoted to the church. At the same time the emperor seemed disposed to quit his alliance, being tempted thereunto by the mighty promises of the pope; and the Swiss, gained over by their countryman, the cardinal of Sion, showed a great inclination to enter into the service of the confederates against him.

The king therefore finding himself alone against so many enemies, who had either declared, or were ready to declare, against him, and being, at the same time, sensible that, upon the king of England's invading his French dominions, which he expected daily, he should be obliged to recall great part of his forces out of Italy, he sent an express order to the duke of Nemours to march, without delay, against the Spanish and ecclesiastic troops in Romagna, and draw them to a decisive battle. But they, determined not to hazard an engagement, took care to encamp in places where they could not be forced to it. As no opportunity therefore offered of attacking them, but under great disadvantage, the duke of Nemours resolved to lay siege to Ravenna, persuading himself that they would not tamely suffer a city of such importance to be lost before their eyes. He was not mistaken; for the generals of the allies, hearing that the town was besieged, that the siege was briskly carried on, and that the place must surrender if not relieved, resolved in a council of war, to march with the whole army to its relief.

As they approached, the duke of Nemours went out to meet them; and one of the most

bloody engagements thereupon ensued, that had been fought for many years in Italy. It lasted near eight hours; and on both sides fell a great number of brave men, and persons of distinction. But the allies were, in the end, forced to give way, and leave the French masters of the field. Raymund of Cardona, a Catalanian, viceroy of Naples, and commander-in-chief of the whole allied army, fled among the first, and never stopt till he reached Ancona, about thirty leagues distant from the field of battle. He was remarkable for the comeliness of his person, but wanted courage, and was therefore called by the pope *Madam da Cardona*. The rest, following his example, betook themselves to a disorderly flight, all but a small body of Spanish infantry under the command of Peter Navarre, a brave and experienced officer. These retired in good order; and Foix, thinking that the victory was not complete, if they were not broken and dispersed as well as the rest, fell furiously upon them. But being surrounded, and falling from his horse, or, as others say, his horse falling upon him, he was wounded with a pike in his side, and, at the same time, received several other wounds, some say fourteen, of which he died upon the spot. The French were so stunned with the loss of their brave commander, that they suffered the Spaniards to march off unmolested. As to the number of the slain of both armies, it amounted at least, according to Guicciardin, to ten thousand, and of that number the French made but one-third. All the baggage, colors, and artillery of the allies were taken, and a great many persons of the first rank were made prisoners, with the cardinal de Medicis, the pope's legate, whom they delivered up to cardinal Sanseverino, legate of the council of Pisa, then sitting at Milan. This memorable battle was fought on Easter-day, the 11th of April of the present year.¹

The defeat of the allies was followed by the loss of Ravenna, Imola, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, and all the fortresses of Romagna, except those of Forli and Imola; and cardinal Sanseverino took possession of them in the name of the council of Pisa, that it might not be thought the king intended to extend his dominions at the expense of the church. When news of so signal a victory, gained over the confederates, was brought to Rome, it threw the whole court into the utmost terror and confusion. The cardinals, flying immediately to the palace, conjured his holiness, as he tendered the welfare of the church, and his own safety, not to defer concluding a peace with France. On the other hand the ambassadors of the Venetians and the king of Spain remonstrated, in very strong terms, against his coming to any

¹ Guicciardin. l. 10; et Brantome Eloge de Gaston de Foix.

What encouraged the pope to continue the war. The Swiss espouse the cause of the pope, and enter the duchy of Milan; which the French are forced to abandon. Genoa revolts from the French. Bologna recovered to the pope. The pope suspended by the council of Pisa. End of that council. The king of France excommunicated, and the kingdom laid under an interdict.

agreement with the French. Thus fear, indignation, and his irreconcilable hatred to the king, combating together in his breast, he knew not what to determine, but seemed, at one time, inclined to peace, and, at another, determined to continue the war. But being, in the mean while, informed that the Swiss had espoused his cause, and were on their march to join the confederates, and that Palice, who had succeeded Foix in the command of the army, instead of marching to Rome, was returned to the Milanese with the greatest part of his forces, in order to prevent their entering that duchy, his holiness recovered his courage, ordered new forces to be raised, and, declaring that he would not depart from the league, wrote to his nuncio in France to break off the negotiations, which he might have begun with the king or his ministers. At the same time arrived at Rome a messenger from the king of England with a commission, empowering the cardinal archbishop of York, then residing at the pope's court, to sign the league in his name; and the king of Spain assured his holiness that, to prevent the French from reaping any advantage from their late victory, he was resolved to send a powerful army into Italy under the command of the Great Captain.

But what, above all, delivered the pope from his fears, and confirmed him in his resolution of pursuing the war, was the unexpected arrival of the Swiss in the Trentine, to the number of eighteen or twenty thousand fighting men, though the pope had only demanded six thousand. They joined the Venetian army in the Veronese, and jointly with them directed their march to the duchy of Milan, which they no sooner entered, than all the cities, where the citizens were stronger than the garrisons, revolting from the French, surrendered to them. Palice, whose army only consisted of six or seven thousand men, the rest being employed in garrisoning the fortified towns, retired as the enemy advanced, and marshal Trivulzio, governor of Milan, thinking himself no longer safe in that city, furnished the castle with men and provisions, and set out for Piedmont with all the king's officers, and the cardinals and bishops of the council. Thus were the French every where driven out, nothing being left to them of the whole Milanese, but the castles of Milan, Novara, and Cremona, and the towns of Crema, Brescia, and Peschiera. Palice, upon the first notice he received of the motions of the Swiss, had ordered the troops, which he had left in Romagna, to march, with all speed, to Milan; and they were no sooner gone, than the cities of Rimini, Cesena, and Ravenna, returned under the obedience of the pope. The cities in the state of Milan had

all submitted to the Holy League, as they were pleased to call it, and were therefore governed, for the present, by the cardinal of Sion, with the character of the pope's legate. But the cities of Parma and Piacenza submitted, of their own accord, to the pope, who pretended a right to them, as anciently appertaining to the exarchate of Ravenna.

To complete the ruin of the French affairs in Italy, Genoa revolted, expelled the French governor, and conferred the dignity of doge upon Janus Fregoso, the author of the revolt. At the same time the duke of Urbino, approaching Bologna with the ecclesiastic forces, obliged the Bentivogli to abandon that city, and the inhabitants to acknowledge the pope for their only lord and sovereign. His holiness, carrying his rage against that family beyond all bounds, interdicted all places that should receive or entertain any of them; and to be revenged upon the Bolognese, who had insulted his statue, and cast many abusive reflections upon his character, he deprived them of all their privileges; excluded them from all share in the government; extorted large sums from many of the citizens, as friends to the Bentivogli, nay, and had formed a design, as was reported, says Guicciardin, of destroying the city, and removing the inhabitants to Cento; but he did not live to carry it into execution.¹

The bishops and cardinals of the council of Pisa had continued their sessions at Milan ever since their removal to that city; and in the eighth, held on the 21st of April, they declared pope Julius II. a disturber of the public peace; a sower of discord among the people of God; a rebel to the church; a public incendiary; a blood-thirsty tyrant, hardened in his iniquity, and incorrigible; pronounced him, as such, suspended from all spiritual and temporal administration of the church; and forbade the faithful, of what rank soever or profession, thenceforth to acknowledge or obey him. This decree was received in France, and by the king's express command strictly complied with throughout the kingdom.² It was the last act of the council of Pisa. For the Swiss breaking into the Milanese, the bishops, who were all French, fled from thence first to Asti in Piedmont, and soon afterwards to Lyons, where they were well received and kindly entertained by the king.

The pope, provoked more than ever against the king on account of his receiving the above-mentioned decree of the council, and his affording a safe retreat in his dominions to the bishops of that assembly, declared him, and all who adhered to him, liable to all the punishments due to heretics and schismatics; granted a power to every one

¹ Guicciard. l. 10; et Brantôme *Eloge* de Gaston de Foix.

² Idem *ibid.* et Concil. Pisan. p. 110.

The pope enters into a confederacy with the emperor against the Venetians. The proceedings of the Lateran council. Julius dies;—[Year of Christ, 1513.] His character.

to seize on their goods, their estates, and whatever else belonged to them, and laid the whole kingdom of France under an interdict. At the same time, to wreak his vengeance upon the city of Lyons for receiving the bishops of the council, he ordered, under grievous censures, the fair that was kept there four times a year, to be thenceforth held at Geneva, whence it had been removed by Lewis XI. to Lyons.¹

The French having nothing now left in Italy but a few castles, the confederates began to quarrel among themselves about the possession of the places which they had abandoned. But the pope, apprehending that the French, taking advantage of their divisions, might re-conquer the Milanese, prevailed upon them to hold a congress at Mantua, in order to settle their differences in an amicable manner; and it was there agreed that the duchy of Milan should be restored to Maximilian Sforza, as heir to his father Lewis, to whom that duchy had belonged. But the Venetians could by no means be brought to an agreement with the emperor, demanding the restitution of the city of Vicenza, which he had taken in the beginning of the war, and they had afterwards retaken. The pope spared neither entreaties nor menaces to oblige the republic to yield that city, and enter into an alliance with himself and the emperor to oppose the French, in case they attempted the recovery of their dominions in Italy. But, at last, finding that he could not induce them, either by entreaties or menaces, to give up the city in question, he concluded an alliance with the emperor against them. By one of the articles of this new alliance, the cities of Parma, Piacenza, and Reggio, which the pope had seized, were to be left in the possession of the holy see, but with this clause, "without prejudice to the rights of the empire."² This clause was added, says Guicciardin, because it did not appear that those cities had ever been possessed by the church; and of the donations made by the emperors there was nothing to show but one single writing that might have been forged.

The pope had, as has been said, summoned a council to meet in the church of St. John Lateran, in opposition to that of Pisa; and it was, accordingly, opened at the time appointed, the 3d of May of the present year, his holiness assisting at it in person with the college of cardinals, and a great number of bishops, doctors, and abbots. In the first session, held on the 10th of that month, it was declared, that the council there assembled was a true, lawful, and holy council, in which resided all the power and authority of the church universal. In the second session, held on the 17th of the same

month, was read the declaration of the catholic king, approving the convention of the council; and a sermon was preached by cardinal Caitan, or rather a furious invective against the councils of Constance, of Basil, and of Pisa, subjecting Peter to the church, and the pope to a council, which, he said, was setting children above their parents, the members above their head, and the servants above their lord. In the third session, held on the 3d of December, the bishop of Goritz presented to the fathers, in the emperor's name, a revocation of all acts and powers made in favor of, or granted to the council of Pisa, with a declaration that he approved of the Lateran council, and would adhere to it. In the same session was confirmed the pope's bull, interdicting the kingdom of France, and removing the fair, spoken of above, from Lyons to Geneva. In the fourth session, held on the 10th or December, were read the letters patent of Lewis XI., abolishing the pragmatic sanction, and they who still maintained it were summoned to appear, in the term of sixty days, and show cause why the said pragmatic should not be abrogated. The fifth session was held on the 16th of February; but the pope being taken ill, the cardinal of St. George, bishop of Ostia, presided at it in his room; and the defenders of the pragmatic were again summoned to appear within the above-mentioned time.¹

In the mean while the pope's illness increased daily, and no hopes being now left of his recovery, he caused a consistory to be called, and the bull to be confirmed, which he had published before against simoniacal practices in the election of the pope. At the same time he declared the election of a successor to belong to the cardinals, and not to the council, and desired that the schismatic cardinals might have no share in the election; but he forgave them their offences against him, and prayed God to pardon them the injuries they had done to his church. He then begged the college of cardinals to gratify him so far, as to grant the city of Pesaro in fee to his nephew, the duke of Urbino, since it had by his means been recovered to the church. Thus retaining the same vigor of mind, which he had enjoyed before his illness, he received the sacraments of the church, and died on the 21st of February 1513, when he had lived seventy years, and governed the church nine years three months and twenty-one days.² He was buried, with the usual solemnity, in the church of St. Peter, in the chapel of his uncle pope Sixtus.

Julius was certainly a man of most extraordinary parts, of great courage, resolution, and constancy, and would have deserved the highest commendations, had he employed

¹ Guicciardin, l. 10; et Concil. Pisan. p. 110; et Raynald. ad ann. 1512.

² Idem ibid.; et Petrus de Angleria, Ep. 512.

¹ Concil. Lat. tom. 14. p. 91—100.

² Guicciard. l. 21.

Julius's vast projects. His hatred to the king of France. A lover of wine and women. Free from Nepotism. His writings.

his talents, as was incumbent upon him, in promoting religion and piety, and reforming the enormous abuses that prevailed, in his time, in the church. But entirely neglecting all spiritual concerns, he made it his whole business, from the time of his promotion to the hour of his death, to extend the temporal empire of the church by dint of arms, and the blood of Christians; acting therein, to use the expression of a celebrated writer, more like a sultan of the Turks, than as the vicar of the Prince of Peace, and the common father of all Christians.¹ Two hundred thousand persons are said to have perished in the wars, carried on chiefly at the instigation of this furious and blood-thirsty pope; and as many more would have, probably, undergone the same fate, had not death intervened, and prevented his disturbing the repose of Europe any longer. For he had formed a design of renewing the war against the duke of Ferrara as soon as the season would permit; of changing the government of Florence, and, what he had above all things at heart, to drive the Spaniards out of Italy, as well as the French; to subject the kingdom of Naples to his see, and thus deliver Italy, as he frequently expressed himself, from the yoke of barbarians. With this view he cultivated, by all means, the friendship of the Swiss, presented them with a sword, a cap, a helmet, and a standard, bestowed on them the title of "Defenders of the Ecclesiastical Immunity," and secretly prevented them from entering into a confederacy with the catholic king.

The aversion, or rather hatred, that Julius bore to the king of France, was carried by him beyond all bounds of moderation, and even of decency. For not satisfied with driving him out of Italy, with laying his whole kingdom under an interdict, and stirring up the king of England to invade his French dominions, he had drawn up a bull, transferring the title of "Most Christian king," to the king of England, divesting Lewis of the royal title and dignity, and giving his kingdom to any who should conquer it. This bull the pope intended to have confirmed by the Lateran council. But he was providentially removed out of the world before this, or any other of the many projects he had formed, could be carried into execution. For it was commonly believed, that had he succeeded with the assistance of the Swiss, in expelling the Spaniards out of the kingdom of Naples, and adding that kingdom to the other dominions of the church, his rest-

less temper, and unbounded ambition, would not have allowed him to remain unactive, but prompted him to attempt, with the assistance of the same mercenary Swiss, the subjecting of all Italy to his see.¹

Julius is charged by all the contemporary writers with immoderate drinking; and Gradeneco tells us in his diary, that his holiness loved wine to such a degree, that when he was taken dangerously ill in 1511, he could not refrain, even in the height of his fever, from drinking strong Greek wines. He was a lover of women, at least before his promotion to the pontificate, as well as of wine, and had a daughter named Felice, whom he married to John-Jordan Orsini.

But not to defraud this pope of the praise that is due to him, he did not tread in the footsteps of preceding popes, in aggrandizing, at the expense of the church, his nephews and relations. His purchasing of the emperor the city of Siena for his nephew, the duke of Urbino, and his beseeching the cardinals, a little before his death, to grant to him and his posterity the city of Pesaro in fee, are the only instances of his showing any private concern or affection for his family. Of the twenty-seven cardinals, whom he created at different promotions, four only were any ways related to him, and they men of untainted characters. When his daughter earnestly entreated him, in his last illness, to confer that dignity upon Guido of Montefalcone, her uterine brother, he sternly answered, that the person whom she recommended, was not worthy of so high a dignity; and, turning away from her, expired in a few minutes.²

As for the famous medal that the king of France, Lewis XII., is said to have caused to be struck with this inscription, "*perdam Babylonis nomen—I will destroy the name of Babylon*," meaning Rome, and the power of Rome, its authenticity has been much disputed, "*et adhuc sub judice lis est.*"

In Cherubini we find thirty-one bulls of pope Julius, the most remarkable of which are, that by which he grants a dispensation to the then prince of Wales, afterwards Henry VIII., to marry Catherine, the widow of his brother Arthur; a bull against all simoniacal practices in the election of the pope; and one for indulgences to encourage the faithful to contribute to the building of St. Peter's church at Rome; for by him that structure, perhaps the most magnificent in the world, was first begun.

¹ Mezeray, *Abregé Chron.* tom. 5. p. 117.

¹ Guicciard. l. 11. Ferron. in Ludovic. XII.

² Idem *ibid.*

LEO X. elected. Some account of his family and preferments, &c., before his promotion. Pompous coronation of the new pope.

LEO X., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTEENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[MAXIMILIAN, CHARLES V. *Emperors of the West.*]

[Year of Christ, 1513.] Julius dying, as has been said, on the 21st of February of the present year, the cardinals, to the number of twenty-three, having performed his exequies, according to custom, entered into the conclave, and on the seventh day, that is, on the 11th of March, elected fairly, without simony, or suspicion of any corrupt practice, John cardinal de Medicis, who took the name of Leo X. So quick an election of so young a pope, for he was but thirty-seven years of age, was owing to a combination of the young cardinals, who had agreed among themselves to choose the first pope out of their own number.¹

Leo was the son of Lawrence de Medicis, who had the good luck to escape with a slight wound, when his brother Julian was barbarously murdered at the instigation of pope Sixtus IV., as has been related above.² He was the grandson of Cosmus, the founder of the greatness of his family,³ and had three sons, Peter, John and Julian. Peter succeeded him in the government of the republic, but was declared a rebel, and obliged to fly from Florence with his two brothers, for yielding some places to the French, when Charles VIII. passed through Tuscany on his march to the kingdom of Naples. John, now pope Leo, was yet a child, when Lewis XI., out of the great regard he had for his family, presented him with a rich archbishopric in France. Being thus destined for the church, his father, who was the Mæcenas of the time, and himself a man of great learning, took care to have him educated and instructed in all the branches of polite literature, by the ablest men of that age, and no other age has abounded with more able men since the revival of learning. When he was but thirteen years of age Innocent VIII. created him cardinal-deacon of St. Mary in Dominica, on occasion of the marriage between his sister Catharine, and Francis Cibo, his holiness's natural son.⁴ Innocent appointed him, a little before his death, his legate *a Latere* for Tuscany. But his brother Peter being, in the mean time, driven out of Florence by the contrary faction, and all the de Medicis declared outlaws, he travelled all over Italy, France, and Germany, till the death of Alexander VI., who succeeded Innocent, and countenanced the popular party in Florence. Upon his death, he returned to Rome, and was ap-

pointed by his successor, Julius II., legate of Perugia, and afterwards of Bologna. In 1512 he attended the confederate army with the character of apostolic legate, and was made prisoner in the battle of Ravenna. The French conducted their illustrious captive to Milan, where he was treated with the utmost civility, and all the respect that was due to his character. But he ill repaid the kind treatment he met with. For the pope having granted him a power to absolve from all censures such as should quit the French service, and promise to bear arms no longer against the church, he prevailed upon great numbers to desert, by offering them absolution. When the French abandoned Milan, the king ordered the cardinal to be sent into France. But the peasants of a village called Pieve del Cairo, falling unexpectedly upon the soldiers who guarded him, delivered him out of their hands. Being thus set at liberty, he applied to Raimund de Cordona, viceroy of Naples, and commander of the Spanish troops in Italy, and had the satisfaction of seeing his family by their means, and the concurrence of the pope, restored to their former grandeur at Florence, and his brother Julian placed, with all the power the family had ever enjoyed, at the head of that republic. Matters being thus settled in Florence, the cardinal, upon the first news he had of the death of pope Julius, flew to Rome, and was elected for his successor in the manner we have seen.¹

The new pope was crowned, according to custom, in the church of St. John Lateran, on the 11th of April, the very day, on which he had been made prisoner at the battle of Ravenna the year before. So pompous was the appearance, on that occasion, of his family, of his court, of the prelates and the nobility, that it was universally believed, that nothing had been seen equal to it since the inundation of the barbarians, or the times of the old Romans, his holiness striving to imitate and renew the pomp, splendor, and magnificence of their public shows. The parade of that day, by no means suitable to the present times, is said to have cost him, at least, one hundred thousand ducats. He thereby gained, indeed, the applause and esteem of the vulgar; but men of sense could not help blaming him for thus squandering away, in useless expenses, the treasure of the church.²

¹ Guicciard. l. 11.

² See p. 205.

³ See p. 250, et seq.

⁴ See p. 258.

¹ Guicciard. l. 6, 7, 11; et Onuph. in Leone X.

² Guicciard. l. 11.

The two deposed cardinals arrested. The pope strives to gain the king of France. The deposed cardinals renounce the council of Pisa, and are restored. The king of France renounces the council of Pisa, and receives the Lateran.

The two cardinals, Carvajal and Sanseverino, the chief promoters of the council of Pisa, now sitting at Lions, no sooner heard of the death of Julius, than, leaving that city, they hastened to Marseilles, and from thence set out for Rome by sea, being attended by an ambassador from the king. They landed at Leghorn; and being there informed of the election of the new pope, they advanced, depending upon his known good-nature, to Pisa. But they were there arrested, and being conducted to Florence, the pope sent the bishop of Orvieto to advise them not to proceed any further till it was determined in what manner they should be received at Rome, and at the same time to exhort them no longer to appear in the habit of cardinals, since they had been lawfully deposed, and their deposition had been confirmed in the Lateran council.¹

As the late pope had shown, on all occasions, an irreconcilable aversion to the king of France, and by that means quite estranged him from the apostolic see, Leo, in order to regain him, and put an end to the schism, made in the church by the council of Pisa, which the king still supported, wrote to him a most kind and obliging letter soon after his coronation. In that letter he declared, that, as the common father of all Christian princes, he was extremely grieved, that the king, by his disagreement with the church, had put it out of his power to show how much he was inclined by nature to be his friend, but that he was ready to receive him as a most Christian king, and embrace him, as the eldest son of the church, as soon as he returned to the obedience of the apostolic see. As the French were, generally speaking, desirous of being restored to the communion of the church, from which they had been cut off by the late pope, the king, upon the receipt of the pope's letter, immediately dispatched the bishop of Marseilles to Rome, to treat with his holiness about a reconciliation. Not long after his arrival, the sixth session of the Lateran council was held, at which Leo presided in person; and in that session was read a paper, signed by the two deposed cardinals, wherein they approved of all that was done in the Lateran council; promised to adhere to it; and condemned that of Pisa as a schismatic conventicle. The two cardinals of Sion and of York strongly opposed their restoration; but the bishop of Marseilles earnestly interceding for them, in his master's name, the pope, to gratify the king, consented to their being reinstated in their dignity; and the ceremony was performed in the following manner. The two cardinals entered Rome privately by night without any badges of that dignity, and appearing the next day, in the habit of common priests, before the pope sitting in con-

sistory, and attended by all the cardinals, except those of York and Sion, who refused to be present, they fell on their knees, and, in the most submissive terms, asked pardon of the pope and the cardinals, declared their approbation of their own deposition, and the election of a new pope, as done canonically, and condemned the council of Pisa as a schismatic and detestable assembly. They remained in the same humble posture till this their confession, signed by them, was entered upon record; and then rising up, they embraced all the cardinals, who stirred not from their seats; resumed, as soon as they had done, the badges of their former dignity, and were admitted to sit in the same place, where they had sat before their deposition.¹

In the mean time the sessions of the Lateran council were continued; but nothing was transacted in the seventh worthy of notice, though Leo presided at it in person; and the eighth was put off till the 17th of December, his holiness striving, in the mean while, to prevail upon the king of France to renounce the council of Pisa, to adhere to the Lateran, and send his bishops to assist at the latter. His endeavors were, in the end, crowned with success. For the king, being daily importuned by his people, especially by the clergy, and earnestly pressed by the queen, Anne of Brittany, to come to an agreement with the new pope, consented at last, much against his will, to receive the Lateran council, which he had hitherto opposed, and renounce that of Pisa, which he had so zealously promoted. Accordingly ambassadors were sent to Rome, who being introduced to the council in the eighth session, held on the 17th of December, acknowledged that council, in the king's name, as the only true and lawful council, condemned the assembly then sitting at Lions under the name of the council of Pisa, and engaged that the said assembly should be dissolved in one month's time, and the bishops who composed it, all be remanded to their respective sees. Thus ended the council of Pisa, called by some a mock council, and, perhaps, not undeservedly, as it consisted of a very small number of bishops, and they of one nation only. The king, not satisfied with obliging the bishops to depart from Lions, and forbidding them to assemble in any other city of his dominions, ordered six of them, and four doctors, to repair to Rome, and ask the pope's pardon, and absolution, in the name of the Gallican church, for countenancing, with their presence, the schismatic assembly of Pisa; which was commanding them to ask pardon for doing what he himself had commanded them to do.²

The following year, 1514, was chiefly em-

¹ Guicciard. l. 11; et Petrus de Angleria. Epist. 515. Onuph in Leon. et Raymund. ad ann. 1513.

² Idem ibid; et Mez. Abregé Chron. tom. 4. p. 123.

¹ Guicciard. l. 11; et Petrus de Angleria. Epist. 515.

Leo's perfidy and false dealing;—[Year of Christ, 1514.] Death of Lewis XII.;—[Year of Christ, 1515.] The pope enters into a confederacy first against and afterwards with his successor Francis I. Interview between the pope and the king of France at Bologna. The king consents to the abolition of the Pragmatic, and the Concordat is established in its room.

ployed by Leo in negotiations with the emperor, with the kings of Spain and England, as well as with the Venetians and the Swiss, to prevent the king of France from reconquering the duchy of Milan, which that prince seemed to have above all things at heart. In this affair his holiness acted all along with the utmost perfidy, encouraging the king to that undertaking, and, at the same time, stirring up underhand all Christendom against him, in order to divert him from such an enterprise, or render it abortive if he persisted in it. The king was informed by some, who were trusted with the secret, of his holiness's treachery and double-dealing, and would have resented it in a proper manner, had not death intervened. Lewis died at Paris on the first day of the year 1515, and was succeeded by Francis of Angoulême, duke of Valois, in the twenty-first year of his age. The new king wrote immediately to the pope to acquaint him with his accession to the crown, and at the same time to assure him, that no person upon earth was more devoted to his holiness than himself, and that from none he could expect more advantageous conditions for himself and his family. Leo answered him by a most kind and obliging letter, but soon afterwards entered into a confederacy with the emperor, the catholic king, and the Swiss against him, in defence of the state of Milan, there being no room to doubt, that the vast military preparations then carried on in France, were designed against that duchy. This powerful confederacy did not deter the king from pursuing his design upon the Milanese. He passed the Alps early in the spring at the head of a very numerous and well appointed army, and having gained a complete victory over the Swiss, who alone had the courage to oppose him, he made himself master, in a very short time, of the whole duchy, and its capital. This unexpected success alarmed the pope, and abandoning, or rather betraying, the confederates, he entered into an alliance with the king of France; and it was agreed that the pope and the king should have an interview at Bologna. They met there accordingly, the pope making his public entry into that city on the 8th of December, and the king on the 10th. The king, being introduced to the pope in a public consistory, paid him, in person, all the honors that it was customary for Christian princes to pay to a new pope by their ambassadors, Antony du Prat, high chancellor of the kingdom, making a speech on that occasion, in his majesty's name. The pope and the king lodged in the same palace, and privately conferred for three days together, with all the marks of mutual benevolence and sincerity.

The chief subject of their conferences was

the "pragmatic sanction;" and on this occasion was begun a negotiation about the famous "concordat," which was afterwards substituted in the room of the "pragmatic." The king, after three days stay at Bologna, returned to Milan, leaving chancellor du Prat to finish that affair. The chancellor had several conferences with the cardinals of Ancona, and Sanctorum Quatuor, and in the end an agreement was concluded, and signed by both the cardinals and the chancellor, under the name of "a concordat between pope Leo X., and Francis I., king of France." The chief articles of this agreement or concordat were, I. That the "pragmatic" should be abolished throughout the king's dominions. II. That the chapters of the cathedral and metropolitan churches should not thenceforth elect their own bishops, but that the king should nominate a fit person, and the pope should confer the dignity on the person whom he had nominated. III. That the pope should thenceforth grant no expectative graces, nor reservations, either general or special. IV. That the ordinaries should be obliged to confer on the graduates of the universities such benefices, as should be vacant in four months of the year, to be specified, but should be at liberty to dispose of those, vacant in the other eight months, to whom they pleased. V. That every pope might, once in his pontificate, oblige every collator, having from ten to fifty benefices in his gift, to confer one as his holiness should direct, and two, if he had fifty or more at his disposal. VI. That the annates should be restored and paid according to the true value, and not according to the ancient rates, greatly below the true value.¹ As the annates, condemned by the council of Basil as rank simony, and as such suppressed by the "pragmatic," were restored by the "concordat," and in the same "concordat" the article, establishing the superiority of a general council to the pope, was omitted, though it had been defined by the councils of Constance and of Basil, and ascertained by the "pragmatic," this new agreement was universally disapproved, and rejected throughout the kingdom of France, the clergy, the universities, and the parliaments remonstrating against it, and appealing to a general council. However, as it was supported by the royal as well as the pontifical authority, it was at last registered and published by the parliament of Paris on the 22d of March 1527, and is observed, with some small alterations, to this day.²

In the interview at Bologna the king, to gratify the pope and court his favor, not only consented to the abolition of the prag-

¹ Guicciardin. l. 12. Pinson, et Du Puy Hist. de la Pragmat. ; et du Concord.

² Pinson, et Du Puy *ibid.* ; et Raynald ad ann. 1515.

The duke of Urbino driven out, and the pope's nephew made duke in his room;—[Year of Christ, 1516.] Plot against the pope's life;—[Year of Christ, 1517]. The cardinal of Siena author of the plot. How discovered. The cardinal put to death.

matic, so odious to Rome, but, to his great dishonor, suffered himself to be persuaded to give up Francis Maria della Rovere, duke of Urbino, who had put himself under his protection. The pope alledged several accusations against the duke, summoned him to appear and clear himself from them, and, upon his refusing to comply with the summons, declared him a rebel to the church, and ordered his nephew, Lawrence de Medicis, to seize his dominions. Lawrence, pursuant to that order, entered the territories of Urbino at the head of the whole ecclesiastical army, and, meeting nowhere with the least opposition, made himself master, in a very few days, of the whole duchy. The duke, finding himself unable to withstand so great a force, had retired at the approach of the enemy, first to Pesaro, and afterwards to Mantua, leaving his subjects, since he could not defend them, to consult their own safety. Rovere being thus driven out, the duchy was by his holiness bestowed upon his nephew Lawrence, who, at his return to Rome, received the investiture, with unusual solemnity, at his uncle's hands. Leo had long coveted that duchy for his nephew, and it was only to make room for him that he drove out the duke, all the crimes that he was charged with, having been committed in the pontificate of his uncle, Julius II., and by that pope forgiven.¹ In this his holiness was guilty of the utmost ingratitude as well as injustice, the duke having, for many years, generously entertained and supported his brother Julian, during the time of their exile from Florence, and used his utmost endeavors to get them restored.²

Leo, not satisfied with the acquisition of the duchy of Urbino, formed a design of adding to it the free state of Siena, lying between the territories of the church and those of the republic of Florence. In order to that he caused cardinal Alfonso Petrucci, commonly called the cardinal of Siena, and his brother Borghesi, who governed that state, and would, he well knew, oppose any attempts upon the public liberty, to be sent into exile. As their father, Pandolfo Petrucci, had espoused, with great zeal, the cause of the family de Medicis, when banished from Florence, and spared no fatigue nor expense to oblige the Florentines to recall them; and besides, the cardinal had used his utmost efforts in the conclave in behalf of Leo; so ungrateful a return for such benefits provoked him to a degree of madness, and he resolved to make the pope atone, with his life, for his ingratitude. He determined at first, in the height of his rage, to stab the pope with his own hand. But apprehending, when somewhat cooler, the danger to which so desperate an attempt

would expose him, he thought of employing poison instead of a dagger, since he might by that means compass his end as effectually, and with much greater safety. This his design he communicated to one Baptista da Vercelli, a famous surgeon, and his intimate friend; and it was agreed between them, that Baptista should be recommended to the pope, who had been long afflicted with the fistula, as the ablest man of his profession, and that, upon his being employed by his holiness, he should inject poison into the ulcer. But, in the mean time, the cardinal loudly complaining in all companies, of the pope's ingratitude; nay, and mixing menaces with his complaints, he began to be suspected of machinating some mischief against him; insomuch that, thinking himself no longer safe at Rome, he privately withdrew from that city; but having left his secretary behind him, it manifestly appeared from some of his letters to him, which were intercepted, that a plot was carrying on against the pope's life. This Leo dissembled; and, in order to get the cardinal into his power, invited him, with mighty promises, to Rome; and for his greater security, even sent him a safe conduct, and gave his word of honor to the Spanish ambassador, that he should meet with no ill treatment. But he no sooner arrived than he was arrested by the pope's order, as was likewise cardinal Bandinello, a Genoese, Leo concluding, from his great intimacy with the cardinal of Siena, that he was privy to the whole affair. The Spanish ambassador complained loudly to the pope of so notorious a breach of his word, given to him, which, he said, was the same thing as if it had been given to the king of Spain, his master. The pope answered, that no safe conduct whatever, no word of honor, however solemnly soever given, could be binding in cases of high treason, unless that crime was specified. The ambassador urged in vain, that when a safe conduct is granted, and impunity is promised to a person without any limitations or restrictions whatever, such a person cannot be punished, be his crime what it will, without a manifest violation of the safe conduct, and a breach of faith. Both cardinals were committed to the castle of St. Angelo; and it appearing from their confession upon the rack, that the plot was devised by the cardinal of Siena with the privy of cardinal Bandinello, they were both, by a sentence, pronounced in a public consistory, deprived of their dignity, and delivered up to the secular power. The cardinal of Siena was secretly strangled the next night. The other cardinal was condemned, as being less guilty, to perpetual imprisonment; from which the pope not only redeemed him soon afterwards, but, upon his paying a certain sum of money,

¹ Guicciard. l. 12. Cimagelli Hist. de Urbini.

² Idem ibid.

Promotion of cardinals. The first rise of the reformation. Occasion given to it by pope Leo's bull of indulgences. Absurdities advanced by the publishers of those indulgences confuted by Luther. His doctrine concerning indulgences.

reinstated him in his dignity. But he died, in a short time, of a lingering distemper, which some ascribed to a slow poison, administered to him, by the pope's order, before he recovered his liberty.¹ Three other cardinals were condemned to pay large sums of money for not acquainting the pope with the menaces which they had heard the cardinal of Siena throw out against him. As by this severity he greatly disoblged all the other cardinals, and estranged them from him, in order to procure new friends in the sacred college, he created no fewer than thirty-one cardinals at one promotion; some for their learning, many for their money, and others at the recommendation of different princes, being men of all nations.²

The present year 1517 will ever be memorable in the ecclesiastical annals for the foundation and commencement it gave to the revolution in the church, commonly known by the name of "The Reformation." But as a detail of all the particulars of that great event would carry me too far from the design of this work, I shall confine myself to the part the popes acted in it, which alone is my province, and refer the reader to "The History of the Reformation in Germany," by Sleidan, and in these our kingdoms, by the bishop of Salisbury, whose inimitable performances contain so full an account of the rise and progress of the "Reformation," and are so universally known, that all I could say on that subject would be but an unnecessary repetition of what every curious reader must have learned from them. It is well known, that pope Leo's famous bull of indulgences, published this year in all Christian kingdoms, first gave occasion to that change in religion, of which so many nations enjoy the blessings to this day. For Leo, wanting to continue the magnificent structure of St. Peter's church, begun by his predecessor Julius, but finding his coffers drained, chiefly by his own extravagance, in order to replenish them, granted, by his bull, a "plenary indulgence," or remission of all sins, to such as should charitably contribute to that work. Albert, archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, was commissioned by the pope to proclaim that bull in Germany, and by the archbishop was employed a Dominican friar, named John Tetzel, to preach up the indulgences, and collect the money arising from them. Some say, that the indulgences were by the pope farmed out to the archbishop, and by him to the friar, and his order. However that be, the friar, to enhance the value of these indulgences, and procure, by that means, more customers, used to extol their efficacy in the most indecent and shocking

terms, telling the deluded multitude, that, had any one even ravished the mother of God, he had wherewithal to cancel his guilt; that he had saved more souls from hell, by these indulgences, than St. Peter had converted to Christianity by his preaching; that their virtue extended to the dead as well as the living; that upon their paying the price of the indulgences the soul of the person, whom they intended to deliver out of purgatory, flew that moment up to heaven, &c.¹ These and many such-like impious and absurd doctrines gave great offence to all good men, and among the rest to Martin Luther, a friar of the order of St. Austin's Hermeis, who, being at this time professor of divinity in the newly erected university of Wittemberg in Saxony, thought it incumbent upon him to confute them: and he did so accordingly in ninety-five propositions, which he publicly maintained in that university, on the 30th of September of the present year. He owned the pope to be vested with the power of granting indulgences, that is, of remitting the punishments due to sin, but that power he confined to "canonical" punishments, or punishments inflicted by the canons, by the church, or its visible head the pope. As for Divine punishments, or such as are by divine Justice denounced against offenders in this life, or the life to come, he would not allow the power of the pope to extend to them, affirming, that they could only be remitted by the merits of Christ, good works, and a sincere repentance. As by this doctrine the living reaped very little benefit from the indulgences, and the dead none at all, the venders of them, enraged beyond measure at the visible decay of their trade, fell upon Luther with the utmost fury. He answered their reasonings, confuted their objections, and challenged them to answer the following question, "if the pope has a power of delivering souls out of purgatory, why does he deliver only some, and those for money, and not all out of charity?" His adversaries, not able to confute his arguments, nor support their own, had recourse to a more compendious way of compassing his ruin. They represented him to the pope as an obstinate and incorrigible heretic, who, were he not restrained by the authority of the apostolic see, would soon infect all Germany with his pestiferous errors. On the other hand, Luther, to prevent their prejudicing the pope against him, wrote a most submissive letter to his holiness, sent him his ninety-five propositions with their proofs, and, to clear himself from the imputation of obstinacy, which alone makes a heretic, declared himself ready to change his sentiments the moment they were proved to be erroneous.

¹ Guicciard. l. 13. Jovius Vit. Leon X. ad ann. 1517.

² Idem ibid.

¹ See Mosheim Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 16. note (O).

Luther not excited by jealousy or resentment to oppose the indulgences. Is summoned by the pope to Rome; —[Year of Christ, 1518.] Appears before cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg. His doctrine concerning indulgences condemned by the pope. Miltitz sent into Saxony;—[Year of Christ, 1519.] The success of his negotiations with Luther.

Before I proceed on this subject, I cannot help observing, that the charge brought against Luther by some protestants, and most Roman catholic writers, of opposing the indulgences out of jealousy or envy, namely, because the commission of publishing them, usually granted to the Austin friars in Saxony, had been taken from them, and given to the Dominicans, has been, in my opinion, unanswerably confuted by the Rev. Mr. Maclaine, the translator of Doctor Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, in his learned notes upon that admirable performance.¹ I shall only add, that Guicciardin, in speaking of that opposition says, that "it was, perhaps, honest, or, at least, from the just occasion that was given to it, in some degree excusable."² From these words it is manifest that Guicciardin, a contemporary, and most accurate historian, knew nothing of the selfish and ignoble motives, which Luther's opposition to the doctrine of indulgences is ascribed to by the more modern writers. For had it been owing to any such motives, it would have been evidently "dishonest," and "in no degree excusable."

At first Leo, wholly taken up with the pleasures of his court, made a jest among his poets and buffoons, of the bold attempt of the friar of Wittemberg. But being informed by the emperor of the rapid progress the new doctrine made, and the divisions it was likely to produce, both in the church and the empire, he became serious, and summoned Luther to appear before him at Rome in the term of sixty days, in order to maintain there the doctrine which he was said to propagate in Germany. But Frederic, elector of Saxony, who had taken Luther, as his subject, into his protection, urging against that summons the ecclesiastical laws of the empire, by which its subjects, he said, were, in all causes, to be tried upon the spot, the pope yielded, and ordered Luther to plead his cause before cardinal Cajetan, then apostolic legate at the diet of Augsburg. As Cajetan was a Dominican, Luther thought it somewhat strange, that he should have been appointed judge and arbitrator in a controversy between him and Tetzel, a man of the same order. However, in compliance with the pope's command, he repaired to Augsburg, in the month of October of the present year, and had there three different conferences with the cardinal. But as the cardinal imperiously insisted upon his retracting his opinions, without ever attempting to prove them erroneous, he suddenly withdrew from Augsburg, after appealing from the pope ill informed to the pope better informed. Luther had yet advanced nothing contrary to the catholic faith.

He only maintained that the punishments inflicted upon offenders by divine justice, in the present, or in a future state, came not within the reach of the pope's absolving power; a point that had been frequently disputed, but had never yet been authoritatively determined. But Leo, by a brief, dated the 9th of November of the present year, declared, that the sovereign pontiff, as successor of St. Peter, and Christ's vicar upon earth, was vested with a power of remitting all sins, and all punishments due to them; all sins by the sacrament of penance, and all punishments by means of indulgences; ordered all to hold, and to teach, that doctrine, under pain of excommunication, and enjoined cardinal Cajetan, to whom the brief was addressed, to notify it to all the bishops and archbishops of Germany, and cause it to be every where received and executed. Luther, finding his doctrine thus condemned, though supported by arguments which his adversaries had not been able to confute, repaired to Wittemberg, and there, on the 28th of November, appealed from the pope, who had made himself a party, to a general council.¹

Leo, finding that Luther, in defiance of his brief and the penalties denounced in it, still continued to preach the same doctrine, and despairing of being able to prevail upon him to submit, so long as he was protected by the elector of Saxony, in order to gain that prince, sent him, the following year, 1519, the golden rose, which the popes used to bless every year, and present to several princes, as a particular mark of friendship and esteem. With this present was dispatched a Saxon knight, named Charles Miltitz, who belonged to Leo's court. As he was known to be a man of great prudence, penetration, and address, he was ordered to insinuate himself by all means into the favor of the elector, and demand of him, that he would either oblige Luther to renounce his doctrines, or withdraw from him his protection. But so cold was the reception Miltitz met with from the elector on his arrival in Saxony, and so little did that prince seem to value the pope's present, that the prudent nuncio thought it advisable to propose nothing to him against Luther, but rather to treat with Luther himself. Accordingly he had several conferences with him at different places; and by his gentle and insinuating manner, so very different from that which Luther had hitherto met with from the other friends of Rome, he obtained two things of him, to the great surprise of all who had taken part in the present controversy. He promised to observe a profound silence for

¹ Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. p. 17, 18. note. (P.)

² Guicciard. l. 13.

¹ Paul Sarpi Hist. of the Council of Trent, l. i, c. 22. Frid. Borner. Diss. de Colloquio Luth. cum Cajetan. Ern. Losch. Acta Reform. tom 2. c. 11.

Leo condemns the doctrine of Luther;—[Year of Christ, 1520;]—who renews his appeal to a general council, and has the pope's bull publicly burnt. Diet assembled at Worms;—[Year of Christ, 1521.] Luther pleads his cause before them; but is condemned.

the future with respect to indulgences, provided it was in like manner observed by his adversaries, and to write a submissive letter to the pope: and such a letter he wrote, owning that he had carried his animosity too far, and solemnly protesting that he never intended to attack the power of the Roman church, or the pope. This letter is dated the 13th of March, 1519. He even wrote a circulatory letter to all his followers, exhorting them to reverence the Roman church as superior to all other churches.¹

The gentle methods pursued by Miltitz, though attended with such success, were not at all pleasing to some furious bigots; and one of these, named Eckius, doctor of divinity, and a sworn enemy to Luther, flying to Rome, and there representing to the pope the moderation of his nuncio as indifference concerning the success of his commission, prevailed upon his holiness to remove him, and oblige Luther, by more forcible measures, to submit to his decisions. He was seconded therein by cardinal Cajetan, and the rest of the Dominicans at the pope's court, desirous of revenging upon Luther the treatment which their brother Tetzel had met with at his hands. To them the pope hearkened, as they were in high credit, and bore a great sway at his court, and, contrary to the advice of many sober and thinking persons, issued a bull, by which were condemned ninety-one propositions, extracted out of Luther's writings; all were forbidden to hold, teach, or defend any of them, upon pain of excommunication, to be incurred "ipso facto," and Luther was required to retract them in the term of sixty days, on pain of incurring all the censures and punishments denounced against heretics. This bull is dated the 15th of June 1520.² On the other hand, Luther, upon the first notice he had of this rash and inconsiderate step in the pope, renewed his appeal to a general council; declared himself ready to appear when and where he could with any safety, and begged the emperor, the electors, and the other princes of the empire, to suspend the execution of the pope's bull till he was heard, and convinced, before equitable judges, of holding or propagating any heretical or erroneous opinions. As all who had any of his writings in their custody, were ordered, by the pope's bull, to burn them, he, in his turn, had a pile of wood erected without the walls of Wittemberg, and there, in the presence of an immense multitude, committed to the flames Leo's bull, and with it the decretals of the popes. This happened on the 10th of December of the present year; and Luther, to justify it, published soon afterwards a writing containing thirty propositions, extracted out of the decretals, which

he maintained to be heretical, and worthy of being consigned to the flames.

As Luther paid no regard to the pope's menaces or thunders, but, acquiring daily new followers and protectors, bid him openly defiance, Leo, to check the progress his doctrine daily made in Germany, had recourse to the new emperor, Charles V. king of Spain, who, in 1519, had succeeded his grandfather Maximilian in the empire, and representing to him that, as the defender and protector of the church, he was bound to restrain and punish all who rebelled against her sacred laws, earnestly entreated him to exert his authority against Martin Luther, a disturber of her peace, and a notorious heretic. As Luther complained of his being condemned by the pope without being heard, and a diet of the empire was soon to meet at Worms, the emperor, at the request of the elector of Saxony, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the empire, consented that the pope's bull against the supposed heretic should not take place till he had pleaded his cause before that assembly. He was accordingly summoned to it, and a safe conduct, in due form, being sent to him by the emperor, he repaired to Worms, and there, on the 17th of April, and the next day, pleaded his cause with the greatest intrepidity. Being asked whether the books out of which the propositions condemned by the pope had been extracted, were really his, he answered in the affirmative. But when they required him to retract them, he returned answer, that he was ready to renounce and retract them, provided they were proved by the scriptures, or by sound reason, to be erroneous; but could not, till they were shown to be so, depart from them without betraying the cause of God, and wounding his own conscience. As he could neither be intimidated by menaces, nor allured by promises to yield, he was dismissed with a safe conduct from the emperor, securing him against any violence for the space of thirty days. He therefore left Worms on the 26th of April, on his return to Wittemberg; but he was met, on the 3d of May, by four men, disguised with masks, who, attacking him with great violence, threw him down, seized him, and carried him off full speed. This violence was by the friends of Luther generally charged upon the emissaries of Rome; and it greatly increased the odium of the public against them. But it was a contrivance of the elector of Saxony, who hearing that the pretended heretic had been condemned, in the diet, by the emperor and all the princes, he himself being absent, had caused him to be seized in the manner we have seen, and conveyed, with the utmost secrecy, to one of his castles, the castle of Wartenberg. His design in this was to screen him from

¹ Seckendorf. Comment. Hist. Apologet. de Luther-anismo.

² Cherubin. Bullar. mag.

Edict issued against Luther. War kindled in Italy by Leo. His death and character.

the furious persecution, which he foresaw would be soon raised against him. How seasonable this precaution was appeared in a few days. For on the 8th of May a most severe edict was published against Luther, declaring him a member cut off from the church, a schismatic, a notorious and obstinate heretic; forbidding all, on pain of being declared guilty of high treason, and forfeiting all their estates and dignities, to receive, entertain, or countenance him, and empowering persons of all ranks to seize him, at the expiration of the twenty-one days of the safe conduct, and treat him as one under the ban of the empire, and protected by no law. However, this edict, severe as it was, did not stop the progress of the reformation. For the emperor being obliged, by the state of his affairs, to leave Germany soon after it was published, the civil magistrates and the princes took no care to have it carried into execution, so that the followers of Luther were suffered to hold, nay, and to propagate their doctrines unmolested.¹

While these religious disputes were carried on with great warmth in Germany, the states of Italy enjoyed a profound peace. But that peace was interrupted in the present year by the pope, who, being desirous of driving the emperor Charles out of Italy, entered into a private alliance with Francis I., King of France, to attack, with their joint forces, the kingdom of Naples. But the emperor offering him better conditions, he secretly concluded a treaty with him against the king; and thus was Italy, after a three years peace, involved in a most destructive war. The French lost by it the duchy of Milan, and the pope gained the cities of Parma and Piacenza. It was chiefly to recover these cities to the church that Leo kindled this war. For when the cardinal de Medicis endeavored to divert him from it, he told him, that he was determined, at all events, to put the church again in possession of two such important places, and whenever that happened he should die content; and he died on the 1st of December of the present year, having received, a few days before, the news of the acquisition of Piacenza, and of the surrender of Parma on the very day he died. He was seized with a slow fever in his villa at Magliano, and being carried the next day to Rome, he died of it in a very few days, not without strong suspicion of poison having been administered to him by his chamberlain Barnabo Malaspina, at the instigation, as was conjectured, of the king of France.² He died in the forty-sixth year of his age, having held the see eight years, eight months and twenty days.

He was a prince, says Guicciardin, worthy, on many accounts, to be praised as well

as blamed. He disappointed the expectations conceived of him at his promotion to the pontificate, showing himself endowed with much greater prudence, but with much less goodness than all had imagined. He was by nature addicted to idleness and pleasure, and averse, beyond measure, to all business, spending his time with musicians, jesters, and buffoons, and inclined, beyond the bounds of decency, to sensual gratifications. His mind was filled with the most exalted notions of splendor and magnificence; in his appearances and donations he knew no measure, nor distinction, and thus not only dissipated, in a very short time, the immense treasure accumulated by his predecessor Julius, but infinite sums besides, accruing from bulls, briefs, &c., and the sale of new offices; and was daily contriving new methods of exacting money to support his extravagance.¹ Jovius, who has written his life, or rather his panegyric, owns that he was naturally averse to all business; that they were the most caressed by him, who were the most capable of entertaining him; that he took great delight in the company of poets, jesters, musicians, and buffoons, and showed himself highly pleased with their jests, however inconsistent with modesty, nay, and with common decency. The same writer, after describing the magnificence of his table, which far exceeded that of the greatest kings, adds, that Quernus, his poet Laureat, who had been crowned arch-poet with great solemnity, was present at all his entertainments, but sat at a separate table; that the pope, after plying with cup after cup of his best wine, used, for the diversion of his guests, to command him to make extemporary verses upon the subject which he proposed; and that having once ordered him to make some verses upon the arch-poet himself, he began thus:

"Archipoeta facit versus pro mille poetis."

But being at a loss how to proceed, the pope immediately subjoined,

"Et pro mille aliis archipoeta bibit."²

A poet having one day presented to him some Latin verses in rhyme, he returned the like number of verses, all in the same rhyme; but as he gave him nothing else, the poet, in departing, addressed him with the following distich:

"Si tibi pro numeris numeros fortuna dedisset,
Non esset capiti tanta corona tua;"

Which he was so well pleased with, that he ordered a considerable sum of money to be paid him upon the spot.³ Janus Nicius Erythræus tells us of a person, who, wanting to ask some favor of the pope, but finding he could not get access to him, bethought himself of pretending to be a poet, and to have some of the finest verses that were

¹ Paulo Sarpi Hist. Concil. di Trento, l. 1. Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trid. l. 2. Ulemberg. Vit. Luth. c. 6. Cochleus ad ann. 1521. Sleidan de Statu Relig. et Reip. l. 2. Lutheri Opera, tom. 2.

² Guicciard. l. 14.

¹ Guicciard. l. 14.

² Paulo. Grovius in Elog. et Vit. Leon.

³ Anton. Spelte Saggæ Follie.

Hadrian elected.—[Year of Christ, 1522.] How his election brought about. His birth, education, employments, &c.

ever made, to show to his holiness; that he was thereupon immediately introduced to him, when he ingenuously owned the artifice he had made use of to get admittance, and obtained the favor which he came to sue for.¹ Many instances are alledged by authors of this pope's trifling and nugatory genius. But all allow him to have been a great encourager of learning, and a most generous patron of the learned, being himself as well acquainted with the liberal sciences, and as elegant a Latin writer as any of his time. Poets were his chief favorites; they had free access to him, and if they brought any thing with them worthy of his perusal, they never departed unrewarded. He is even said to have published a bull in favor of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, threatening with excommunication all who should find fault with that performance;² which was exposing himself, and his thus abused authority, to contempt and derision. Orlando however, mad and furious, acted not

more mad a part. Leo had but a very superficial knowledge in divinity, as is owned by cardinal Pallavincino himself; and the indifference he betrayed, with respect to the interests of religion, gave occasion to some to charge him with impiety, nay, and with atheism. However, he did not neglect the grand object, which most of his predecessors had chiefly in their view, namely, the extending of the temporal as well as the spiritual power of their see, and raising their families; and these were the motives that induced Leo to make war upon the duke of Urbino, to disturb the tranquillity of Italy, and more than once to betray his allies.

By this pope the title of "defender of the faith" was conferred upon Henry VIII. for the book he wrote against Luther, a title which his successors wear to this day, and have a much better right to than he had, being the chief supporters and defenders, not of a superstitious, but of a rational faith and religion.

HADRIAN VI., THE TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[CHARLES V., *Emperor.*]

[Year of Christ, 1522.] Leo dying, as has been said, on the 1st of December, the cardinals having performed his exequies, according to custom, and waited some time for the arrival of their absent brethren, shut themselves up in the conclave on the 27th of the same month, and on the 9th of the following January chose with one voice cardinal Hadrian, bishop of Tortosa, who did not change his name, but styled himself Hadrian VI. As the cardinals, in all thirty-nine, could not agree among themselves, some of them proposed cardinal Hadrian, not with a design, says Guicciardin, to consent to his election, but only to waste away the morning. But as some voted for him, the cardinal of St. Sixtus took occasion from thence to make an harangue in his praise, extolling his learning, and the many excellent qualities, with which he was endowed. He gained by that means the suffrages of some, and the rest, one after another, more by impulse than deliberation, followed their example. Thus was Hadrian elected by the unanimous consent of the whole conclave, none of those very persons, who had elected him, being able to account for their having chosen, at so critical a juncture, a barbarian, that is, a stranger, absent in so distant a country; one,

who had never seen Italy; who was utterly unacquainted with the customs of the court of Rome; had never had an opportunity of ingratiating himself with any of the cardinals; nay, and was scarce known to them by name. The cardinals, to excuse so extraordinary a step, alledged the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, often moving them to elect one, whom they had never once thought of before. Such is the account Guicciardin gives us of the election of Hadrian.¹ But from other authors it appears, that the greater part of the cardinals had privately engaged their suffrages to the emperor Charles in favor of his beloved preceptor Hadrian, and could have easily accounted, had they pleased, for so "extraordinary a step," without recurring to any inspiration of the Holy Ghost.²

Hadrian was a native of Utrecht, of a plebeian and obscure family. His father, Florentius Boyens, according to some a weaver, according to others a brewer's servant, not being able to give his son a learned education, though from childhood he showed an uncommon inclination to learn, procured him a place in the pope's college at Louvain, where poor children were taught and brought up upon charity. He soon distin-

¹ Janus Nisius Eryth. Pinacoth. 2. c. 33.

² Blondel. Examen de la Bulle de Leon X.

¹ Guicciard. 1. 14.

² Jovio Vit. Hadr. Ciac. tom. 3. Spond. ad ann. 1522

Hadrian's departure from Spain, arrival at Rome, and coronation. He recovers Rimini to the church.

gushed himself above all his fellow-students; and such was his thirst after knowledge, that when the rest were all in bed, he used to spend great part of the night in reading by the light of the lamp, that was kept constantly burning in the church. Thus he became, in the course of a few years, a great proficient in philosophy and divinity; but he was no admirer of polite literature. His first preferment was a rectory in Holland, conferred upon him by Margaret, daughter of the emperor Maximilian, governess of the Low Countries. In 1491, he took the degree of doctor in Divinity, the same princess bearing all the charges incident to that ceremony. He was afterwards made professor of Divinity at Louvain, dean of the cathedral, and vice-chancellor of the university; and in the discharge of these employments he not only answered, but far surpassed the expectation, that all had conceived of him. Being now become no less famous for his learning and abilities, than his virtues, and his most exemplary life, he was chosen by the emperor Maximilian for preceptor to his grand-son Charles, then seven years of age, as of all the best qualified for so important a trust. As the young prince showed a great inclination to arms, and none to letters, the emperor, who entertained the highest opinion of Hadrian's parts, and placed an entire confidence in him, thought he could employ him better than in teaching his grandson what he cared not to learn. He therefore sent him, with the character of his ambassador, to Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Spain, in order to efface the prejudices, that had been artfully instilled into him by the enemies of the Austrian family, against Charles, his grandson by the mother. That commission he executed with equal fidelity and success; and so pleasing was his whole conduct to the Catholic king, that he conferred upon him the bishopric of Tortosa, as a testimony of the entire satisfaction he had given him. Ferdinand died, in January 1516, at Madrid, then an obscure village; and upon his death, Spain, and all the dominions of which that vast monarchy was composed, fell to the house of Austria. Charles, whom Ferdinand left his heir, and who was then at Brussels, appointed cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, to govern the kingdom till his arrival, and nominated Hadrian for president of his council. The emperor Maximilian, to reward the eminent services of so faithful a minister, strongly recommended him to pope Leo, and he was, upon his recommendation, preferred to the dignity of cardinal on the 1st of July 1517, in the numerous promotions made then by Leo of thirty-four cardinals. In the mean time the emperor died at Lintz in the very beginning of the year 1519, and Charles, who was elected in his room, being obliged to repair to Germany, to receive, according

to custom, the imperial crown at Aix-la-Chapelle, he appointed Hadrian his lieutenant, or viceroy over all his Spanish dominions; and in that high station he received the quite unexpected news of his being preferred to a much higher, the sovereign pontificate.¹

That news Hadrian received at Victoria, a town of Biscay, with the acts of the conclave, and a letter from the cardinals, earnestly entreating him to repair, with all speed, to Rome, where the melancholy situation of the affairs of Italy made his presence absolutely necessary. In compliance with their request, he embarked at Tarracona on the 2d of August, having first settled the affairs of Spain in the best manner he could, and, arriving at Leghorn, was there received by cardinal de Medicis, cousin to the late pope, by the ambassadors of most of the Italian princes, and by Francis Gonzaga, commander-in-chief of the ecclesiastical army. They all attended him to Ostia, whence he was carried up the river to the monastery of St. Paul, where he rested that night. The next day, the 29th of August, he made his public entry into Rome, being attended by the college of cardinals, by the clergy in a body, by the magistrates, the nobility, and immense crowds of people, and was crowned the following day in the church of St. Peter, with the usual solemnity. At his arrival a plague broke out at Rome, which greatly damped the public joy, and was interpreted by many as a very bad omen of the pontificate of one, who was alike unacquainted with the affairs of Italy and those of the court.²

The first thing the new pope undertook was to recover the city of Rimini, which Sigismund and Pandolfo Malatesta, the ancient lords of that place, had seized during the vacancy of the see. In order to that he sent a body of twenty-five hundred Spanish infantry, which he had brought with him out of Spain, to drive out the Malatestas. But they, not able to withstand so great a force, opened their gates to them, and put them in possession both of the city and the castle. Hadrian's next care was to adjust the differences, that had subsisted between his two immediate predecessors and the dukes of Ferrara and Urbino; and to both he granted a new investiture of their duchies, upon their obliging themselves to assist the church with a certain number of troops, when wanted for the defence of the ecclesiastical state. Francis Maria della Rovere, nephew to pope Julius II., was at this time duke of Urbino. He had been deprived of that duchy, as has been said, by pope Leo, to make room for his nephew Lawrence de Medicis, but had recovered it upon the death

¹ Jovio in Vit. Hadrian. Ciacon. et Spond. ubi supra. Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 2. Bayle Dict. Art. Hadrian.

² Guicciard. l. 15.

Hadrian endeavors to stop the progress of the reformation. Proceedings of the diet at Nuremberg. Hadrian enters into an alliance with the emperor against the king of France;—[Year of Christ, 1523.] He dies. His character.

of Lawrence, by force of arms.¹ Hadrian not only reinvested the duke of Ferrara, Alphonso d'Este, with that duchy, but, to his great disgrace, says Guicciardin, or to that of his ministers, who imposed upon his ignorance, left him in possession of the castles of San Felice and Finale, which he had taken in the time of the late vacancy.¹

But what above all things Hadrian had at heart was to put a stop to the rapid and astonishing progress the reformation made in most parts of Germany. With that view he sent Francis Cherepato, with the character of his nuncio, to the diet that met, in the latter end of the present year, at Nuremberg. The nuncio was ordered to demand a vigorous execution of the imperial edict, issued against Luther and his followers at the diet of Worms, and at the same time to declare that his holiness was ready to remove the many unwarrantable practices, which he ingenuously confessed to have long prevailed in the court of Rome. As the emperor was not present, but resided at this time in Spain, the princes of the empire, encouraged by that sincere avowal, proposed the assembling of a general council in Germany, in order to deliberate about the most effectual means of bringing about a general reformation of the church. At the same time they drew up a memorial, containing an hundred grievances, which, they said, gave the German nation just occasion to complain of the court of Rome, and which they desired his holiness would take care to redress, since they could not, nor any longer would, tamely submit to such unconscionable extortions. That memorial they sent to the pope, and, before they parted, prohibited, by a public law, all innovations in religious matters till the assembling of a general council.² Hadrian frankly owned the necessity of a reformation, and looking upon the complaints of the German nation as just and reasonable, he immediately set about redressing them. But the opposition he met with from the courtiers and most of the cardinals, obliged him to proceed slowly in so necessary a work.

As in the later end of the present year the Turks had made themselves masters of the city and island of Rhodes, and threatened Hungary with an invasion, the pope, desirous of putting an end to the war in Italy between the emperor and the king of France, which his predecessor had kindled, and to unite them and all the other Christian princes in a league against the common enemy, sent nuncios to the different courts, entreating the princes to come to an agreement among themselves, and to send for that purpose their respective ambassadors with full powers to Rome. With that request

they all readily complied. But nothing was concluded, many unsurmountable difficulties occurring against a peace, and the emperor refusing to consent to a short truce, while the king of France would not agree to a long one. But though the continuation of the war was equally owing to both, Hadrian, led by his partiality for the emperor, laid the whole blame upon the king, and, his penetration not being equal to his good intentions, he suffered himself to be seduced into an alliance with the emperor and the king of England against France. This league, or alliance, was signed by the pope on the third day of August of the present year, his holiness expatiating, on that occasion, upon the imminent danger to which all Christendom was exposed from the Turk, on account, he said, of the French king's obstinacy in refusing to conclude a peace, or even to consent to a truce with the emperor. This confederacy was to last during the life of the confederates, and a year after the death of any one of them; and each was to contribute the stipulated quota both in men and in money.¹

Hadrian did not long survive the signing of this confederacy. He was seized with a slow fever the very day on which he signed it, the third of August, and his illness increasing daily, with a total loss of appetite, he died on the 14th of the following September, when he had lived sixty-four years, six months, and thirteen days; and held the see one year, eight months, and six days. His death was a great loss to the confederates, who were thereby not only deprived of the pontifical authority, but at the same time of the subsidies, which by the articles of the treaty he was engaged to furnish.²

He left behind him, says Guicciardin, no great opinion of his abilities, either on account of the shortness of his pontificate, or of the little experience he had in affairs.³ He was, according to Giovio, who has written his life, a man of great candor, integrity, and simplicity of manners, an enemy to all guile and deceit, and utterly averse to all pomp, grandeur, and magnificence, which his immediate predecessor had so much affected; but, in all other respects, far better qualified to govern a college in the university of Louvain, or a parish, than the whole church.⁴ His parsimony, his banishing all delicacies from his table, and admitting none to it but some few of his most intimate friends, gave occasion to the author of his life to compare the apostolic palace, in his time, to a haunted house. He was well skilled in scholastic divinity, and encouraged that study in others; but was no friend to the muses, nor to the lovers of polite literature, calling them, by way of contempt, Terentians. They had their revenge, especially the poets, "genus

¹ Guicciard. l. 15.

² Prid. Georgii. Gravamino German, l. 11. Father Paul. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 1. Onuph in Vit. Hadrian. Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 3.

¹ Guicciard. l. 15.

² Idem ibid.

³ Idem ibid.

⁴ Giovio in Vit. Hadrian VI.

Clement VII. elected. Some account of him before his promotion.

irritable," in the many cutting and ingenious satires, which they daily published against him, reflecting on his birth, and misconstruing the best of his actions. Hadrian had many poor relations; but left them all as poor at his death, as they were at the time of his promotion. Some of them having travelled on foot from Flanders to Rome, in expectation of some considerable preferment, he received them coldly, exhorted them to content themselves with the station in which providence had placed them; and, at their departure, presented each of them with a plain suit of clothes, and as much money as would bear their charges in returning to their own country.¹

Hadrian created only one cardinal, William Eickenwort, a Fleming, whom he had preferred before to the bishopric of Tortosa, vacant by his own promotion to the pontificate. A little before his death he canonized Renno, formerly bishop of Misnia, and a great stickler for the papal supremacy. Against that canonization Luther published a writing under the following title: "Against the new Idol, and the new Devil, that is to be set up at Misnia."

Hadrian was buried in the church of St. Peter, between Pius II. and Pius III. with the following short epitaph: "Hadrianus

VI. hic situs est, qui nihil sibi infelicius in vita, quam quod imperaret, duxit." But cardinal Eickenwort afterwards erected, in the church of St. Mary of the Germans, a most magnificent monument to the memory of his benefactor, with an inscription, rehearsing the chief honors, or employments, with which he had been distinguished.—To that inscription he added the following distich:

"Quo Romanorum Sextus pater atque sacerdos,
Hoc etiam pietas conditur in tumulo."

To say that piety was buried in the same tomb with Hadrian was, in truth, to say, that he left no piety upon earth behind him, though the author cannot be supposed to have meant it.

Hadrian, while professor of divinity at Louvain, wrote and published the following pieces, which have reached our time: A Comment upon the Fourth Book of Sentences; Twelve Quodlibetic Questions; an Account of a Man at the Point of Death; and a Sermon upon Pride. We have some letters, written by him after his promotion to the pontificate, and among them one to the elector of Saxony, exhorting him, in a very friendly manner, to abandon the protection of Luther, and adhere to the ancient doctrine of the church.

CLEMENT VII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[CHARLES V., *Emperor.*]

[Year of Christ, 1523.] Hadrian dying on the 14th of September, the cardinals, in all thirty-nine, after performing the funeral obsequies of the deceased pontiff, shut themselves up in the conclave on the 23d of the same month, in order to proceed without delay to a new election. But the conclave being divided into two pretty equal parties, the one headed by cardinal de Medicis, the other by cardinal Colonna, and neither caring to yield to the other, the election was protracted to the 19th of November, when cardinal Colonna went, of his own accord, to cardinal de Medicis, and offered him his interest. Colonna was a sworn enemy to de Medicis; but being dissatisfied with the cardinals of his own party, obstinately refusing to choose cardinal Jucovaccio, a Roman, who entirely depended upon him, he took that unexpected step to be revenged upon them, and at the same time to ingratiate himself with his enemy and competi-

tor. De Medicis, overjoyed at so sudden a change in one who alone stood between him and the pontificate, gave him instantly a bond under his hand, engaging to confer upon him the dignity of chancellor, then held by himself, and to make a present of the most magnificent palace which Raphael Riarius, cardinal of St. George, had built, and Leo had given to him upon that cardinal's death. This coalition of the two parties, in favor of de Medicis, was no sooner known, than all the rest strove to be the foremost in offering their service to him: and thus was he that very night adored as pontiff, and the next morning, the 19th of November, unanimously elected in due form, being then in the 45th year of his age. He was crowned the next day, and on that occasion took the name of Clement VII.¹

He was the posthumous and natural son of Julian de Medicis, who was murdered in the conspiracy spoken of above.² As his illegitimacy was, by the canons, an obstacle

¹ Moringus vit. Hadrian. La Mothe, Le Vayer, tom. 11. p. 436.

¹ Guicciard. l. 15.

² See above, p. 250.

Clement resolves to stand neuter between the emperor and the king of France;—[Year of Christ 1524.]
 Concludes a treaty with the king of France; whose army is defeated, and he himself made prisoner;—
 [Year of Christ 1525.] League formed against the emperor;—[Year of Christ 1526.]

to his preferment in the church, he betook himself to the profession of arms in the military order of the knights of Rhodes; and being grand prior of Capua when Leo, his cousin-german, was elected pope, he carried the standard of the order, armed cap-a-pie, at his coronation, and was that very day, while yet in armour, preferred by him to the archiepiscopal see of Florence. As to his illegitimacy, witnesses were produced, who, preferring the favor of men, says Guicciardin, to truth, deposed that his mother had obtained of his father a promise of marriage before she admitted him to her embraces; and that promise was by Leo declared sufficient to legitimate his birth.¹ As if a promise of marriage had been equivalent to marriage itself. He was soon afterwards promoted by the same pope to the dignity of cardinal, and raised to the high post of chancellor of the holy Roman church. In that employment he exercised the whole power of the pontificate, Leo himself being utterly averse to all business, and wholly addicted to his diversions and pleasures.

Clement was scarce warm in his chair when ambassadors were sent to him both by the emperor and the king of France, then at war in the Milanese, to engage him in their interest. But his holiness, hearkening to neither, returned to both the same answer, that it was incumbent upon him, as the common father of all Christian princes, not to join the one against the other, but to use his utmost endeavors to dispose them all to peace. Accordingly, he sent soon afterwards nuncios to the courts of the emperor, and the kings of France and England, to persuade them to lay down their arms, and enter into a treaty of peace, or at least to agree to a truce. But the king of France being averse to a peace, and the emperor to a truce, the negotiations proved all unsuccessful, and the war was pursued with more vigour than ever in the Milanese, till the French were every where driven out of that duchy, and forced to repass the mountains. But the king having obliged the imperialists, who had invaded Provence and besieged Marseilles both by sea and land, to abandon that enterprise and quit his dominions, crossed the Alps again this very year, and, getting into the duchy of Milan before the enemy, made himself master of that capital, and laid siege to Pavia. The pope no sooner heard that the king had got possession of Milan, than, being desirous of securing his own affairs, he dispatched to him the bishop of Verona, his datary, one in whom he placed an entire confidence, to exhort him, as was pretended, to a peace; but his real business was to conclude an agreement with the king,

and it was soon brought to a conclusion, his holiness engaging, that neither he nor the Florentines should lend any assistance to his enemies; and the king, on his side, taking them both into his protection. In the mean time the siege of Pavia was carried on but slowly, the French were repulsed, with great loss, in all their attacks, and the imperial army being seasonably reinforced by a body of five hundred Burgundian horse, and six thousand German foot, under the command of the famous duke of Bourbon, who had raised them in Germany, they attacked the French, defeated them with great slaughter, and took the king himself prisoner. This memorable battle was fought on the 25th of February of the present year 1525, and the French are said to have lost above eighty thousand men, and about twenty of the first rank of the French nobility. The king of Navarre was taken prisoner, and with him almost all the general officers, who were not killed. With this calamity the king immediately acquainted the queen by a letter, that contained nothing but the following words: "Madam, all is lost but honour."²

The pope no sooner heard of the king's captivity than he sent the bishop of Pistoia to comfort him in his name; and, being not a little alarmed at an event so favorable to the emperor, he began privately to treat of an alliance with the Venetians, and the other Italian states and princes against him, representing to them, that as Charles was already master of the kingdom of Naples, and certainly would, after so signal a victory, get possession of the duchy of Milan, he would have it in his power to bring all Italy under the yoke, unless they all joined to oppose him. They were all alike sensible of the danger they were threatened with, and an alliance was soon concluded between the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines, and Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, for the security and liberty of Italy. This alliance was called the Holy League, because the pope was at the head of it. The king of France, having recovered his liberty, but upon very hard conditions, acceded to it, and so did the king of England, Henry VIII. being, on many accounts, dissatisfied with the late conduct of the emperor towards him; and he was declared the protector of the Holy League. Thus was the war, to which it was thought that the captivity of the king would have put an end, revived and carried on with the utmost fury.²

The confederacy, entered into by the pope, was no sooner known at Rome, than the Colonnas, zealous partisans of the emperor, began hostilities, ravaging all the neighbor-

¹ Guicciardin. l. 12.

¹ Guicciardin. l. 15. *Memoires du Bellay*. l. 3. *De Vera. hist. du Charles V.*

² Guicciardin. l. 17. *Memoires du Bellay*. l. 3. *ibid.*

Rome surprised by the Colonnas. The pope flies to the castle of St. Angelo. Is obliged to conclude a four months truce with the emperor. Takes revenge upon the Colonnas. The duke of Bourbon resolves to march to Rome. Arrives in the neighborhood of that city ;—[Year of Christ, 1527.] Attacks it, and is killed in the attack.

ing country, and threatening Rome itself. As the pope had sent most of his forces into Lombardy, he was glad to come to an accommodation with that powerful family. Accordingly an agreement was concluded on the 22d of August between his holiness and Vespasian Colonna, in the name of the whole family. But they only intended to amuse the pope; and he had no sooner disbanded the troops he had levied to oppose them, than assembling their forces, to the number of eight hundred horse, and three thousand foot, they marched to Rome with such speed as to prevent all notice of their coming, arrived at the gates in the night preceding the 20th of September, and entering through the gate of St. John Lateran, advanced towards St. Peter's, and the pontifical palace. The pope hearing they had surprised the city, and were proceeding straight to his palace, resolved, after the example of Boniface VIII., when insulted by one of the same family, Sciarra Colonna,¹ to place himself in his pontifical ornaments in the pontifical chair and die there. But by the pressing instances of the cardinals he was, with much difficulty, prevailed upon to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, with some of the cardinals, his particular friends. He was scarce gone when the Colonnas, entering the palace, plundered it of all its rich furniture, nay, and the church of St. Peter of all its sacred ornaments, without any regard to religion, or to the sacredness of the place. As no one offered to stir in the pope's defence, he sent for Don Hugh di Moncada, the emperor's ambassador, in order to treat with him about an accommodation. Don Hugh, having received the two cardinals Cibo and Ridolfi, the pope's grand nephews, as hostages for his security, went into the castle to confer with his holiness; and the next day, the 21st of September, an agreement was concluded between them upon the following terms:—That for the space of four months all hostilities should cease between the pope and the emperor; that the pope should withdraw his troops from the army of the confederates, and should pardon the Colonnas, and all who were concerned in the late attempt, or had any way offended his holiness. On the other side, the Colonnas and the imperialists were to withdraw from Rome and the whole state of the church, and retire to Naples. They were no sooner gone than the pope, not thinking himself bound to observe an agreement extorted from him by violence, pronounced the sentence of deposition against cardinal Pompey Colonna, and at the same time sent all the troops he had then in Rome and the neighboring castles into the territories of the Colonnas, with orders to destroy all before them with fire and sword. They

took several of their towns, dismantling some, burning others, and committing every where such devastations, as reduced great part of the country to a desert.¹

The Colonnas and the other friends of the emperor soon had their revenge. For the duke of Bourbon, who commanded the imperial army against the confederates in the Milanese, wanting money to pay them, and purchase the necessary provisions for their subsistence, resolved to force his way into the state of the church, and let his army live upon plunder. Accordingly he took the field in the latter end of the present year, with an intention to lead them to Rome, which he carefully concealed, lest the pope should have time to prepare for the defence of the city, and the army of the confederates, then before Milan, should abandon that enterprise, and follow him. It was a bold, not to say, a desperate attempt. But Bourbon had no other means, for want of money, of keeping his troops together; and he well knew, that should the attempt be attended with success, should he make himself master of Rome, and take the pope himself prisoner, the powerful confederacy of so many princes against the emperor would be broken, and he be put in a condition of obliging the confederates to agree to his own terms. He allowed his men to plunder several towns, through which he passed, promising them, without naming any place, much better booty. When they had got beyond Arezzo, they plainly saw that he was conducting them to Rome, and, forgetting all past fatigues, they marched with great alacrity and such speed, that notwithstanding their want of provisions, and the heavy rains that fell for some days, they arrived in the neighborhood of Rome, when the pope had hardly received any certain advice of their coming. His holiness had, a little before, concluded a new truce with Charles di Lanoja, viceroy of Naples, and engaged him to stop Bourbon's march. But the soldiery were so bent upon the sacking of Rome, and enriching themselves with the plunder of so opulent a city, that the person whom the viceroy sent to acquaint Bourbon with the truce, and require him to halt and forbear all hostilities, would have been murdered by them, had he not saved himself by flight. The duke being therefore obliged, agreeably to his own inclination, to pursue his march, encamped, on the 5th of May, with his whole army, in the meadows about Rome, and, without any regard to the pontifical dignity, sent a trumpet to the pope to demand a passage for himself and the army through Rome, in their way to the kingdom of Naples. His demand being rejected, he attacked the suburb next morning by break

¹ See p. 54.

¹ Guicciard. l. 18. Giornale del Rosso, p. 4.

Rome is taken and sacked. The pope retires to the castle of St. Angelo. How treated during his confinement. Pretended concern of the emperor at his imprisonment. Kings of France and England employ their good offices in behalf of the pope. Is restored to his liberty, and upon what conditions.

of day on the side of the Mount of the Holy Ghost. But fancying that the German foot showed themselves somewhat backward in the attack, he put himself at their head, and received that instant a shot from an arquebuss, which killed him upon the spot. Upon his death Philibert of Chalons, prince of Orange, took the command, and the assault was carried on by the soldiery, enraged at the loss of their general, with a valor next to fury. At last they made themselves masters of the quarter beyond the Tiber, and the same evening, an hour before night, they entered the city by the bridge of Sixtus.

No instances occur in history of cruelty, lust, avarice, and contempt of every thing that is sacred, which were not practised, on this occasion, by the bigotted Spaniards, as well as by the Germans, who were for the most part Lutherans, and enemies to Rome. They, who relate the particulars, agree all in this, that though Rome had been frequently taken, and plundered by the barbarians, it had never seen, since its foundation, so dismal a day.¹

The pope, instead of leaving Rome, and retiring, as many advised him, to some fortress of the ecclesiastical state, fled to the castle of St. Angelo, which was immediately invested by the prince of Orange. In the mean time the army of the confederates advanced to the relief of the pope, and even came within sight of Rome. But the duke of Urbino, general of the confederate army, urging many difficulties against their attempting to raise the siege of the castle, they marched back. And now the pope, destitute of all hopes of relief, found himself obliged to come to an agreement with the imperialists; and accordingly an agreement was concluded on the 6th of June, upon the following terms: That the pope should pay to the imperial army four hundred thousand ducats; one hundred thousand immediately, fifty thousand within twenty days, and two hundred and fifty thousand within two months; that he should deliver up the castle of St. Angelo, and some cities to the emperor, who should keep possession of them so long as he thought fit; that he should continue prisoner in the castle with all the cardinals, who were with him, being thirteen in number, till the first one hundred and fifty thousand ducats were paid; that he should give hostages to the army for the payment of the rest; and, lastly, that he should absolve the Colonnas from the censures they had incurred. As soon as this convention was signed, one Alercon, a Spanish officer, entered the castle with three companies of Spanish and three of German foot, being charged with the guard of the

pope. And by him he was most strictly guarded, was confined to a very small apartment, and allowed but very little liberty.¹

When news was brought to the emperor of the sacking of Rome, and the imprisonment of the pope, he expressed the deepest sorrow and concern for his holiness's misfortune, stopt the rejoicings, that were then making all over Spain for the birth of prince Philip, his eldest son, put himself and all his court into mourning, ordered public processions to be made, and prayers to be put up in all the churches for the deliverance of their common father, and Christ's vicar upon earth; as if he had been in the hands of the Grand Turk, when his deliverance depended wholly and solely upon himself. The pope's nuncio having presented himself before the emperor with ten bishops, all in deep mourning, and demanded the pope's liberty, in the most submissive terms, he returned no other answer to them than, that he "desired it more than they." In a grand council that was held, on this occasion, the duke of Alba declared, that if the pope were not a temporal prince, if he had not waded war upon his imperial majesty, and by his authority, united so many princes in a league against him, he would advise his majesty to restore him, without delay, to his liberty; but as he had forfeited, by his hostile conduct as a temporal prince, the veneration that was due to him in his spiritual capacity, he was of opinion, that he should be detained in his prison till he learned, at his own expense, to be wiser.²

The grief expressed by the emperor for the sacking of Rome and the captivity of the pope, was mere dissimulation, and the grossest hypocrisy. But that of the kings of France and England was more sincere. For upon the first intelligence they received of that great event, they sent jointly ambassadors to the emperor to demand the pope's liberty, as a matter that concerned all Christian princes. The emperor, being unwilling to disoblige two such powerful princes, immediately dispatched into Italy the general of the Franciscans, and one Veri di Mighan, with an order for Charles di Lanoja, viceroy of Naples, to agree with the pope, and set him at liberty. But Lanoja dying, the affair was negotiated with Hugh di Moncada, whom the viceroy had substituted in his room; and, on the last day of October, an agreement was concluded upon the following conditions: I. that the pope should take no part in the war, that was then carrying on by the French, in the Milanese, under the command of the brave Oden de Foix, marshal of Lautrech, nor in that which the kingdom of Naples was threatened with.

¹ Guicciard. l. 18. Memoires du Bellay. l. 7. Giornale del Rosso. Summont. tom. 4. Rayn. ad ann. 1527.

² Guicciard. l. 18.

³ Giornale del Rosso. Bellegarde Hist. General d'Espagne, tom. 7.

Progress of the reformation in Germany. Diet of Nuremberg. Assembly of Ratisbon. Letter from the emperor. Diet of Spire favorable to the reformation.

II. That his holiness should grant to the emperor a tenth of the ecclesiastic revenues in all his kingdoms. III. That he should deliver up to the imperialists the cities of Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Civita Castellana, and the citadel of Forli, as cautionary places, and his two nephews, Hippolytus and Alexander, for hostages. He was, besides, to pay immediately to the Germans seventy-seven thousand ducats, and thirty-five thousand to the Spaniards, upon their leaving him at liberty to come out of the castle, and go out of Rome. Another like sum he was to pay to the Germans a fortnight after his departure from Rome, and the rest, to the amount of three hundred and fifty thousand ducats and upward, within three months more. To raise these sums the pope was obliged to recur to extraordinary ways and means, which he had been utterly averse to before. He created some cardinals for money, persons altogether unworthy of that dignity, granted a power to alienate some church lands, and mortgaged the tythes in the kingdom of Naples. The payments being thus settled and secured at the fixed times, the 9th day of December was appointed for his deliverance, when the Spaniards were to guard and conduct him to some place of safety. But his holiness apprehending that Hugh di Moncada, who was now viceroy of Naples, and had been always against his releasement, might start new difficulties, and play him some trick, he went the night before out of the castle, in the disguise of a merchant, and retired to Orvieto, which city he entered before day-break, not one of the cardinals accompanying him. Thus did Clement recover his liberty on the 8th of December, when he had been kept closely confined ever since the 6th of May, and treated by his guards with all the Spanish pride and insolence.¹

While these things passed in Italy, the reformation was carried on, with wonderful success, in Germany, several of the German princes, and most of the imperial towns having embraced the new doctrine, and allowed it to be freely preached within the limits of their respective jurisdictions. As a diet was to be held at Nuremberg in the beginning of the year 1524, Clement dispatched, soon after his election, cardinal Campegius, a man of great address and abilities, to assist at that assembly with the character of his legate. His instructions were to represent to the princes the fatal consequences that would inevitably attend their suffering new doctrines, or rather old heresies, to take root in their dominions, and from thence he was to take occasion of exhorting them to cause the edict of Worms to be executed as it had been approved, and enacted by themselves.²

But the legate found, to his great mortification, most of the members of the diet to be rather friends than enemies to the reformation. For, taking no notice of the edict of Worms, they insisted on the pope's redressing, before all other things, the many grievances, which the German nation had so long and so justly complained of; renewed their demands of a general council; and left all other matters in dispute to be decided at the diet, that was to meet, in a short time, at Spire. On the other hand, the legate returning to Ratisbon, with the bishops, and such of the princes as favored the cause of Rome, prevailed upon them to promise a strict compliance with the edict of Worms, and to agree to several regulations, calculated to prevent the reformation from taking place in their dominions. At the same time the pope procured a letter from the emperor to all the members of the empire, commanding them, in virtue of their allegiance, to cause the edict of Worms, and every article of that edict to be strictly observed in their respective dominions, on pain of being deemed guilty of high treason; of being put under the ban of the empire; and forfeiting their estates and all the privileges granted to them by his predecessors. This letter is dated at Burgos, the 15th of July 1524. But the emperor being wholly taken up in settling the distracted state of his dominions in Spain and Italy, and not at leisure to attend to the affairs of Germany, his commands were by very few complied with; nay, in the diet, that met at Spire in 1526, it was carried by a great majority, that the execution of the edict of Worms should be suspended till the doctrines, which had given occasion to it, were examined, and either condemned or approved by a general council. At the same time it was agreed, that a solemn address should be presented to the emperor, entreating him to assemble one without delay, and that, in the mean while, every prince should be at liberty to regulate ecclesiastical matters in his own dominions as he should think expedient. And now the German states and princes, who were friends to the reformation, being thus delivered from all restraint, made it their business to banish the superstitions of popery out of their dominions, and introduce genuine Christianity in their room. This liberty they enjoyed for the space of three whole years; and, improving it to the advantage of their cause, they introduced, during that time, the reformation among their subjects quite unmolested. But the resolutions of this diet of Spire were revoked, at the end of three years, by another held in the same place, and every change in religion was declared unlawful till authorized by the general council, that was soon to meet. Against that declaration four princes of the empire, and thirteen imperial cities,

¹ Guicciard. l. 18. Jovius, l. 25. Ciacon. Vit. Clement. VII.

² See p. 297, 298.

The pope declines entering into a confederacy with the kings of France and England; but concludes an agreement with the emperor;—[Year of Christ, 1529.] The emperor comes into Italy. Has a conference with the pope at Bologna;—[Year of Christ, 1530;]—where he receives the imperial crown. Florence reduced by the imperialists and delivered up to the family De Medicis;—[Year of Christ, 1531.]

entered a solemn protest; and hence arose the denomination of Protestants, that has thenceforth been given to all who renounce the errors of Rome.

And now to resume the thread of our history with respect to the conduct of the pope after his deliverance; he had been but a few days at Orvieto, when he was earnestly pressed by the ambassadors of the kings of France and England to enter into the confederacy, and declare for them against the emperor. But to both he returned the same answer, namely, that having neither men, nor money, nor authority, his declaration could be of no service to them, and would be of great prejudice to himself. But as his family, exercising a kind of sovereign power in the free state of Florence, had been driven out of that city upon the news of his captivity, and the popular government had been restored, his holiness, thinking the emperor better able to reinstate them in their former grandeur, than either of the kings, entered privately into a treaty with the imperial ministers; and the following year an agreement was concluded at Barcelona upon terms very advantageous to the pope. Of these terms the most material were: That the emperor should give in marriage his natural daughter Margaret to Alexander de Medicis, the pope's nephew, with a dowry of twenty thousand ducats yearly revenue, and should reinstate the said Alexander in the same grandeur, that the family had enjoyed before their expulsion: That the emperor should take care, as soon as possible, by arms, or by some other more convenient means, to put the pope in possession of Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio and Rubiera, without prejudice to the right of the empire: That the pope should grant to the emperor the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, reducing the tribute to a white horse, and should allow him the ancient nomination to twenty-four cathedrals in that kingdom, concerning which there had been some dispute: That the pope and the emperor should have a personal conference, when his imperial majesty passed into Italy: That neither the pope, nor the emperor, should make new leagues with respect to the affairs of Italy to the prejudice of this confederacy, nor observe those contrary to it, which they might have already made: and lastly, That both the emperor, and his brother Ferdinand, now king of Hungary, should use all possible endeavors to reduce the heretics to the true way, and, if they persisted in their obstinacy, should employ their arms against them. This agreement was signed at Barcelona on the 29th of June 1529, and solemnly sworn to by the ambassadors of the two contracting powers, before the high altar of the cathedral of that city.¹

The emperor, soon after the conclusion of this treaty, set out for Italy, in order to have a personal conference with his holiness, and, at the same time, to receive the imperial crown at his hands. He embarked at Barcelona, being attended by a very numerous fleet, and in a fortnight arrived at Genoa, the place where his holiness and he had proposed to meet. But Bologna appearing to both far more convenient, they repaired thither in the latter end of the present year. The pope, who came the first, received the emperor with all the marks of the most sincere friendship. They lodged in the same palace, had rooms contiguous to each other, and from the familiarity that appeared between them, one would have thought that they had ever lived in perfect harmony. The chief subject of their conferences was, the restoring of the family De Medicis to their former power and dignity in Florence; and it was agreed that the imperial army, which had already entered that state, should pursue the war with the utmost vigor, and the pope should pay monthly sixty thousand ducats to the prince of Orange, commander in chief of the imperial forces, the emperor being, as he declared, in no condition to support so great an expense. These and some other articles being agreed to, the pope had prevailed upon the emperor to repair with him to Siena, in order to be near at hand to favor the enterprise against Florence, which his holiness had above all things at heart. But while they were upon the point of setting out, the emperor received letters from the electors and other German princes, pressing him to hasten into Germany, in order to assist at the diet, that was soon to be held at Augsburg. Giving therefore over all thoughts of proceeding further, he received the imperial crown at Bologna, on the 24th of February 1530, the festival of St. Matthias, the day on which he was born, and had taken the king of France prisoner. From Bologna the emperor set out for Germany on the 22d of March, and the pope for Rome on the last day of the same month.¹

In the mean time the city of Florence, after a siege of eleven months, was obliged to submit, being reduced to the greatest straits for want of provisions. At this siege the prince of Orange was killed, while he rather performed the duty of a private man than of a general. He had often expressed his detestation and abhorrence of the pope's ambition and injustice, in enslaving his own country; in causing so much blood to be shed; and so famous a city to be destroyed, in order to raise his nephew to the rank of a prince. The surrender of the city put an end to the liberty of that famous republic. For the emperor ordered, that Alexander de Medicis, his own son-in-law, and the pope's

¹ Guicciard. l. 15.

¹ Guicciard. l. 19, 20.

Diet of Augsburg. Confession of Faith delivered to the diet by the reformers. Edict of Worms confirmed in the diet of Augsburg. League of Smalcald. Peace of Nuremberg.—[Year of Christ, 1532.] A second interview at Bologna between the pope and the emperor.—[Year of Christ, 1533.]

nephew, should be at the head of the government, with a right of transmitting it to his descendants, and, if he had no issue, to his collateral relations, and the nearest of kin to his family. Thus was the family De Medicis raised to that state of grandeur and power, which the grand dukes of Tuscany have enjoyed to our days. One of the articles, upon which the city surrendered, was, that all, who had injured the pope, or his friends, should be forgiven. But his holiness, to weaken the opposite party, and prevent their raising any new disturbances, caused, by an open breach of that article, six of the leading men among them to be beheaded, and sent all, whom he suspected of disaffection to his family, into exile.¹

The emperor set out from Bologna on the 22d of March, with a design, as has been said above, to assist at the diet, which had been appointed to meet at Augsburg on the 20th of June. Accordingly the first session was held on that day, being preceded by a mass, celebrated with extraordinary solemnity. The emperor assisted at it with all his court, and ordered the elector of Saxony, as sword-bearer of the empire, to attend him, and carry the sword of state before him. That the elector declined at first, but the divines, whom he consulted, declaring that on the present occasion he might assist at mass, being called to it, not as to a religious ceremony, but as to a function of his office, he complied. As no regular system was yet composed of the doctrines embraced by Luther and his followers, on the 25th of June was presented to the diet a very distinct and particular account of their religious principles and tenets. It was drawn up by Melancthon, and contains twenty-eight chapters, of which twenty-one are employed in declaring the opinions of the reformers, and the remaining seven in pointing out the errors and abuses that gave occasion to their separation from the church of Rome: and this is what has been since distinguished by the name of "The Confession of Augsburg." Some copies of this Confession were delivered to the emperor, signed, by way of approbation, by the elector of Saxony, by four princes of the empire, and some imperial towns. It was immediately answered by the Roman catholic divines, and their answer being publicly read in the diet, the reformers drew up a reply to it, and presented it to the emperor; but he would not receive it. On the contrary, he forbade any new writings to be published; which was forbidding any reply to be made to the arguments alledged by the Roman catholics to support their own doctrine, and impugn that of the reformers. While the diet was sitting, several conferences were held be-

tween the most eminent men for piety and learning of both sides, in order to find out some method of terminating their disputes. But all the methods they could think of proving ineffectual, the whole blame was laid upon the friends of the reformation; and on the 19th of November an edict was issued by the diet, confirming that of Worms, condemning all the changes in doctrine and worship introduced by the reformers, and commanding the princes, states, and cities, that had withdrawn their obedience to Rome, to return to their duty, on pain of incurring the high displeasure of the emperor, and the ban of the empire.

This edict alarmed the princes, who had embraced the reformation; and in order to put themselves in a condition of repelling force, if any were offered, by force, they met at Smalcald in the landgraviate of Hesse, and there entered into a confederacy in defence of their religion and liberties. This confederacy was highly displeasing to the emperor; but as Solyman, emperor of the Turks, entered at this time the kingdom of Hungary at the head of a very numerous army, and the confederates refused to concur, in the defence of that country, either with men or with money, unless the emperor revoked the edicts of Worms and of Augsburg, or, at least, suspended their execution, he was obliged to come to an agreement with them. Accordingly, on the 13th of July 1532, a peace was concluded at Nuremberg upon the following conditions: That the confederates should furnish the emperor with the necessary subsidies for the defence of the kingdom of Hungary; and the emperor, on his side, should suspend the execution of the above-mentioned edicts, and molest no man on account of his religion, till the points in dispute were finally determined in a free general council, which he should cause to be summoned within six months, and to be opened within a year. A religious truce being thus concluded to the inexpressible joy of the confederates, they sent at their own expense, such powerful reinforcements to the imperial army, commanded by the emperor in person, that, at his approach, Solyman, though at the head of two hundred thousand men, thought it advisable to retire, and march quietly back to Constantinople. Upon his retreat, the emperor returned to Germany, and, after a short stay there, proceeded to Italy to confer with the pope about the assembling of the promised general council.¹

The pope and the emperor met again at Bologna; but the emperor found his holiness extremely averse to the assembling of a council; and the reasons he alledged against

¹ Guicciardin, l. 20.

¹ Matheum, p. 50—56. Pallavicino. Father Paul, Concil. Trident. Sleidan. Burnet.

The pope averse to a general council, and why. His deceitful conduct. The emperor proposes a match between the duke of Milan and the pope's niece. Marriage concluded between her and the king of France's second son. The pope in France. How received there. The marriage solemnized.

it were, that peace was not yet well established amongst the Christian princes; that it was much to be feared that the Turk would invade Hungary anew, and it was not fit that, at so critical a juncture, Christendom should be employed in the disputes and contentions of a council; that they who demanded a council made use of that demand only as a pretence to profess and propagate their errors undisturbed till the council met, and would, as soon as their errors were condemned, which certainly would happen, have recourse to some other shift to elude the sentence. Such were the reasons alleged by Clement to the emperor against the assembling of a general council. But his aversion to such an assembly was, in truth, owing to his being apprehensive that, in order to remedy the many enormous abuses of the court, they would curtail the pontifical power and authority; that, as his birth was certainly illegitimate, though his predecessor Leo had imposed the contrary upon the world, his illegitimacy might be urged against the validity of his election, since no bastard had ever yet been preferred to the pontifical dignity; that the simony practised upon cardinal Colonna in the conclave, might be brought to light, and his election be, on that account, declared null; and lastly, that he might be called to an account by the council for the cruel war which he had induced the emperor to make upon the Florentines, and carry on with the loss of so many lives, merely out of a criminal ambition of aggrandizing his family, and making them, contrary to all justice, sovereigns of a free and independent state. Clement, filled with these just fears and apprehensions, was determined, in his own mind, never to consent to the assembling of a council. However, concealing his real sentiments from the emperor, he promised to call one upon the following conditions: that it should be celebrated in Italy, in Bologna, Placenza, or Mantua; that the emperor should assist at it in person; that the Lutherans and other heretics should promise to stand to its decisions, and, in the mean time, should return to their obedience to the apostolic see. The pope well knew that the protestants never would agree to such conditions; and it was only to put off the evil day that he proposed them. However, at the pressing instances of the emperor, he despatched nuncios to the courts of the different princes to invite them to the council, which, he said, he intended to assemble, provided they all consented to it.²

At this interview the emperor proposed a marriage between Catherine de Medicis, the pope's niece, and Francis Sforza, duke

of Milan, in order to engage, by that means, his holiness in the defence of that state against the French, should they ever attempt to recover it, and, at the same time, to break off the treaty of marriage, that was then negotiating between the said Catherine de Medicis, and Henry, duke of Orleans, the king of France's second son. But the match, proposed by the emperor, was rejected by the pope, alledging that he was under such engagements with the king, as would not allow him, in honor or decency, to recede. The emperor was very much dissatisfied with this alliance; but not being able to divert the pope from it, he left Bologna, and repairing to Genoa, embarked there on his return to Spain. Upon his departure, the negotiations between the pope and the king of France were resumed; and the treaty of marriage between the pope's niece, and the king's second son being concluded, it was agreed that the pope and the king should have a personal interview at Nizza; and that the marriage should be solemnized in that city on the borders of France and Italy. But the duke of Savoy, lord of Nizza, showing himself unwilling to accommodate his holiness with the castle, lest he should thereby disoblige the emperor, the city of Marseilles was, to the great satisfaction of the king, chosen for the place of their meeting. The pope arrived there, with his niece, on board the French fleet on the 4th of October, and landing under the discharge of three hundred pieces of cannon, lodged that night in the palace of the duke of Montmorency. The next day he made his public entry into the city, in all the gaudy attire of high pontiff, being carried in his chair upon men's shoulders, while a white horse, carrying the host, was led by two men with silken reins before him, then followed the cardinals in their habits, mounted upon their mules richly caparisoned, and after them came the bride, loaded with jewels and precious stones, and attended by the flower of the Italian and French nobility. The next day the king, who came the first, and had paid his holiness a visit by night, made his public entry, and waiting upon his holiness was received by him with all possible marks of esteem and affection. The marriage ceremony was performed a few days afterwards by the pope himself with the utmost pomp and magnificence, the bride being in the thirteenth year of her age, and the bridegroom in his sixteenth.¹ The pope and the king lodged in the same palace, had daily private conferences, and the pope negotiating, with consummate art, his affairs with the king himself, entirely gained his confidence and affection. He had solemnly engaged his word to the emperor, at their

¹ See p. 302.

² Guicciard. l. 20. Father Paul, Concil. Trident, l. 1.

¹ Guicciard. l. 10. Memoires du Bellay.

Confederacy between the pope and the king. The pope returns to Rome. His illness and death;—[Year of Christ, 1534.] His conduct in the affair of the divorce of Henry VIII.

interview in Bologna, to make no new confederacy or agreement with any prince without his knowledge and consent. But as it was customary with him to keep his word no longer than he found his own account, or that of his family in keeping it, he secretly concluded an agreement with the king, by virtue of which they were to fall unexpectedly upon the state of Milan with their joint forces, and put his niece and nephew-in-law in possession of that duchy.¹ Thus would all Italy have been involved in a new war, and all the calamities attending it. But, fortunately for that country, the pope died before his ambitious designs could be carried into execution.

The pope, having staid about a month at Marseilles, departed on board the same galleys that had brought him thither. But, putting no trust in the skill of the French mariners, on his arrival at Savona he sent them back, and was conveyed from thence to Civita Vecchia on board the galleys of Andrew Doria, the most experienced sea-officer of that age. From Civita Vecchia he returned to Rome, highly pleased and elated with his good fortune in having obtained for his natural nephew (Alexander de Medicis, the natural son of his brother Lawrence, formerly duke of Urbino) the natural daughter of the emperor, and for his legitimate niece the legitimate son of the king of France, though his family was of little more than a private rank. But he did not long enjoy his good fortune. For a few months after his return to Rome he was seized with a violent pain in his stomach, and a slow fever, which put an end to his life on the 25th of September 1534, when he had lived fifty-six years and four months, and governed the church ten years ten months and seven days. He died hated by the court, suspected by the princes, and generally reputed a man of no faith, and naturally averse from doing any man a good office. He was grave, circumspect in all his actions, much master of himself, a great dissembler, endowed with excellent parts, and uncommon penetration. But the extreme timidity, to which he was subject ever after his imprisonment, seldom allowed him to make a free use of his own judgment.²

He was greatly embarrassed, during the last seven years of his pontificate, with the famous divorce of our Henry VIII. But that whole affair has been so fully related by

all our historians, with all the circumstances and consequences attending it, and is so well known to all, who know any thing at all of the history of England, that I may well be allowed to waive so trite a subject. However, I cannot help observing, that from the whole conduct of the pope it evidently appears, that in this affair, an affair of conscience, his holiness was entirely swayed by worldly views, or motives of policy, without any the least regard to the intrinsic merits of the cause; that he was only restrained by the awe he stood in of the emperor, from declaring Henry's marriage with Catherine null; and that it was only to gratify, or rather, not to provoke, so powerful a prince, of whose indignation he had already felt the effects with a witness, that he delayed coming to any resolution till the king, tired with delays, apologies, pretences, and vain promises, cut the knot, which his holiness would not untie, putting away Catherine, and taking Anne Bullen to his royal bed in her room. This was openly renouncing the pope's jurisdiction and supremacy, and delivering himself and his kingdom from the tyranny of Rome. But this renunciation was attended with very little benefit to the cause or the friends of the reformation during the king's life time. For Henry being, on the 3d of November, 1534, declared by the parliament "supreme head, on earth, of the church of England," he thought himself, by virtue of that title, master of the religious sentiments of his subjects; and as he still retained most of the grossest errors of popery, and with them the persecuting spirit of that church, they, who denied any of them, met with no better treatment from the king than they did from the pope. And thus matters continued in England during the whole reign of Henry VIII.

Clement left a great many jewels in the castle of St. Angelo, but very little money.

He created, at different times, thirty-one cardinals, but not one of that number, except his nephew Hyppolitus de Medicis, of his own spontaneous choice. The rest he raised to that dignity against his will, to gratify those who recommended them, especially the emperor and the king of France.

He was buried in the church of St. Peter; but his body was soon afterwards translated by his family to the church of St. Mary super Minervam, and being deposited there, near the remains of Leo X., his cousin, a stately monument of marble was erected over it, which is to be seen to this day.

¹ Du Bellay Memoir. l. 7. p. 141.

² Guicciard. l. 20

Election of Paul III. His birth, education, and employments before his promotion. Not averse to a general council. A plan for the reformation of rules. Mantua named for the place of the council:—[Year of Christ, 1536.] But objected to by the protestants. The council appointed to meet at Vicenza:—[Year of Christ, 1537.] Interview between the pope, the emperor and the king of France:—[Year of Christ, 1538.]

PAUL III., THE TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[CHARLES V., *Emperor.*]

[Year of Christ, 1534.] In the room of Clement, deceased on the 25th of September, was unanimously elected, on the 13th of October, by the thirty-four cardinals who composed the conclave, Alexander Farnese, cardinal bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Paul III. He was come of a noble and an ancient Roman family, and is therefore said to have been by birth a Roman, though he was born at a place in Tuscany, called Carino, which his ancestors had long possessed. He studied, in his youth, at Florence, under the most famous professors of that age, invited thither by the De Medicis, great encouragers of learning, and had early distinguished himself, above all his fellow students, by his application and proficiency in every branch of polite literature. Upon his return to Rome he was made apostolic prothonotary by Innocent VIII., and by Alexander VI. preferred first to the bishopric of Montefiascone, and soon afterwards, that is, in 1493, to the dignity of cardinal, being then but twenty-six years of age. Julius II. translated him to the bishopric of Parma, and Leo X. to that of Tusculum, and he was, by his immediate predecessor Clement VII., successively appointed bishop of Palestrina, Sabina, Porto, and Ostia.¹ He was recommended to the cardinals by the same pope, on his death-bed, as the most worthy to succeed him; and they readily concurred in his election, as he was in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and reputed to be of a bad constitution, which opinion he promoted with some art.² Thus Guicciardin, who terminates his excellent history of Italy with the death of Clement, and the election of Paul.

The new pope was not, or at least pretended not to be, so averse to a general council as his predecessor. On the contrary, in a general congregation of the cardinals, held on the 16th of October, but three days after his election, and before his coronation, he named commissioners to deliberate about the time, the place, and the manner of proceeding in the council, with orders to make their report to him in the first consistory after his coronation. He was crowned on the 3d of November, and in the first consistory, held on the 13th of the same month, he appointed six cardinals and three bishops to draw

up a plan for the reformation of the church in general, and of the church of Rome in particular. At the same time he sent for Verger, his nuncio in Germany, and being informed by him that nothing but a general council could put an end to the disturbances that continued to reign in most of the provinces of the empire, he remanded him with orders to prevent a national council from being convened in Germany, and propose the assembling of a general one at Mantua, to be opened in that city on the 27th of May of the following year, 1537. The proposal was agreed to by the catholic princes. But the protestants at a meeting at Smalcald, consisting of fifteen princes, and thirty deputies of imperial cities, declared against a council held any where without the borders of the empire, and much more against one held in Italy, and in a city subject to a prince whose brother was a cardinal. Besides, the duke of Mantua himself was not inclined to receive so many guests at once, and some of them very turbulent ones, into the place of his residence, unless his holiness furnished him with a large sum of money to maintain a numerous garrison. That the pope would not agree to, either on account of the expense, or because he apprehended that the protestants would take occasion from thence to pretend that the council was not free.¹

The design of assembling the council at Mantua being thus laid aside, the pope, by a bull, dated the 20th of May, 1537, prorogued it till the beginning of November, without naming the place where it was to be held. But a ten months truce being, in the mean time, concluded between the emperor and the king of France, then at war for the duchy of Milan, claimed by both upon the death of Francis Sforza, the last duke, the pope, by a bull of the 8th of October, 1537, appointed the council to meet at Vicenza on the first of May of the following year. At the same time, to remove all obstacles to the council, he undertook to negotiate, in person, a peace between the emperor and the king, and, with that view, invited them to a personal conference with him at Nizza. Both complied with the invitation, and the pope, who arrived at the appointed place the first, received both with the greatest marks of friendship and esteem,

¹ Onuph. in Paulo III. Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 3.

² Guicciard. l. 20.

¹ Father Paul. et Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident.

Henry VIII. excommunicated. Diets held in Germany for reconciling the religious differences.

but could not prevail upon them to see and embrace one another. His holiness therefore, taking upon him the office of arbitrator, heard the complaints, demands, and claims of both. But he found so many difficult and knotty points to be determined, that laying aside all thoughts of a peace, he proposed a ten years' truce, and in the end persuaded both princes to agree to it. In the private conferences which the pope had, on this occasion, with the emperor, a marriage treaty, that had been some time on foot, was at last concluded, between Octavius Farnese, the pope's nephew, and Margaret, the emperor's natural daughter, now a widow, her husband, Alexander de Medicis, having been lately murdered by one of his own family. The pope, wholly intent upon aggrandizing his family, proposed a match, in his conferences with the king of France, between his granddaughter Vittoria, and the duke of Vendome, one of the princes of the blood. But it was opposed by the other princes, and the French nobility in general. Some writers tell us, that it was to promote these marriages, and thus raise his family, that the pope proposed an interview with the two princes, thinking he should better succeed therein by treating with them in person, than by nuncios, or legates, and that the procuring of a peace was but a blind or mere pretence. The pope, on his return from Nizza, was attended by the emperor to Genoa, and from thence he proceeded, partly by sea, partly by land, to Rome. Soon after his arrival there, he dispatched cardinal de Medicis with a grand retinue to Florence, to attend princess Margaret from thence to Rome. She made her public entry into that city in the latter end of October; was received by the pope, the cardinals, and the Roman nobility of both sexes, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and the nuptials were celebrated on the 3d of November.¹

In the present year, 1538, was at last published the bull of excommunication against Henry VIII. It had been drawn up in 1535, on occasion of the execution of cardinal Fisher, bishop of Rochester; had been submitted to the judgment of the cardinals, and approved by most of them in a full consistory. However the pope, flattering himself that an accommodation with England might still be brought about, delayed the publication of it till the present year; when finding an agreement with the king quite desperate, he published it with the usual solemnity, and caused it to be set up on the doors of all the chief churches of Rome. By that bull the king was deprived of his kingdom; his subjects were not only absolved from their oaths of allegiance, but commanded to take arms against him, and

drive him from the throne; the whole kingdom was laid under an interdict; all treaties of friendship or commerce with him or his subjects were declared null; his kingdom was granted to any who should invade it, and all were allowed to seize the effects of such of his subjects as adhered to him, and enslave their persons, &c. But these were all "bruta fulmina;" and the king, provoked beyond measure at the insolence of the pope, continued to persecute, with more severity than ever, all, without distinction, who refused to renounce the papal supremacy, and acknowledge his own.²

In the mean time, several diets were held in Germany to terminate the religious disputes, and the divisions arising from them among the members of the empire, at a time when they ought all to unite against their common enemy, who had again invaded Hungary with a formidable army, and even reduced the strong city of Buda. But in those diets nothing could be concluded on account of the opposition they met with from the pope's legates, pretending that all religious disputes ought to be determined by his holiness alone, or by his holiness and a general council. In a diet, held at Ratisbon in March 1541, at which the emperor assisted in person, and all the princes of the empire either in person, or by proxy, great advances were made towards an union of the two parties. But the pope's legate, cardinal Contarini, objecting to some of the articles, that both parties were inclined to agree to, the diet was divided; and upon that division the emperor concluded, that the final decision of their debates ought to be referred to a general council; or if a general council could not be soon obtained, to a national one, or to the next diet of the empire. He added, that he should, in a very short time, go into Italy; should press the pope to convoke, without delay, the so often promised council; and if its meeting should be prevented by any unforeseen obstacles, he should, within the space of eighteen months, assemble a general diet for finally determining all disputes. He forbade the protestant princes to solicit any, in the mean time, who were not their subjects, to embrace their religion. But as he stood in great need of their assistance against the Turk, he gave them leave to receive all who should, unsolicited, and of their own accord, choose their religion, and suspended all prosecutions in the imperial chamber against those of their persuasion.³

The diet broke up on the 28th of July, and the emperor soon afterwards set out for Italy, in order to proceed from thence upon his intended expedition against Algiers.—

¹ Jovius Hist. l. 37. Onuph. ex Paulo III. Ciacconius, tom. 3. Valer. Paul Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident.

² Burnet's Hist. of the Reform., l. 3. Pallavicin. l.

³ Sanders de Schis., l. 1.

⁴ Father Paul et Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident., l. 1.

Interview of the pope and the emperor at Lucca. The council appointed to meet at Trent;—[Year of Christ, 1542.] The protestants object both to the council and the place. Legates sent to preside at the council, which is put off to a farther day. Interview of the pope and the emperor at Busseto;—[Year of Christ, 1543.]

The pope met him at Lucca, as it had been agreed beforehand between them. They had several conferences and consultations concerning the so much wanted general council, and the war against the Turks, threatening Germany itself with an invasion. On this occasion the pope informed the emperor that the Venetians would not suffer the council, which he had appointed to meet at Vicenza, to be held in that city, or in any other of their dominions; alledging, that a peace having been lately concluded between them and Solyman, they apprehended that the meeting of a council in one of their towns, for uniting the Christian princes in a confederacy against him, would be looked upon by that prince as a breach of the peace, and bring on a new war, which they were in no condition to support. The pope, after complaining to the emperor of this disappointment, which obliged him to put off the meeting of the council to a farther day, assured his imperial majesty that, upon his return to Rome, he should, before all things, settle, with the advice of the cardinals, the time when, and the place where, it should assemble, and send immediately notice thereof to his majesty, as well as to the other Christian princes.¹

In the beginning of the following year, 1542, a diet was held at Spire, Ferdinand, king of the Romans, presiding at it in the absence of the emperor. To this assembly was sent, by the pope, John Morone bishop of Modena, with orders to declare that his holiness, mindful of the promise he had made to the emperor and the German nation, was determined to assemble a general council, and that Trent, upon the borders of Germany and Italy, should be the place of its meeting, if the diet had no objection to that city. Ferdinand, and the princes of the popish party, agreed to the proposal. But the protestant princes objected both against a council summoned by the pope, who had no authority of summoning one, but what he had usurped by encroaching upon the rights of the emperor, and against the place appointed for its meeting, as being too near Italy, and rather in Italy than in Germany. They added, that the pope, in his bull of 1536, summoning the council to meet at Mantua, had made himself a party, openly professing, that he convoked it to root out the Lutheran heresy, and consequently that they could not, in justice, be required to acknowledge him for a lawful judge, nor to countenance, with their presence, a council called on purpose to condemn them. However, the pope, paying no regard to their remonstrances, by a bull dated the 22d of May, appointed the council to meet at Trent on the 1st day of the ensuing November, com-

manding all the bishops to repair to it, and earnestly entreated the emperor, the most Christian king, and the other kings and princes, to attend it in person, or send proper persons to represent them, and assist at it in their room. He sent soon afterwards the three cardinals, Peter Paul Pariso, John Morone, and Reginald Pole, to preside at the council, and open it when they should think proper; but they were to proceed to no public act without giving previously notice thereof to his holiness. The emperor immediately dispatched to Trent John Mendoza, Nicholas Granville, and his son the bishop of Arras, with the character of his ambassadors, to represent him at the council. They pressed the legates, in the emperor's name, to open the council without delay. But, as very few bishops were yet come, and the war between the emperor and the king of France prevented others from coming, the legates, after waiting some time in vain, for a sufficient number of bishops to compose a general council, retired from Trent, and the pope, by a bull dated the 6th of July 1543, put off the meeting of the council to a farther day.¹

The following year the pope being informed, that the emperor intended to pass through Italy in his way from Spain to Germany, his holiness resolved to lay hold of that opportunity to have a personal conference with him. Accordingly he set out from Rome on the 26th of February 1543, and having, notwithstanding his advanced age and the severity of the season, visited most of the cities of the ecclesiastical state, he repaired to Bologna, to wait there till he heard of the emperor's arrival. Charles landed at Genoa on the 26th of May, which the pope no sooner understood, than he dispatched, in all haste, Octavius Farnese, his grandson, who had married the emperor's daughter, as has been said above, to congratulate his imperial majesty upon his safe arrival, and at the same time to propose a conference between him and his holiness upon affairs of the utmost importance to both. To that proposal the emperor returned answer, that he well knew that his holiness's only business was to mediate a peace between him and the king of France, but that he was determined to hearken to no terms of accommodation with one, who had made it his business to cross all his designs, partly by open force, and partly by treachery; had seduced several of the German princes from the obedience they owed him, as the head of the empire, and had even entered into a confederacy with the Grand Turk against him, to the great disgrace of the Christian name. Charles, however, was afterwards, with great difficulty, prevailed

¹ Father Paul et Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 1.

¹ F. Paul, ubi supra. Bulla Pauli in Sleidan. l. 14. Concil. Labbe, tom. 14.

The subject of the pope's and emperor's conferences. Diet of Spire. Resolutions of the diet favorable to the protestants. The council appointed anew to meet at Trent. Is opened in that city.

upon by cardinal Alexander Farnese, another of the pope's grand-children, to consent to the proposed interview; and it was agreed that the pope should meet him at Busseto, a small town between Parma and Piacenza, through which he was to pass in his way to Germany. At that place the pope arrived on the 21st of June, and the emperor the day following; they both lodged in the same castle, and spent in private conferences the three days the emperor continued there. The pope pretended, when he left Rome, that it was only to mediate a peace between the emperor and the king of France, and thus remove all obstacles to the council, that he undertook, in the depth of winter, so long and so fatiguing a journey. That the emperor himself, it seems, believed. But it soon appeared that his holiness had something else in view, and much more at heart, the aggrandizing of his family. For knowing that the emperor stood in great want of money to carry on the war against France, the first thing he proposed to him was his disposing of the duchy of Milan, which he offered to purchase for Octavius Farnese, his own grandson, and the emperor's son-in-law. He engaged to pay him for it one hundred and fifty thousand ducats; to enter into an alliance with him against France; to create a certain number of cardinals at his nomination; and to leave him in possession of the castles of Milan and Cremona. But the emperor demanding a much larger sum, and Cosmus, duke of Florence, offering, at the same time, to supply him with two hundred thousand ducats, upon condition that he withdrew all his garrisons out of the castles and strong holds of that state, he closed with him. The pope, finding his ambition thus disappointed, began to treat with the emperor of a reconciliation with France, lest it should be thought that it was only to promote the grandeur of his family, that he had given himself so much trouble, and had undertaken so long a journey. But the emperor broke off the conference abruptly, declaring that it was not consistent with his dignity to conclude either a peace, or a truce with so perfidious an enemy, till he had fully revenged the many unpardonable injuries which he had received at his hands.¹

The following year a diet was held at Spire, at which the emperor, his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, the seven electors, and most of the princes of the empire assisted in person. It met on the 20th of February, and sat till the 10th of June. As the emperor had called it to procure extraordinary supplies from the protestant, as well as the Roman catholic princes, against the victorious Solymán, he gave his assent, contrary to all expectation, to the following

resolutions, highly favorable to the cause of the former: I. That the protestant as well as the catholic churches should enjoy their revenues quite undisturbed. II. That the judges of the imperial chamber, which is the supreme court in Germany, should consist of an equal number of catholics and protestants. III. That no man should be molested on account of his religion, but all prosecutions, on that score, be suspended till the meeting of a general council; which was granting, in the mean time, to all liberty of conscience. These resolutions were, as we may well imagine, highly displeasing to the pope; and they were no sooner communicated to him, than he wrote to the emperor, reproaching him, in very sharp terms, with betraying the cause of the church, and even threatening to employ against him the arms, that Christ had put into his hands as his vicar upon earth. This brief, or letter, the emperor answered with great temper; and having concluded a peace with the king of France at Crespi in Valois on the 14th of September of the present year, he acquainted his holiness therewith, begging, in the king's name, as well as his own, that, as there were now no wars to prevent the meeting of the council, he would assemble it without delay, and begin with reforming the abuses, that had given occasion to the present disputes and divisions. The pope, though not a little mortified at the peace being made without his interposition, and even without his knowledge, expressed great joy at so happy an event, and by a bull of the 19th of November of the present year, appointed anew the council to meet at Trent on the 15th of March of the following year. On the 6th of February 1545 he named the legates, who were to preside at it in his name, namely, John Maria del Monte, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, Marcellus Cervini, cardinal presbyter of the Holy Cross, and Reginald Pole, cardinal deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin. They repaired immediately to Trent. But the opening of the council was, for several reasons, put off from the 15th of March to the 6th of May, and again from the 6th of May to the 13th of December. On the 11th of that month arrived, at last, a messenger from Rome with a bull, dated the 4th, ordering the legates to open the council at the time last appointed, the 13th of December. It was, accordingly, opened on that day, though no more than twenty-five bishops were yet come, and they either Spaniards or Italians. However, the legates, attended by them in their pontifical habits, by the clergy of the place, by the religious, and an immense crowd of people, walked in solemn procession from the church of the Trinity to the cathedral, where the mass of the Holy Ghost was sung by the first legate, and a sermon was preached by Cornelius Musso, bishop of Bitonto, one of the most celebrated

¹ F. Paul Concil. Trident. 1. 2. Pallavicin. 1. 3. Oenoph. in Paulo III.

The council entirely regulated by the pope. Confederacy formed by the pope and the emperor against the protestants;—[Year of Christ, 1546.] The protestants entirely defeated;—[Year of Christ, 1547.] The pope enters into a confederacy with France against the emperor. Diet of Augsburg. The famous "interim." Displeasing both to papists and protestants.

preachers of his time upon the words of the epistle of the day, "Rejoice in the Lord alway; and again I say rejoice," (Philip. iv. 4,) adding the following words to them from the second epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. vi. 2. "Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation." When he had done, the fathers took their places, and the council began.

As a detail of the transactions of this council would prove a long and tedious work too, and they have been related with great care and exactness by several eminent writers, both popish and protestant, especially by the celebrated father Paul Soave, in his well-known history, I shall refer the curious reader to them, and only observe here, that all things were determined in that assembly by the arbitrary will of the pope; that the proposing of all matters to be treated of was reserved to his legates; that they proposed nothing till they had sent to Rome to know his holiness's pleasure, and received his directions, whence couriers were seen flying constantly backwards and forwards between Trent and Rome, which gave occasion to the famous sarcasm of the cloak bag; that in all controverted points the pope was sure of a majority—the Italian bishops, who surpassed in number those of all other nations together, being either his dependants, or pensioners; in short, from the whole conduct of the fathers of Trent it manifestly appears, that they were but the tools of the pope, and consequently, that the decrees they issued ought no more to be received as an ultimate rule of faith, than if they had been issued by him alone.¹

While the fathers at Trent thundered out their anathemas against all who received not their decrees, and, on the other hand, the protestant princes, assembled in a diet at Ratisbon, protested against their authority, the pope and the emperor entered privately into a confederacy against them, in order to crush them by a sudden blow, and thus put an end, by dint of arms, to the disputes that could not be decided by force of argument. By virtue of this league or confederacy, the pope was to furnish the emperor with twelve thousand Italian foot and five hundred horse, to pay him, at two different payments, two hundred thousand ducats, and grant him one half of the ecclesiastical revenues of Spain, during the course of the present year, 1546. With this supply of men and money the emperor was enabled to take the field early the next spring. But the protestants, whom he intended to have surprised, having received timely intelligence of his design, appeared in the field as early as he, under the command of John Frederic, elector of

Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse. The two armies engaged on the 24th of April, when that of the elector and the landgrave was entirely defeated, and both were made prisoners. Had the pope and the emperor improved this advantage, they might have either entirely ruined the cause of the reformation, or greatly retarded its progress.¹ But the pope, jealous of the growing power of the emperor, and apprehending that, should he get the better of the protestants, his ambition would tempt him to carry his victorious arms into Italy, not only recalled the ecclesiastical troops, under various pretences, from his armies, and withheld the stipulated subsidies, but entered into a confederacy with the new king of France, Henry II., against him. Charles, provoked beyond measure at the perfidiousness of the pope, as he styled it, at his thus preferring his private interests to those of the church, and the indifference he showed with respect to the religious disputes that divided the whole empire, resolved to compose those differences by his own authority, quite independent of that of the pope or his see. Accordingly he appointed a diet to meet at Augsburg on the 1st of September of the present year, and assisting at it in person with his victorious army at hand, he proposed the settling of some articles, which all, protestants as well as catholics, should agree to, and peace thus be maintained in religious matters, till all their differences were, by some other means, finally determined. Julius Pelagius, bishop of Naumburg, Michael Sidorius, and John Agricola, a Lutheran, were charged with the drawing up of those articles. As the articles, or formulary, drawn up by them, was to serve, not as a permanent, but only as a temporary rule of faith and worship to both parties, it was called the "interim." It contained all the essential doctrines of the church of Rome, but artfully softened, and in a manner disguised; and it was therefore disapproved and rejected by the protestant party. However, it was, by the emperor's command, published with great solemnity, and all were enjoined, upon the most grievous penalties, to conform, in practice, to this imperial creed; which produced in Germany most deplorable scenes of violence and bloodshed. As by this formulary all were left at liberty to use the cup, or abstain from it, and the clergy were allowed to embrace a state of marriage, or a state of celibacy, as they should think fit, it was no better received by the popish, than it was by the protestant party. The pope, highly offended at the emperor's taking upon him to prescribe laws, by his own authority, concerning the doctrine or the discipline of the church, and looking upon

¹ F. Paul, l. 2.

¹ F. Paul, l. 2. Sleidan, l. 17.

Pier-Luigi, the pope's natural son, murdered;—[Year of Christ, 1548.] Paul III. dies;—[Year of Christ, 1549.] His character. The order of Jesuits founded in his time. Some account of that famous order.

such an attempt as derogatory, in the highest degree, to the majesty of the pontificate, condemned the "interim" in the strongest terms, and would have proceeded to extremities against the emperor himself, had not the cardinals wisely interposed, putting his holiness in mind of the dreadful consequences that had lately attended the too hasty proceedings of his predecessor against the king of England.¹

The misunderstanding between the pope and the emperor was greatly heightened the ensuing year on the following occasion.—The pope had, ever since the year 1545, invested his natural son, Pier-Luigi Farnese, with the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, though both were unquestionably imperial fiefs. But the new duke having, by his unheard-of debauchery and tyrannical government, incurred the detestation and hatred of all his subjects, he was by them assassinated in his city of Piacenza on the 10th of September of the present year. As Ferdinand Gonzaga, governor of Milan for the emperor, had advanced with a body of troops into the neighborhood of Piacenza a little before the conspiracy was executed, and had seized on that city in his master's name as soon as it took place, the pope concluded the emperor to have been privy to the murder, and, bent on revenging it at all events, he dispatched immediately a nuncio into France, to treat with that king of an alliance against him. But being, in the mean time, seized with a violent fever, occasioned by his excessive grief and concern for the death of his son, and the loss of Piacenza, he died of it the fifth day, the 10th of November 1549, in the eighty-second year of his age, when he had held the see fifteen years and twenty-eight days. His body was carried from the palace of Monte Cavallo, where he usually resided, to the church of St. Peter, and interred with the usual solemnity.²

The character of this pope has given occasion to much debate, even in our days, between cardinal Quirini, and Schelhorn, Kieling, and others. The cardinal, in a piece under the title of "*Imago optimi Pontificis expressa in gestis Pauli III.*," paints him as a prince of great merit and probity, while the two learned authors just mentioned, represent him as a perfidious politician, without either faith or conscience; as one wholly intent upon raising his family, and ever ready to sacrifice the good of the church to the grandeur and interests of his unnatural brood;³ and they advance nothing but what they prove with incontestible facts.—Paul had an unnatural son, Pier-Luigi Farnese, whom he created duke of Parma and Piacenza, as has been said, and an unnatural daughter, named Constantia, who was

married into the Sforza family; and their offspring, Alexander Farnese and Guido Ascanius Sforza, he created cardinals soon after his election, though they had scarce yet attained to the years of discretion. The numerous tribe of his other grandchildren, and all who were, at what distance soever, related to him, he took care to prefer and enrich, either at the expense of the church or the state. He created, at different promotions, no fewer than seventy-one cardinals; a far greater number than had been ever yet preferred to that dignity by any pope, and he had four of them for his immediate successors, namely, Julius III., Marcellus II., Paul IV., and Pius IV.

In this pope's time was founded the order of Jesuits by Innigo or Ignatius of Loyola, a native of the province of Guipuscoa in Spain; who being a soldier, gave it the military name of "the Company of Jesus," and from thence they are called Jesuits. To the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, common to all religious orders, they add a fourth, that of implicit, blind, and unlimited submission to the pope; and thus are they at his absolute disposal; always ready, at a moment's warning, to repair to what part of the world he shall think fit to send them. The present pope, Paul III., confirmed their order by a bull, dated the 27th of September 1540, but upon condition that it should not exceed the number of sixty persons. This restraint the same pope took off by a second bull, of the 14th of March 1543, leaving them at liberty to admit as many as they pleased. Thus they became, in the space of one hundred and thirty-six years, a very numerous and formidable body. For, in 1543, the whole order consisted of no more than eighty persons; and in 1675, when their last catalogue was printed at Rome, they were increased to the number of seventeen thousand six hundred and fifty-five, and are supposed to be, at this time, in all about twenty thousand. It may be said with truth, that this order alone has contributed more than all the other orders together to confirm the wavering nations in the faith of Rome, to support the tottering authority of the high pontiff; to check the progress of the reformation, and to make amends for the losses their holinesses had sustained in Europe, by propagating the Gospel; and with it a blind submission to the holy see, among the African, American, and Indian infidels. The Jesuits are hated by most other orders, especially by the Benedictines and the Dominicans; by the former, because they have been enriched at their expense; by the latter for supplanting them, and engrossing to themselves the favor and confidence of sovereign princes. For, till the institution of this artful and insinuating order, the Dominicans alone directed the consciences of all the kings and princes of Europe.

¹ F. Paul, et Sleidan. l. 7. Osian. Hist. Eccles. l. 3.

² Onaph. in Vit. Pauli III. Ciacon. Pallavicin. &c.

³ Schel. Ep. 2; et Kieling. ep. de Gestis Pauli III.

Paul III. attempts in vain to introduce the inquisition into the kingdom of Naples. Julius III. elected;—[Year of Christ, 1550.] Creates his monkey-keeper a cardinal. His death;—[Year of Christ, 1555.] His character.

In the pontificate of Paul III., and at his instigation, the emperor attempted to introduce the inquisition, which he had established in his Spanish dominions, into the kingdom of Naples. But the Neapolitans of all ranks and conditions flying to arms upon the first steps that were taken towards the execution of such a design, obliged the viceroy, Don Pedro di Toledon, to drive out of Naples all who belonged to that bloody tribunal. The same attempt was made by the court of Rome during the reigns of Philip III., Philip IV., Charles II., and Charles VI. But it was always opposed with the same resolution and vigor; and the kingdom of Naples is the only state in Italy where the inquisition has not, to this day, got the least footing, all causes relating to faith being tried there

by the archbishops and bishops, agreeably to an edict of the emperor Charles VI., dated at Barcelona, the 15th of September, 1709.¹

Paul III. is said by Onuphrius to have been well versed in most branches of literature, and a generous encourager of learning. He wrote a comment upon Cicero's Epistles to Atticus before his promotion to the pontificate, and after it some letters, in a polite Latin style, to his particular friend.

In the first year of his pontificate he laid the foundation of the sumptuous building in Rome, called the Palazzo Farnese, one of the most stately edifices in all Europe. It was begun by Antonio Gallo, a celebrated architect, and finished by the famous Michael Angelo Buonarota.

JULIUS III., THE TWO HUNDRED AND NINETEENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1549.] Paul III. died, as has been said, on the 10th of November. But the cardinals, waiting for some of their absent brethren, did not enter the conclave till the 28th of that month. As they were divided into three parties or factions, the imperial, the French, and the Farnese, consisting of the creatures of the late pope, the election was prolonged till the 7th of February 1550; when, at length, they united in the person of John-Maria Giocci, who took the name of Julius III., and was crowned on the 22d of the same month with the usual solemnity. He was a native of Rome; but as his family came originally from Monte Sausavino in Tuscany, he changed the name of Giocci for that of Del Monte. He was created cardinal by Paul III. in 1536; and having acquired, in sundry legations, the reputation of a man of great application and uncommon abilities, he was chosen by the same pope in 1545 to preside, as his first legate, at the council of Trent.

Julius was scarce warm in the papal chair, when, to the great astonishment of all, he preferred a boy, named Innocent, to the dignity of cardinal, though he was come of the very scum of the people, and had no other employment in his family but that of his monkey-keeper. Such a promotion was looked upon by the cardinals as a gross affront offered to them. But when they complained to his holiness of his introducing so unworthy a member into the sacred college, one quite destitute of all virtue, learning, and merit, he confounded and silenced them, asking "what virtue or merit they had found

in him that could have induced them to prefer him to the pontifical chair?" His extraordinary and unaccountable kindness to so mean and so despicable a person gave just grounds to suspect, that he was kept by the holy father for other uses than that to look after his monkeys.²

Paul III. had removed the council from Trent, where the plague broke out, or was said to have broken out, to Bologna. But Julius, at the pressing instances of the emperor, ordered the fathers to return to Trent; and the council was there opened a second time on the 1st of May 1551. But the war that was kindled in Germany the following year, between the emperor and Maurice, elector of Saxony, afforded the pope a plausible pretence for suspending it; and he suspended it accordingly, for the space of ten years. And now Julius, delivered, for the present, from the apprehensions he was under from the council, abandoned himself wholly to his diversions and pleasures, rioting and feasting in his gardens with some select friends; men of the same stamp with himself. This indolent and voluptuous life he continued to lead till death put an end to it; which happened on the 23d of March 1555, when he had held the see five years one month and sixteen days. He left behind him a most infamous character, branded with the most flagrant debauchery, with the sin against nature, and blasphemy.

¹ Giann. Hist. Civil di Nap. lib. 32. c. 5. sect. 2. et 3.

² Thuan. l. 6. et 15. Sleidan Hist. l. 21. Hottinger Hist. Eccles. l. 5.

Marcellus II. elected. His death and character. Paul IV. elected. Quarrels with the emperor and Ferdinand, and why. Invites the French to the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. His severity towards his nephews. His death;—[Year of Christ, 1559.] His character. Hated by the Roman people, and insulted after his death.

MARCELLUS II., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTIETH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1555.] In the room of Julius III. was elected, on the 5th of April, and crowned the next day, Marcellus Cervini, cardinal presbyter of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, who changed not his name, but called himself Marcellus II. He was a native of Fano, or Monte Fano, in the March of Ancona, was created cardinal by Paul III. in 1536, and appointed to preside at the council of Trent with the two cardinals mentioned above. He is said to have been a man of an irreproachable character, of invincible resolution and constancy, and to have formed great designs with respect to the reformation of the court and the clergy. But death prevented him from carrying them into execution. He died on the 1st day of May, the twenty-first of his pontificate.¹

PAUL IV., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1555.] On the 23d of May was chosen, and crowned on the 26th of the same month, John Peter Caraffa, come of a noble family of Naples, and formerly archbishop of that city, but, at the time of his election, cardinal bishop of Ostia. He was created cardinal by Paul III. in 1536, and, to show his gratitude, assumed the name of his benefactor, styling himself Paul IV. Nothing could equal the pride and arrogance of this haughty and impetuous pope. In the very beginning of his pontificate he quarrelled both with the emperor, and his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, on account of the religious peace, as it is commonly called, concluded on the 25th of September of the present year 1555, in the famous diet of Augsburg. For by the articles of that peace the subjects of the empire were allowed to judge for themselves in matters of religion, and full liberty was granted to all to conform to that church which they thought the purest, and the most agreeable to the true spirit of Christianity.¹ This peace, and the protection granted by the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples, to the Colonna family, which this furious pope had resolved to extirpate, provoked him to such a degree, that he invited the French to the conquest of Naples, and assisted them, in that undertaking, with all the forces of the church. But the two famous victories gained over the French at St. Quintin and Gravelines, obliged their king to recall his troops out of Italy, and the pope to conclude a disadvantageous and dishonorable peace.² In 1557 and 1558 Paul quarrelled at the same

time with his ally Henry II., of France, and with Ferdinand, king of the Romans; with the former for somewhat abating the persecution against his protestant subjects; with the latter for accepting without his consent the imperial crown, resigned to him, with the approbation of the electoral college, by Charles his brother.

This pope, in the close of his life, gave a remarkable instance of his severity in punishing crimes without distinction of persons. For being made acquainted with the many enormities of which his nephews, cardinal Caraffa, the duke of Pagliano, and the marquis of Montebello were guilty, he turned them out of their employments, drove them from Rome with their whole families, and forbade them, upon pain of death, ever again to set foot in that city.² He died on the 18th of August 1559, when he had lived eighty-three years, and governed the church four years, two months, and twenty-seven days. I find nothing laid to the charge of this pope but an excessive severity, and a zeal at this time very unseasonable, to assert the usurped prerogatives and claims of his see. He was universally hated by the people of Rome; and they no sooner heard that his recovery was despaired of, than they rose in a tumultuous manner, and flying to the capitol, struck off the head of a statue erected to him there but three months before; dragged it with a thousand insults through all the public streets of the city, and even applauded with loud acclamations a Jew, who had the boldness to put upon the head of the

¹ Mosheim, l. 4. c. 4. sect. I.

² Thuan. l. 27. Mezerai, tom. 4. Gainnon. in Hist. Civil. di Napoli, l. 33. c. 1.

¹ F. Paul. l. 5. Burnet Hist. of the Reform. l. 11. Spond. ad ann. 1555. Polliodar in Vita Marcelli II.

² Magius, et Caraccijs in Vit. Paul IV. F. Paul et Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident.

PIUS IV. elected;—[Year of Christ 1560.] The late pope's nephews tried, condemned, and executed. The council of Trent opened again;—[Year of Christ 1562.] How received by the catholic princes Pius's monetary against Joan queen of Navarre. Grants the use of the cup to the laity of Austria and Bohemia;—[Year of Christ 1564.]

statue the yellow hat, which this pope had ordered all of that nation to wear, and they wear it to this day throughout the whole state of the church. The populace having thus vented their rage upon the statue, crowded to the prison of the inquisition, broke open the doors, released seventeen hundred prisoners, only requiring them to swear that they were good catholics, and then set fire to the building, which soon reduced it to ashes with all the processes, papers, and records of that court. They did not stop here, but spreading themselves all over the city, broke or defaced every monu-

ment bearing the name of Caraffa, or the arms of that family.¹ The mutilated statue being accidentally found, and dug up in 1708, Clement XI., then pope, caused it to be restored, and placed again in the capitol with the following inscription on the pedestal.

Paulo IV. Pont. Max.
Scelerum. Vindici integerrimo
Catholicæ Fidei acerrimo Propugnatori
Statuum olim a S. P. R. in Capitolio erectam.
Ac diu obscuro loco jacentem
Clemens XI. Pont. Max.
Restitu jussit
Ann. Salut. MDCCVIII.

PIUS IV., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ 1560.] The death of Paul IV. was followed by a vacancy of four months and seven days, occasioned by the intrigues of the different parties. But on the 28th of December they all unanimously concurred in the election of John-Angelo de Medicis, cardinal presbyter of St. Prisca, who was crowned on the 6th of the following January 1560, and called himself Pius IV. He was a native of Milan, come of a family remotely, if at all, related to the illustrious family reigning at Florence; was created cardinal by Paul III. in 1549, and had acquired under that pope and his successor the reputation of a man of great parts, and no less integrity. He began his pontificate with granting a general pardon to all who had been concerned in the late riot. But so many and so enormous were the crimes laid to the charge of the deceased pope's nephews, that he could not help calling them to an account. They were accordingly tried, and, being found guilty, condemned to forfeit their lives as well as their ill-acquired wealth. The cardinal was strangled, and his two brothers, the duke of Pagliano and the marquis of Monte-bello, were beheaded, with several other persons of rank, their accomplices.¹

In the conclave the cardinals had laid an obligation on the future pope to restore the council, which had been suspended, as has been said above. With this obligation the pope was no ways inclined to comply; but not being able to withstand the pressing instances of the new emperor Ferdinand, of the kings of France and Spain, and most other catholic states, he took off the suspension, and the council was opened, or rather began to be continued, on the 18th of Janu-

ary 1562, and sat from that time till the 3d of December 1563, when the 25th or last session was held. The pope by a bull, dated the 26th of January 1564, confirmed all the definitions and decrees, without exception, that had passed in that assembly, during the pontificate of his two predecessors, and his own; and well he might, as they had been all previously communicated to him, and approved by his privy-council at Rome.² The decrees of this council were received in some catholic countries without any limitation whatever; but in Spain and all the Spanish dominions with the clause, "Saving the rights of the crown, and the privileges of the subjects," but in France, the decrees relating to discipline and the government of the church, have been strenuously opposed and rejected to this day, as derogatory to the liberties of the Gallican church, and the rights of the crown.

In 1564 pope Pius published a thundering monitory against Joan d' Albret, queen of Navarre, accused of Calvinism, summoning her to appear, in person, within six months, before the tribunal of the holy inquisition at Rome, on pain of forfeiting her crown, her kingdom, and all her dominions. But the French king, Charles IX. highly provoked at the presumption of the pope in summoning to Rome the widow and mother of the two first princes of the blood royal of France, obliged him to suppress the monitory, and drop the prosecution.³ By this pope was granted, at the pressing instances of the emperor Maximilian II. the use of the cup to the laity of Austria and Bohemia. But his holiness could, by no means, be prevailed

¹ Thuanus, l. 23. F. Paul. Hist. l. 5. Mezerai. tom. 5

² F. Paul. Hist. l. 6.

³ Varillas Hist. de Charles IX. tom. 2.

Pius IV. dies ;—[Year of Christ, 1565.] His character. Pius V. elected ;—[Year of Christ, 1566.] A furious persecutor of pretended heretics. Signal victory gained by the Christian fleet over that of the Turks. Erects the duchy of Florence into a grand duchy ;—[Year of Christ 1569.] Excommunicates queen Elizabeth. He dies ;—[Year of Christ 1572.] His character.

upon to consent to the marriage of the priests, though no less earnestly requested by the emperor, and the other catholic princes of Germany, declaring, that they could no longer bear with the impure celibacy of the clergy.¹ The bull, granting the use of the cup, as above, is dated at Rome the 16th of April 1564.

Pius died on the 9th of December of the following year, having presided in the see six years, wanting seventeen days. Onuphrius, who was intimately acquainted with

him, and had the honor of being frequently admitted to his table, gives him the following character; that he was, while cardinal, or seemed to be, possessed of every virtue, that could render him worthy of the high station, to which he was raised, but that he was no sooner raised to it, than he abandoned himself, without restraint, to all the opposite vices; sticking at nothing to accumulate wealth, wherewithal to enrich and aggrandize his relations and nephews.¹

PIUS V., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THIRD BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1566.] Upon the demise of Pius IV. Michael Ghislieri, cardinal of St. Mary super Minervam, was chosen on the 8th of January 1566, and crowned on the 17th of the same month, when he took the name of Pius V. He was a native of Boschi, a small town in the territory of Alessandria della Paglia, was come of an obscure family, and had, from his early years, embraced a religious life in the order of St. Dominic. In 1557 he was created cardinal by Paul IV., and appointed commissary general of the court of inquisition at Rome. That office he exercised with the utmost barbarity, and being actuated by the same persecuting spirit when raised to the popedom, he spared none who were but suspected of approving the new doctrine. Peter Carneseccchi, a man of distinction in Florence, was, by his order, condemned to the flames, being convicted of corresponding with some of the reformed religion in Germany, and in Italy with Victoria Colonna, and Julia Gonzaga, who were both suspected of heresy. Antonius Palearius, one of the best writers of his age underwent the same fate, for saying, that in some things the Lutherans were excusable, and that the inquisition was the bane of all learning.²

Pius, not satisfied with thus clearing Italy of all persons whose faith was suspected, encouraged Charles the Ninth of France to make war upon his protestant subjects, and, in order to put him in a condition of utterly extirpating them, he sent the ecclesiastical army to join the king's, and by a bull, dated at Rome the 24th of November 1568, allowed the estates of the Gallican church to be alienated, to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns of yearly revenue for carrying on this holy war.³

This pope exerted no less zeal against the common enemy of the Christian name, and with much better success, than against the pretended heretics. For by his means was concluded an alliance between himself, the Venetians, and Philip of Spain; and one of the most signal victories that we read of in history, was gained by the Christian fleet over that of the infidels.²

In 1569 Pius bestowed the title of grand duke of Tuscany upon Cosmus de Medicis, duke of Florence, who went to Rome to receive the crown at his holiness's hands. But, as Tuscany was a fief of the empire, Maximilian highly resented the presumption of the pope in granting that title, and would never acknowledge it.³

On the 25th of February of the same year Pius thundered out a bull of excommunication against our excellent queen Elizabeth; absolved her subjects from all subjection to her, and damned all, who should thenceforth acknowledge or obey her. This bull was privately put up at the gate of the bishop of London's palace. But the commotions it raised were soon quelled, and they who raised them, made to undergo the punishment their treason deserved, as is related at length by all our historians.

Pius died on the 1st day of May 1572, when he had sat in the see six years, three months, and twenty-three days. He was by principle, a principle which he had imbibed in the horrid school of the inquisition, as bloody a persecutor as a Nero or a Dioclesian, and a most zealous asserter of the pretended privileges of his see. But in all other respects he led a most irreproachable life, and was therefore beatified by Clement VIII., and canonized in 1712 by Clement XI. By Pius V. was issued, in 1567, the famous

¹ Leon. de laud. Pii IV. p. 73. Thuan. Hist. l. 36.

² Thuan. l. 39. Hieron. Catena in Vit. Pii V.

³ Thuan. l. 40. Varillas Vie de Charles IX. tom. 2.

¹ Onuph. in Vit. Pii IV.

² See Du Verdier. Abrégé de l'Hist. de Turcs, tom. 3.

³ Thuanus, ibid. et Maffei in Vit. Pii V.

Pius V. author of the famous bull "In Cœna Domini." Gregory XIII. elected. An enemy to all strife and contention. Two instances of his pacific disposition. The reformation of the calendar in 1582 owing to Gregory.

bull "In Cœna Domini," which is every year published on Maunday-Thursday at Rome. It is calculated to ascertain the extravagant claims of the pope, to deprive the princes of the sovereignty of their dominions, and make them and their subjects entirely dependent on the will of his holiness. But that bull has been no where received to this

day, except in Italy. The popes dare no longer exert against sovereign princes the power, of which they made so unhallowed a use in the dark ages. But their publishing yearly that bull, excommunicating princes in sundry cases, plainly shows that they still claim the same power.

GREGORY XIII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FOURTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1572.] The cardinals had scarce been shut up five hours in the conclave, when, by the intrigues and the interest of cardinal Granville, then viceroy of Naples, Hugh Buoncompagno, cardinal of St. Sixtus, was unanimously elected. His election fell on the 13th of May, and he was crowned on the 25th of the same month, 1572, taking, on that occasion, the name of Gregory XIII. He had acquitted himself with great integrity, and general satisfaction, in different employments under Paul III., Julius III., Paul IV., and Pius IV., and was, in 1565, preferred by the latter to the dignity of cardinal.

Gregory's first care after his exaltation, was to pursue the war against the common enemy. But after some fruitless attempts, the Venetians, departing from the alliance, concluded a truce with the infidels. This good pope was an enemy to all strife and contention, as appears from the two following facts:—A criminal, who had robbed a church in Naples, was apprehended by the officers of the archbishop, pretending that it belonged to him to take cognizance of the crime of sacrilege. But, as the criminal was a layman, the viceroy, cardinal Granville, insisted upon his being tried and punished by him; and upon the archbishop's refusing to deliver him up, he caused his prison to be broken open, the criminal to be taken from thence, and, as soon as found guilty, to be publicly hanged. The archbishop ordered his vicar to excommunicate all who were any ways concerned in executing the viceroy's orders; which was done accordingly, and the sentence was posted up in all public places of the city. But the cardinal ordered all the copies of it to be daubed over with ink, ordered the vicar to quit the city of Naples within twenty-four hours, and the kingdom as soon as he possibly could, imprisoned all the archbishop's officers, and sequestered all his revenues, even his patrimonial. The good-natured pope, instead of espousing the cause of the archbishop, privately agreed with the cardi-

nal that the affair should be dropped, and all things restored to the condition they were in before the quarrel broke out.¹ We have another remarkable instance of Gregory's pacific disposition in an affair of much greater importance—that of the succession to the kingdom of Portugal. For Sebastian, king of that country, being cut off, with the flower of his nobility, in his unhappy expedition into Africa, many pretenders to that crown started up, as Sebastian died without issue, and, among the rest, Philip of Spain and the pope. Philip maintained, that he was the sole lawful heir to the deceased king; and the pope that the kingdom was a fief of the church; that as such it was devolved to the apostolic see, and consequently that he was at liberty to keep it, or dispose of it to whom he pleased. But Philip, paying no regard to the claims and remonstrances of the pope, ordered the famous duke of Alba to enter the kingdom of Portugal at the head of thirty thousand men, who soon reduced the whole country. Of this Gregory was no sooner informed, than, apprehending that to quarrel at this time with so powerful a prince might prove highly prejudicial to the catholic cause, he ordered cardinal Riario, whom he had sent to divert the king from that undertaking, to congratulate him, in his name, upon the success that had attended his arms in carrying it on.²

We are indebted to this pope for the new calendar; for it was in his pontificate, and by his order, that the calendar was rectified, and the "new style," as they call it, introduced. It first took place in the month of October 1582, and was immediately received in all catholic countries, but rejected by the protestants, choosing rather to continue in their error, than to be set right by the pope. It has been adopted, within these few years, by the British parliament; and now, if I mistake not, it universally prevails.

Gregory is charged by some with having

¹ Giannoni Hist. di Napoli. l. 34. c. 1.

² Bellegarde Hist. General d'Espagne, tom. 7. Amelot du la Houssaye Mem. Polit. tom. 2.

Gregory receives a solemn embassy from Japan.—[Year of Christ, 1585.] Gregory's death and character. The founder of several colleges, all under the direction of the Jesuits. Not free from nepotism. Sixtus V. elected. His birth, education, preferment, &c.

approved the massacre at Paris; and indeed it is true, that great rejoicings were made on that occasion at Rome; but it does not appear that they were made by his order, or with his consent.

This pope received, a little before his death, a solemn embassy from three princes, or kings, of the islands of Japan, where the labors of the Roman missionaries, especially the Jesuits, were crowned with amazing success. The ambassadors, four in number, and all young men of the first rank, were sent by their respective sovereigns, who had embraced the Christian religion, to pay their obeisance to the pope. They embarked at Nangasagui, in the island of Bungo, on the 20th of February 1582, being attended by father Valignani, a Jesuit, but they did not reach Rome till the 22d of March 1585. They were received at the gate by the senate, the magistrates, and all the nobility, and conducted, amidst the loud acclamations of people of all ranks, to the house of the professed Jesuits, where they lodged during their stay at Rome, and were most magnificently entertained at the expense of the pope. The next day they went with the same attendance to wait on the pope, who received them, in full consistory, with all possible marks of respect and esteem. They kissed his holiness's foot with the greatest submission and modesty, and delivered to him, on their knees, the letters which they

were charged with by the princes who sent them. Gregory ordered the "Te Deum," &c., to be sung in all the churches of Rome, and rejoicings to be made throughout the city for several years together.¹ But their joy was soon damped and turned into grief by the unexpected death of the pope, who died of a quinsy on the 10th of April of the present year, 1585, after a pontificate of thirteen years and one month, wanting three days.² He was of a pacific disposition, utterly averse to all violent measures, and as much beloved for the mildness of his government as his two immediate predecessors were hated for the severity of theirs. He was a great friend to the Jesuits; granted them a great many privileges; built for their use and richly endowed the Roman college, one of the most stately edifices this day in all Rome; founded and endowed no fewer than twenty-seven seminaries in different parts of the world—four even in Japan, for the instruction of youth in the Roman catholic religion; and all under the direction of the Jesuits. I find nothing laid to the charge of this pope, but his having had a natural son before he was cardinal, John Buoncompagno, whom he created cardinal as soon as he was preferred to the papedom, and his raising him, as well as the rest of his relations, to the first honors both in the state and the church.³

SIXTUS V., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1585.] In the room of Gregory was elected, on the 24th of April, and crowned on the first of May of the present year, 1585, Felix Peretti, cardinal of St. Jerome, who took the name of Sixtus V. He was a native of Le Grotte, a village in the March of Ancona, and brought up at Montalto, another village in the same province. His father was by profession a vine-dresser; his mother of as mean a condition; and both so poor that, not being able to maintain him, they placed him, when nine years old, with a farmer of the same village to look after his swine. As he was thus employed one day in the fields, a Franciscan friar, who was going to Ascoli, and had missed his way, called him to him to know which was the right road to that city. Peretti offered to go along with him, and his offer being accepted, the friar was so charmed with his civil and obliging behavior, far above that of a swine-herd, that he took him

with him to the convent, as he expressed, on the road, a great desire of embracing a religious life, and recommended him to the guardian. His answers to the questions, put to him by the guardian, were so satisfactory, that he was admitted into the convent, in the quality of a servant, or a lay brother, till he had learned the rudiments of the Latin tongue, which one of the friars was appointed to teach him. Having acquired, in two years time, a sufficient knowledge of that language, he was received into the order, and there pursued his other studies, especially the study of divinity, with such success, that in a few years he was preferred to the degree of doctor in that faculty. In process of time he was raised to the first employments of the order; and

¹ Varenii. Descript. Japan. l. 3. Cicarella in Vit. Greg. XIII. Bartoli. Hist. di Japan. l. 4.

² Cicarell. in Vit.

³ See Ciappi et Maffei Vit. Greg. XIII.

Sixtus clears the state of robbers, assassins, and banditti. His severity against criminals. Would grant no assistance to the catholic league in France. Excommunicates Henry, king of Navarre. The king's conduct on that occasion. Monitory issued by Sixtus against Henry III., for the murder of the cardinal of Guise, &c.;—[Year of Christ, 1589.]

having artfully insinuated himself into the favor of Pius V., he was by him first created bishop of St. Agatha, and afterwards cardinal of St. Jerome; but he is commonly called cardinal Montalto from the place of his education. He was no sooner vested with that dignity, than, depending upon the good fortune that had hitherto attended him, he began to aspire at the popedom. As for the various artifices which Sixtus is said to have made use of to cloak his ambition, and disguise his real temper, in order to attain to that dignity, I shall refer the reader to the well-known History of Pope Sixtus V., by Gregorio Leti, and confine myself to a brief account of the most remarkable transactions of his pontificate.

Sixtus found the whole ecclesiastical state overrun with robbers, assassins, and banditti; which was chiefly owing to the mildness of the late pope's government. But the new pope, by the excessive rigor he exerted against them, as well as against those who employed or protected them, soon obliged them to quit his dominions, and fly for shelter to the neighboring states. It was customary at the election of a new pope to throw open the public prisons, and set all the prisoners at liberty. But Sixtus, instead of complying with that custom, ordered, as soon as he was crowned, four persons, upon whom prohibited arms had been found, a few days before his election, to be hanged. There is not one single instance of his pardoning a criminal; but many instances occur of his deposing, and other ways punishing such of the judges, as had shown any mercy; nay, he declared it criminal to intercede for a criminal; and ordered all, who interposed in behalf of a convict, to be treated as his accomplices. Thus was entire stop put to the murders and robberies that were become so frequent in the late pontificate, and were either connived at, or but slightly punished.¹

Sixtus found, at his accession to the chair, the kingdom of France involved in the utmost confusion on account of the league formed there by the catholic party, with the duke of Guise at their head, chiefly to exclude Henry, king of Navarre, from that crown. Their agents at Rome spared no pains to gain over the pope to their party. But Sixtus, looking upon the league as a dangerous conspiracy, calculated to extirpate the royal family, as well as the protestant religion, could by no means be prevailed upon to countenance it, or be concerned any ways in it. However, he thought it incumbent upon him to pursue such measures as he should judge proper or necessary to prevent the establishing of the protestant

religion in France, and its becoming the reigning religion by the promotion of an heretical prince to the throne. He therefore published a bull against Henry, heretofore king of Navarre, and his brother, styled prince of Condé, excommunicating both these princes, depriving them and their heirs of all their estates, and particularly of the right of succession to the crown of France, and not only absolving their subjects from the oath of allegiance, but involving in the same sentence all who acknowledged or obeyed them. This bull is dated the 10th of September 1585, and was signed by twenty-five cardinals. The king of Navarre wanted not friends at Rome; and to be revenged on the pope, he got a paper set up, by their means, on the very gates of the Vatican palace, wherein he showed the injustice and nullity of the sentence, appealed from the pope to a general council, and to the parliament, and implored the assistance of all sovereign princes, as in a cause common to them all.¹ We are told that Sixtus, instead of resenting this insult, commended the king for his resolution and intrepidity, and that he was frequently heard to say, that he had no great esteem for any of the Christian princes, except Henry of Navarre, and Elizabeth of England, whose prudence, courage, and steadiness he could not but admire.

Sixtus did not approve, as has been said, of the catholic league in France, but, on the contrary, looked upon it as a dangerous conspiracy; and therefore took no notice of the death of the duke of Guise, when slain, as is well known, by the king's order. But what provoked his holiness beyond all measure against the king, Henry III., was his causing the cardinal of Guise to be killed the very next day, and the cardinal of Bourbon, and the archbishop of Lyons, to be arrested and closely confined. This Sixtus no sooner understood, than, fired at so open a violation of the ecclesiastical immunity, he sent for the French ambassador, the marquis Pisani, and desired him, in great wrath, to let his master know that he was no longer a poor friar, but sovereign pontiff, ready to defend, cost what blood and treasure it would, the honor and rights of the church. The French ambassador, and the king's other friends at Rome, did all in their power to appease the pope, and excuse the king's conduct. But Sixtus, deaf to all they could offer, issued, on the 5th of May 1589, a monitory, requiring, and commanding the king to set the cardinal and the archbishop at liberty within ten days after the monitory was notified to him, and declaring him excommunicated, if he did not comply within

¹ Leli, l. 5. Maffei Hist. ab excessu Greg. XIII. l. 1. Cicarella in Vit. Sixti V.

¹ Cayet Dialogue, tom. 2.

Upon the death of Henry III. Sixtus refuses to confirm the sentence against the king of Navarre. Declines assisting king Philip against queen Elizabeth. Sixtus dies:—[Year of Christ, 1590.] His character. His many public works to improve the splendor of Rome. Leaves five millions at his death.

the prefixed term. The king was determined to assert his right of punishing his rebel subjects, of what condition soever, as he should think fit. But he was, in the mean time, barbarously murdered, and by his death the fatal consequences were prevented, that would, at so critical a juncture, have attended a rupture between him and so assuming and resolute a pope.¹ In Henry III. ended the race of Valois, and room was made for the family of Bourbon, in the person of Henry, king of Navarre, descended from Robert, lord of Bourbon, the fifth and last son of Lewis IX.; or, as he is commonly called, St. Lewis. Sixtus had excommunicated that prince, and deprived him of the right of succession to the crown, as has been said. But being pressed by the agents of the league to renew that sentence upon the death of the king, he declined it, saying, that no prince was more worthy of a crown, and that he would order public prayers to be put up for his conversion.

Sixtus entertained no small jealousy of the overgrown power of Philip of Spain, and was therefore glad to keep on good terms with queen Elizabeth, declining, under various pretences, to lend any assistance to Philip against her besides his useless anathemas, which he could not well refuse, and which he knew would do the queen very little hurt.

Sixtus had, from the very beginning of his pontificate, formed a design of conquering the kingdom of Naples, and uniting it to the dominions of the church. This design he resolved to carry into execution upon the first news he received of the total defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588, and ordered with that view twenty-five thousand men to be raised with all possible expedition. But in the mean time death put an end to all his designs, on the 27th of August, 1590, when he had governed the church five years four months and three days. His death at this juncture gave occasion to suspect that it was not natural.

Sixtus V. is represented by all who speak of him, as a man of the greatest abilities that ever was raised to the chair; as one who, in magnificence, intrepidity, and strength of mind, surpassed by far all his predecessors. He had a thorough knowledge of the interests of his see, and chose the most effectual means to promote them. He was a most zealous assertor of the pontifical authority, and, on several occasions, showed himself ready to maintain it even at the expense of religion itself.

The city of Rome owes more to Sixtus alone than to all his predecessors together, for the many stately edifices, new streets, aqueducts, and other ornaments, with which he improved and beautified it above all the

cities of the known world. The four famous obelisks, that had lain many ages buried under ground, were, by his order, and at his expense, dug up and erected in the places where they still stand, namely, in the great squares before the churches of St. Peter, of St. Mary the Greater, of St. John Lateran and St. Mary del Popolo. A great number of hands were employed for a whole twelve-month, under the direction of the celebrated architect Dominico Fontana, in digging up the first of these obelisks, in transporting it from the place where it lay buried, and erecting it anew. It was dedicated by Augustus, in whose time it was brought out of Egypt, to the Sun; but, by Sixtus, to the Cross. The restoring of these four obelisks cost an immense sum of money. But Sixtus grudged no expenses to transmit his name to posterity. There is scarce a street in all Rome that cannot show some noble monuments of this pope's munificence. By him were raised from the foundations, and brought to the state they are still to be seen in, the Lateran palace, spacious enough to lodge conveniently the pope himself, and the whole college of cardinals; the present Vatican library, with all the buildings annexed to it; the hospital near Ponte Sisto, capable of receiving, and sufficiently endowed to maintain, two thousand persons, whom old age or infirmities had rendered incapable of earning their bread; and many other most sumptuous edifices still to be seen in every quarter of Rome. But the most stupendous of all Sixtus's works was his collecting a great number of small springs into one stream, at the distance of thirteen miles from Rome, and building an aqueduct to convey them to Mount Quirinal, now Monte Cavallo, that stood in great want of that necessary commodity. This great work Sixtus undertook in spite of the many difficulties that were urged, as quite insurmountable, against it; and, employing constantly two thousand workmen, and often three and four thousand, he completed it in the space of eighteen months, to the inexpressible joy of all the inhabitants of that quarter of the city. The magnificent temple of the Virgin Mary at Loretto was likewise the work of this extraordinary pope; and he had begun another, no less magnificent, at Montalto, the place where he was educated, but the foundations, that are still to be seen, were scarce laid, when the death of the founder put a stop to that undertaking.¹ In these public works Sixtus is said to have expended some millions; and at his death he left four millions of crowns in the castle of St. Angelo, requiring his successors, by a special bull, to make use of them only for the service of the church against the Turks and heretics,

¹ Mezerai Abregé Chron. tom. 5. Thuan Hist. l. 96.

¹ See Bocca de Sixti Edificiis.

Sixtus's nepotism. Fixes the number of cardinals at seventy. Was no friend to the Jesuits. Urban VII. elected. Gregory XIV. elected. Declares for the league, excommunicates Henry IV. and dies;—[Year of Christ, 1591.]

or to relieve the people in the time of a famine, or plague.

Sixtus was not more free from nepotism than any of his predecessors. His sister Camilla he raised to the rank of a princess. She had by her daughter two grandsons, and as many granddaughters. One of her grandsons he preferred, though yet very young, to the dignity of cardinal, under the name of cardinal Montalto, and allowed him the yearly income of one hundred thousand crowns. The other he raised to the first and most lucrative employments of the state, and left him several lordships at his death, obliging him to take the name of Peretti. His two grand-nieces he married, with great fortunes, into the Orsini and Colonna families, the two first families in Rome.

He fixed the number of cardinals at se-

venty, and ordered, by a special bull, that four of that number, at least, should be doctors of divinity, chosen out of the religious orders. He was no friend to the Jesuits, could not bear that they should be called by that name, as if their order had been founded by Jesus himself; was for having them styled Ignatians, from the name of their founder Ignatius.¹

I shall conclude with observing that the life of this extraordinary pope has been written, with great exactness, by Casimir Teinpesti, and published at Rome 1755, in two volumes, quarto. As for his life by Gregorio Leti, it has more of the romance than of the true history, and I have therefore advanced nothing upon his authority alone.

URBAN VII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIXTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1590.] In the room of Sixtus was chosen, on the 27th of September, John Baptist Castagna, cardinal of St. Marcellus, a Roman by birth, but of a Ge-

noese family. He took the name of Urban VII., and died on the twelfth day of his pontificate, the 15th of September of the present year.²

GREGORY XIV., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1590.] Urban was succeeded by Nicholas Sfondrati, cardinal of St. Cecilia, under the name of Gregory XIV. He was elected on the 5th of December, and crowned on the 18th of the same month. As he was by birth a Milanese, and consequently a subject of Philip of Spain, to gratify that prince he declared for the catholic league in France; excommunicated king Henry, under the name of Henry of Bourbon; and assisted his enemies, to the utmost of his power, both with men and with money. But in France his bull was de-

clared scandalous, seditious, contrary to the canons and the rights of the Gallican church, and ordered to be torn and publicly burnt by the hands of the common executioner.³ But his time was short; for he died on the 15th of October 1591, after a pontificate of ten months and ten days.⁴

¹ See Robardi Cesta Quinquennialia Sixti V. et Teinpesti Storia della Vita e Geste di Sisto Quinto.

² Arrighi Vit. Urbani VII.

³ Perefis, Hist. Henry IV. Mezerai. tom. 6. Thuan. l. 100.

⁴ Arrighi in Vit.

nnocent IX. elected. Clement VIII. elected;—[Year of Christ, 1592.] Three remarkable events of his pontificate. An account of the famous controversy between the Dominicans and Jesuits, concerning "grace, free-will," &c. Clement's death;—[Year of Christ, 1605.]

INNOCENT IX., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-EIGHTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1591.] Upon the death of Gregory, John Antony Facchinetti, a native of Bologna, was raised to the chair on the 29th of October, by the name of Innocent IX.; was crowned on the 12th of November, and died on the 30th of December.

CLEMENT VIII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-NINTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1592.] Hypolitus Aldobrandini, cardinal of St. Pancras, a Florentine, succeeded under the name of Clement VIII. He was chosen on the 30th of January 1592, and crowned on the 2d of February. The pontificate of Clement is remarkable chiefly for the three following events, the conversion, absolution, and reconciliation of Henry IV. of France in 1595;¹ the reversion of the duchy of Ferrara to the apostolic see upon the death of duke Alphonsus II. in 1597, he being the last lawful prince of the family of Este; and the peace, concluded at Vervins in 1598, between France and Spain, by the mediation of Clement.²

The famous controversy between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, concerning "grace, free will, and predestination," arose in the time of this pope, and was likely to produce fatal divisions in the church. Lewis Molini, a Spanish Jesuit, professor of Divinity in the university of Eboræ, first gave occasion to it by a book, published in 1558, to show, that the operations of "divine grace" are entirely consistent with the freedom of "human will." In order to that, he maintained, that the decrees of God, relating to the salvation or reprobation of men, are founded upon that divine and unlimited knowledge, by which God foresaw the merits and demerits of every individual. Thus, according to Molina, the divine decree of the election or reprobation, with respect to each particular person, is posterior to, and depending upon, his foreseen co-operating or not co-operating with the sufficient grace afforded to all men to work out their salvation. On the other hand, the Dominicans asserted the "eternal decrees" of God to be absolute, arbitrary, and quite independent of any foreseen merits or demerits whatever. This the Dominicans pretended to be the true doctrine of St. Austin, and of their leader and oracle Thomas Aquinas; and laying hold of this

opportunity to vent their rage against the Jesuits for the ascendant they had gained over them in the courts of all the Christian princes of Europe, they charged them (for they all embraced the doctrine of their brother Molina) with renewing the condemned errors of the Semi-pelagians, and the alarm of heresy was every where sounded against them. This theological war was carried on with true theological fury and rage till the year 1594, when Clement imposed silence on the contending parties, promising to examine himself the points in dispute. He accordingly appointed a particular congregation, consisting of three bishops and seven divines of different religious orders, with cardinal Madrucci, bishop of Trent, at their head, to hear and weigh the arguments offered by the opposite parties in favor of their respective opinions. This congregation was called *De Auxiliis*, or of Aids, on account of the principal point in debate, the efficacy of the aids of divine grace. As nothing had yet been determined by the congregation in 1602, the pope resolved to preside at it in person, and accordingly heard both parties with the greatest attention and patience. But both defended their cause with so much zeal and dexterity, that Clement, wisely avoiding to make use of his infallibility, lest he should thereby disoblige either of the two most learned orders of the church, left the final decision of the points in dispute to his successor. He died on the 3d of March 1605; having presided in the see thirteen years one month and three days. Clement VIII. is represented by the contemporary writers as a man of uncommon abilities; of great discretion and prudence. It was at the pressing instances of this pope that the restoration of the Jesuits, who had been banished France upon the murder of Henry III., was brought about in 1603, by his successor Henry IV.¹

In Clement's time a solemn embassy appeared at Rome, with professions of obe-

¹ Ossat. ep. 32. Thuan. l. 110. Mezerai. tom. 7.

² Thuan. l. 129. Mezerai. tom. 6. Bellegarde Hist. Gener. d'Espagne, tom. 7.

Leo XI. elected. Paul V. elected. His contest with the republic of Venice. The republic put under an interdict. The Jesuits and Capuchins banished out of the dominions of the republic. This difference adjusted. The book of Suarez concerning the murder of kings.

dience from Gabriel, patriarch of Alexandria. But that embassy is looked upon, even by several Roman catholic writers, as a mere imposture, or stratagem of the Jesuits

to persuade the Abyssinians to follow the example of their brethren of Alexandria, and to submit to the pope.¹

LEO XI., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1605.] The see being vacant by the death of Clement, the cardinals, after some disagreement between the Spanish and the French factions, unanimously concurred in the election of Alexander de Medicis, of the illustrious family reigning at Florence, who took the name of Leo XI. He was elected on the 1st of

April; was crowned on the 10th, and died on the 26th of the same month. The famous cardinal Baronius had a strong party in the conclave. But the Spaniards, exerting all their interests against him, on account of some of his writings, procured his exclusion.²

PAUL V., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIRST BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1605.] Leo was succeeded, on the 16th of May, by cardinal Camillo Borghese, who took the name of Paul V., and was crowned on the 29th of the same month. His ancestors were persons of some distinction in Siena, but he himself was a native of Rome. He entertained so high an opinion of the papal power and authority, that he suffered himself to be publicly styled, "Vice-god upon Earth, the Monarch of Christendom, and the Supporter of Papal Omnipotence." Of his furious zeal in asserting the pretended privileges and rights of his see, he gave, when scarce warm in his chair, a remarkable instance in his contest with the republic of Venice. This contest arose partly from two decrees of the republic, calculated to prevent the immoderate increase of religious houses in their dominions, and to set some bounds to the new acquisitions of wealth made daily by the religious and clergy, and partly from their refusing to deliver up to the ecclesiastical court two ecclesiastics, guilty of capital crimes: Paul, highly provoked at such proceedings, as manifest encroachments upon his authority, laid all the dominions of the republic under an interdict, by a bull dated at Rome the 17th of April 1606. On the other hand, the Venetians, declaring the bull to be void and null, obliged the clergy to perform Divine service as usual, and banished from all their dominions the Capuchins and Jesuits, the only religious orders that complied with the bull. Prepa-

rations for war were making on both sides, when an accommodation, not very honorable to the pope, was brought about by the mediation of Henry IV., king of France.—The Capuchins were restored without difficulty; but the senate could by no means be prevailed upon to consent to the restoration of the Jesuits, and the pope was forced to acquiesce, though the Jesuits had distinguished themselves above all the rest by their zeal in his cause. The two prisoners were delivered up to the French ambassador by one of the secretaries of the republic, with this protest, That he consigned them to him merely to gratify his most Christian majesty, without any prejudice to the right which the republic had to pass judgment upon ecclesiastical persons, and summon them before their secular tribunals of justice.³ The history of this interdict takes up the fourth volume of F. Paul's works.

By this pope was approved the impious doctrine of the famous Jesuit Suarez, concerning the murder of kings, and the power vested in the pope of deposing them. But in France, Suarez's book was condemned by the parliament of Paris, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common executioner. This the pope highly resented, but he could never obtain the revocation of the sentence, condemning the book and the doc-

¹ See Geddes Church History of Alexandria.

² Wadding in Vit. Leon. XI.

³ See F. Paul Istoria dell' Interditto; et Bzovius in Vit. Pauli IV.

An embassy to Paul from the king of Congo. The pope dies;—[Year of Christ, 1621.] His character. Conclusion of the congregation De Auxiliis. Paul's nepotism. Gregory XV. elected. Instances of his zeal against those of the reformed religion. Founds the college De Propaganda Fide. Erects the city of Paris into an archbishop. Dies;—[Year of Christ, 1623.]

trine it contained.¹ We are told, that Suarez upon hearing of the fate of his book, repeated the two following verses out of Ovid with the alteration of one word :

Parve, nec invideo, sine me, liber, ibis in *Ignem*
 Hei mihi, quid domino non licet ire tuo.

A little before the pope's death an ambassador arrived at Rome from the king of Congo, to beg his holiness would send missionaries with the ambassador, on his return, to preach the gospel to his subjects. But the ambassador died a few days after his arrival, and the pope did not long survive him. He died on the 22d of January 1621, after a pontificate of fifteen years eight months and thirteen days. He was a man of very good parts, and of no small learning, and would have made a much better figure in history, had he not suffered his impetuous zeal for the authority of his see to get the better of his judgment, and lead him into measures, which he could not support. In beautifying the city of Rome he even rivalled Sixtus himself, and had the honor of

completing, at last, the stupendous fabric of the church of St. Peter.

Under this pope eighteen sessions were held of the congregation De Auxiliis, and sixty had been held under his predecessor. But the points in dispute were so very obscure and intricate, that the cardinals, prelates, and divines, who composed that assembly, were at a loss what to determine. At the same time they apprehended, that a final decision would only serve to inflame the animosities already subsisting between the two orders; and they therefore resolved to come to no decision. Thus, after so many consultations, the contending parties were left in the quiet possession of their respective opinions, with a strict prohibition to cast any reproachful reflections upon each other; and the same doctrines are held to this day by the two rival orders, and publicly taught in their schools.

The great estates, the sumptuous palaces, and the magnificent villas, still possessed by the Borghese family, are lasting monuments of this pope's scandalous nepotism.

GREGORY XV., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SECOND BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ 1621.] The new pope was Gregory XV. called before his election Alexander Ludovisi. He was a native of Bologna, and, when elected, archbishop of that city. He is represented in history as a man of a mild disposition; yet he suggested and promoted the most violent measures against all who professed the reformed religion. The war made by Lewis XIII. king of France, upon his protestant subjects, was, in a great measure, owing to his exhortations and his influence over that prince. He assisted, to the utmost of his power, the emperor Ferdinand II. and Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, against the elector Palatine of the Rhine, son-in-law to our king James I. and was, upon that account, presented by the duke, upon his taking the city of Heidelberg, with the most valuable part of the invaluable library of the counts Palatine, which Gre-

gory caused to be removed to Rome, and placed in the Vatican library.¹

By this pope was founded at Rome in 1622, and richly endowed, the famous college De Propaganda Fide. By the same pope the city of Paris, which till the present year 1622 had been subject to the see of Sens, was, at the request of Lewis XIII. erected into an archiepiscopal see.² Gregory was a great friend to the Jesuits, and by him were canonized Ignatius their founder, and the famous Xavier, styled the "Apostle of the Indies." He died on the 8th of July 1623, having held the see two years five months and twenty days. He was buried in St. Peter's, but his remains were afterwards translated from thence to the church of the Roman college, where his stately tomb is still to be seen with a most pompous epitaph.

¹ Spanheim Memoires de le Electrice Palatine Louyse Julianne.

² Continuation of Mezerai Hist. de Louis XIII.

¹ Vasser Hist. de Louis XIII.

Urban VIII. elected. Gives the title of eminence to cardinals. Observes a neutrality in the differences between princes ;—[Year of Christ, 1632.] The duchy of Urbino reverts to the church. The book of Jansenius, intituled *Augustinus*. The doctrine it contained. The book condemned by the pope. Urban dies ;—[Year of Christ, 1644.]

URBAN VIII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-THIRD BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1623.] The next election was carried, on the 6th of August, in favor of cardinal Maffei Barberini, a native of Florence, who took the name of Urban VIII. He began his pontificate with raising two of his nephews to the dignity of cardinals, and bestowing the title of "eminence" upon all of that order, upon the three ecclesiastical electors, and the grand master of Malta. But kings and the republic of Venice were dispensed from giving them that title.

Urban was more inclined to France than to the house of Austria, but nevertheless could not be prevailed upon by Lewis XIII. to enter into an alliance with him against the emperor, but answered, when pressed to it by that prince, that it was incumbent upon him, as the common father of all Christian princes, to adjust their differences, and observe, in order to render his mediation more effectual, a perfect neutrality. Accordingly he interposed his good offices ; and at his interposition were concluded the treaties of Rivalte, Ratisbon, and Querasque.¹

In 1632 died Francisco Maria della Rovere, duke of Urbino, and by his death, as he left no male issue behind him, that duchy, a fief of the church, devolved to the apostolic see.

In 1641 the pope, at the instigation of his nephews, and upon the most frivolous pretences, sent an army to seize on the city of Castro, belonging to Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma. But the duke being supported by the republic of Venice, by the grand duke of Tuscany, and the duke of Modena, the Barberini were obliged, after an unsuccessful war, that is said to have cost them twenty millions of crowns, to restore Castro, and conclude a dishonorable peace.²

As the book of Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, intituled "*Augustinus*," was first condemned by this pope, it will be expected that I should give here some account of that book, and the principles it contains ; principles that divided, and still continue to divide, the church of Rome, notwithstanding her boasted unity, into two almost as opposite parties, or sects, as any two of the reformed religion. Jansenius was, as is agreed on all hands, a prelate of great learning, of an exemplary life, and an enemy to all strife and contention. But disliking the doctrine of the Jesuits concerning grace and free will,

spoken of above, he undertook to unfold the sentiments of St. Austin, commonly called the "doctor of grace," with respect to those intricate points ; a difficult undertaking, as that good father is not always consistent with himself, nor intelligible to others. We are told that Jansenius, to attain to his true meaning, read ten times over all his voluminous books, and thirty times those upon grace and free will. The end Jansenius proposed therein to himself was, not to give his own sentiments concerning those important points, but to show how they had been understood and explained by St. Austin, whom the church revered as her oracle ; and he therefore styled his book "*Augustine*." It was not published till after his death, which happened on the 6th of May, 1638. The sentiments it contained were diametrically opposite to those of the Jesuits. For the following principles were there adopted as St. Austin's : that "there are no remains of purity or goodness in human nature since its fall ;" that "the impulse of grace is irresistible ;" that "in the work of conversion and sanctification all is to be ascribed to grace, and nothing to human nature ;" and several others connected with these, which I shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. On the contrary, the Jesuits maintained, as they still do, that "human nature is far from being deprived of all power of doing good ; that man, before he receives grace, is capable of faith and holy desires ; that the operations of grace offer no violence to human nature, and consequently that man, *born free, may resist them*." The book of Jansenius no sooner appeared, than the Jesuits, looking upon it as an attack upon their system, took the alarm ; and a paper war was commenced, and carried on, with the utmost fury, between them and the friends of the deceased bishop, till the year 1641, when the Jesuits, adding to their arguments the interest they had at the court of Rome, got the book "*Augustinus*" prohibited by the inquisition, and the following year solemnly condemned by the pope, as "reviving the errors that his predecessors had banished from the church." This subject I shall occasionally resume more than once in the sequel.

Urban died on the 29th of July, having held the see twenty-one years wanting eight days. In nepotism he vied even with his predecessor, Paul V., bestowing upon his

¹ Hist. des Traites de Paix, tom. I. p. 933.

² Estat du Siege di Rome, tom. I.

Urban's character. His poems. Innocent X. elected. His illicit commerce with his brother's widow. Persecutes the Barberini. The five famous propositions of Jansenius condemned by Innocent.—[Year of Christ, 1653.] That condemnation how eluded by the Jansenists. Innocent dies;—[Year of Christ, 1655.]

nephews and other relations all the most honorable and lucrative employments both in the church and the state. Two of his nephews he created cardinals, and purchased for the third the principality of Palestrina, which the family enjoys to this day, with the stately palace built by him near Monte Cavallo, one of the most stately in all Rome. Urban is represented by the contemporary writers as one endowed with as good talents as any of his predecessors, and charge upon his nephews, in whom he blindly confided, all that was blame-worthy in his pontificate. He was a generous friend to the learned, especially to the poets, being no mean poet

himself. We have a collection of his Latin poems, which have undergone several editions. He wrote most of them when he was a cardinal, and had no occasion to be ashamed of them when he was pope.¹ His destroying some Roman antiquities, (which the barbarous nations had spared when masters of Rome,) in order to employ the materials for other uses, gave occasion to the famous pasquinade, "*Quod non fecerunt Barbari fecerunt Barberini.*" Urban's stately tomb in St. Peter's was erected by himself under the direction of the famous Cavalier Bernini.

INNOCENT X., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FOURTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1644.] To Urban was substituted, on the 15th of September, John Baptist Pamfili, a Roman, who took the name of Innocent X. The new pope had, before his promotion, an unlawful commerce with his brother's widow, the famous Donna Olympia Maldachini, a woman of insatiable avarice and boundless ambition; and that commerce he not only continued after his elevation, but suffered her to govern the church, the state, the court, and himself, with an absolute sway. All benefices and bishoprics, all employments, whether ecclesiastic, civil, or military, were disposed of by her, and without any regard to friendship or merit, bestowed only upon those who came up to her price. As the Barberini were possessed of immense wealth—some say to the amount of two hundred and sixty thousand crowns of yearly revenue—the pope, at the instigation of Donna Olympia, who wanted to enrich her own family at their expense, began his pontificate with a furious persecution against them. But France interposed, and, espousing their cause, obliged the pope, much against his will, to come to terms with them.¹

The most remarkable transaction of Innocent's pontificate was his condemning, by a bull, dated the 31st of May 1653, the five following propositions, selected by the Jesuits out of Jansenius's *Augustinus*, as the most apt to discredit that work. The propositions were: I. There are divine precepts, which good men, notwithstanding their desire to observe them, are absolutely unable to obey; nor has God given them that measure of grace which is absolutely necessary

to render them capable of such obedience. II. No person in this corrupt state of nature can resist the influence of divine grace. III. In order to render human actions meritorious, or otherwise, it is not requisite that they be exempt from necessity, but only that they be free from constraint. IV. The Semi-pelagians admitted preventing grace to be necessary to every action; and their heresy consisted in this, that they allowed human will to be endowed with a power of resisting that grace, or complying with its influence. V. Whoever says that Christ died, or shed his blood, for all mankind, is a Semi-pelagian.² This condemnation afforded great matter of triumph to the Jesuits. But it did not quite dishearten the Jansenists, who, by a subtle distinction, the invention of the ingenious Antony Arnaud, screened themselves from it. They distinguished the matter of doctrine from the matter of fact; that is, they owned the five propositions to have been justly condemned, but maintained, that they were not to be found in the Book of Jansenius in the sense in which the pope had condemned them, and consequently, that they still might hold and defend them in the sense in which Jansenius had understood them.³ This gave rise to the famous question, whether the infallibility of the pope extended to matters of fact, or only to matters of doctrine; a question which Innocent was prevented by death from deciding. He died on the 7th of January 1655, having held the see ten years and four months, wanting eight days. To a profound ignorance of all theological matters this pope

¹ Janus Nicias Erythræus in Pinacotheca, p. 152, &c.

² Bullarium Roman. tom. 3, p. 261.

³ Du Mas Hist. des Cinq Propositions, p. 158.

¹ De Larry Hist. de Louis XIV., p. 263.

Alexander VII. elected. Banishes Donna Olympia from Rome. Alexander's bull against the Jansenists;—[Year of Christ, 1657.] Who are persecuted in France. The French ambassador insulted at Rome;—[Year of Christ, 1661.] That insult how revenged by the king.

joined the most shameful indolence. In the quarrels of princes he would neither interpose nor so much as offer his mediation; saying, that when they were tired with beat-

ing one another, they would agree of themselves. He built a magnificent palace for his family, and left them possessed of immense wealth.

ALEXANDER VII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIFTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1655.] Fabio Chigi, a native of Siena, was preferred to the vacant chair, on the 8th of April, under the name of Alexander VII. The new pope had scarce taken possession of the see, when he sent an express command to Donna Olympia to leave Rome in three days, to retire to Orvieto, and remain there till further orders. He intended to have called her to an account for the money that had passed through her hands. But in the mean time she died of the plague; and is said to have left two millions of crowns in money, besides several estates in land, a magnificent palace, and moveables of inestimable value. She bequeathed the whole to prince Pamfili, the late pope's nephew, who was left by Alexander to enjoy it undisturbed, as he owed his rise in the church to his uncle.

Alexander, in the beginning of his pontificate declared in very strong terms against nepotism. But he soon "became a man," according to the ludicrous phrase of the time, filled all the best employments, in the state as well as in the church, with his relations and nephews; and, dismissing his old friends, suffered himself to be entirely governed by them.¹

At the request and instances of this pope, seconded by those of the French king, Lewis XIV., the Jesuits, who had been banished out of the territories of Venice for observing the interdict, were restored by a decree of the senate, dated the 19th of January 1657.²

Alexander not only confirmed, at the instance of the Jesuits, the bull of Innocent, condemning the five propositions mentioned above, but, by a new bull, declared that the said propositions were the doctrine of Jansenius, and were contained in his book; nay, that they had been condemned in the "obvious sense," and the "sense of the author"—"in sensu obvio, in sensu ab auctore intento." This declaration was immediately opposed by the Jansenists, recurring to their usual distinction, that in "matters of fact" the pope was fallible, and consequently, that they were not bound to believe that those propositions were the

tenets of Jansenius, or that they had been condemned in the sense in which he had understood them. However, some of the more moderate among them offered to condemn the five propositions wherever they were found, and observe a profound silence concerning the "matter of fact." On the other hand, the Jesuits maintained, that when "matters of faith" were connected with, or depended upon, "matters of fact," the infallibility of the pope extended to both; nay, they procured, by their influence in cabinet councils, a mandate from Lewis XIV., commanding all within his dominions to receive a "formulary," or Confession of Faith, in which the doctrine condemned by the pope was owned to be the doctrine contained in the Book of Jansenius, styled Augustinus. They who refused to sign that formulary, were deprived of their livings, and either cast into prison, or sent into exile.¹ Thus matters continued during the present pontificate.

In 1661 a quarrel broke out between Alexander, and the French king, Lewis XIV., on occasion of an insult, offered by the Corsicans of the pope's guard, to the duke of Crequi, the king's ambassador at Rome. This affair is very differently related by different authors; but in this all agree, that the Corsicans fired at the ambassador, without any regard to the sacredness of his character, as he appeared at the window of his palace, on occasion of a quarrel between them and some of his domestics, and that a few days afterwards they fired at his coach as he and his lady passed by their guard-room, and killed one of her pages. As the pope delayed to give the required satisfaction, the king seized on the city of Avignon, and ordered a body of troops to file off for Italy. Alexander, terrified at these hostilities, thought it advisable to submit, and implore the clemency of the incensed monarch. Negotiations were set on foot, and in 1664 a peace was concluded at Pisa upon the most inglorious and mortifying conditions to the pope. For the conditions were, that the pope should send his nephew to Paris with

¹ Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. 5.

² Nani Hist. de Louis le Grand, tom. 3.

¹ Du Plessis d'Argentre Collect. Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus, tom. 3, p. 281—314.

Alexander's death;—[Year of Christ, 1667.] Clement IX. elected. Suspends the persecution of the Jansenists. His death;—[Year of Christ, 1669.] Clement X. elected. Dies;—[Year of Christ, 1676.]

the character of legate to give the king satisfaction; that cardinal Imperiali, who was governor of Rome when the insult was offered, should beg pardon of the king in person; that the pope should discharge his Corsican guards by a public edict; should erect a pyramid at Rome to preserve the memory of so notorious a breach of the law of nations, and of the punishment that had attended it; and lastly, should restore Castro to the duke of Parma, and Comachio to the duke of Modena, both which places he had seized, notwithstanding the interposition of the king in favor of those princes.¹

Alexander died on the 22d of May 1667, after a pontificate of twelve years, one month, and fourteen days. He is represented by the contemporary writers as a man of a mean genius, full of craft and dissimula-

tion, and on that account distrusted and despised by the Christian princes. However, he was a lover of learning, a generous encourager of the learned; took great delight in reading the Latin poets, and, as he knew most of them by heart, he frequently quoted them, but, perhaps, never more properly than when the cardinals came to congratulate him upon his exaltation, answering them with the words of Virgil:

“———Diem, quem semper acerbum
Semper honoratum (sic vos voluistis) habebō.”

It was in the pontificate of Alexander that Christina, queen of Sweden, abjured the protestant faith, and embraced that of Rome. But the life she led after her conversion, as it was called, did no great honor to her new religion.¹

CLEMENT IX., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SIXTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1667.] Alexander had for his successor Giulio Rospigliosi, a native of Pistoia. He was elected on the 20th of June, and took the name of Clement IX. He was no sooner elected, than hearkening to the remonstrances of the Jansenists, who, in the late pontificate, had refused to sign the above-mentioned formulary, without proper explications and distinctions, he declared himself satisfied with their receiving and signing it “sincerely,” instead of “purely and simply,” as had been required by his predecessor. This extraordinary condescension in the pope delivered the Jansenists from all their scruples, since they were thereby allowed to believe, that though the five pro-

positions were condemned, they might not be the doctrine of Jansenius, nor extracted from his book. They therefore signed the formulary, and condemned the five propositions without hesitation.² Thus was the fury of the Jesuits somewhat restrained, and peace, commonly called the peace of Clement IX., restored to the church. But Clement died soon after he had established the so much wished for tranquillity. His death happened on the 9th of December 1669, when he had governed the church two years, four months, and twenty days. The contemporary writers speak of him as a person endowed with every virtue becoming the high station to which he was raised.

CLEMENT X., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-SEVENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1670.] After a conclave that lasted near five months, cardinal Æmilius Altieri, come of a noble Roman family, was elected on the 29th of April 1670. He assumed the name of Clement X. But as he was far advanced in years, and a lover

of his ease, he neither undertook, nor performed any thing worthy of notice during the whole six years of his pontificate. He died on the 22d of July 1676, when he had presided in the see six years, two months, and twenty-three days.

¹ De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. 3. Nani, Rein-court. Contin. de Mezerai, &c.

¹ See Arkenholtz Memoirs of la Reine Christine.
² D'Argentre Collectio Judiciorum, &c. tom. 3. p. 336. Catechism Historique, &c. tom. 1. p. 352.

Innocent XI. elected. He abolishes nepotism. Suppresses the franchises;—[Year of Christ, 1677.] Quarrels with the king of France about the regale;—[Year of Christ 1678.] Four propositions adopted by the Gallican clergy. Conduct of the pope on that occasion. The franchises a new subject of quarrel between the pope and the king;—[Year of Christ 1687.]

INNOCENT XI., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1676.] The election of the new pope was prorogued by the intrigues of the cardinals, and foreign ministers, till the 10th of December, when Benedict Odeschalchi, a native of Como, in the duchy of Milan, was preferred to the see under the name of Innocent XI. He was a man of an irreproachable character, of uncommon courage, austere in his morals, and unfeignedly desirous of reforming the abuses that prevailed in the church and his court. He began with abolishing nepotism: for when his nephew came to congratulate him upon his promotion, he told him that he must not expect to have any share in the government, and strictly enjoined him neither to receive, nor to return any visits as nephew to the pope. But at the same time, that he might not complain of his having got nothing by the promotion of his uncle, he made over to him his whole paternal estate, amounting to thirty thousand crowns of yearly revenue, saying, he could bestow upon him what was his own, but could not dispose of what was St. Peter's.¹ As the "franchises," or "right of asylum," enjoyed by foreign ministers residing at Rome, proved a sanctuary for the greatest criminals, and by screening them from justice, encouraged them in their crimes, Innocent resolved to suppress them, the rather, as the ambassadors had extended this immunity to the streets and squares where their palaces stood. The imperial and Spanish ambassadors, and even queen Christina, readily acquiesced in this regulation. But the French ambassador, Marshal d'Etrees, refusing to agree to it, the pope allowed him to enjoy his ancient right, during his time. This condescension in his holiness to the French ambassador was owing to his being unwilling to quarrel with his master Lewis XIV., whose arms were become formidable to all Europe. However, he could not avoid quarreling with that powerful monarch the very next year. The subject of their quarrel was a right, called in France the regale, by which the king claimed the collation of all benefices, that became vacant in the diocese of a deceased bishop till the nomination of his successor, and likewise the granting of the investiture to every new bishop, and requiring him, on that occasion, to swear allegiance to him as his liege lord. These claims were vigorously opposed by the pope, and maintained with no less vigor by the

king. The pope issued out bull after bull, and the king as many severe edicts against all, who should bring into the kingdom any bulls, mandates, or monitories from Rome, or pay any regard to them. During the course of this long dispute, the French bishops, assembling by the king's order at Paris in 1682, confirmed and adopted the four following propositions, as the ancient doctrine of the Gallican church. I. That neither St. Peter, nor his successors, have received from God any power to intermeddle, directly or indirectly, in civil or temporal matters; and therefore that kings and princes are not liable in temporal matters to the ecclesiastical power, nor can they be deposed by the power of the keys, or their subjects be absolved from their fidelity and obedience to them, or their oaths of allegiance. II. That the authority of a general council is superior to that of the pope, agreeably to the fourth and fifth decrees of the council of Constance. III. That the rules, customs, and institutions, that have been received in the Gallican church, are to be preserved inviolable. IV. That the decisions of the pope are not infallible, without the consent and approbation of the church. These four propositions were solemnly adopted by the whole assembly, and proposed to the whole body of the clergy as an inviolable rule of faith. At the same time the king issued out a declaration in the form of an edict, commanding all his subjects to receive the said propositions, and the professors of divinity and canon law to teach them in the schools, with a strict prohibition to assert or maintain the contrary doctrine. Innocent thought it not advisable to proceed to extremities against the whole body of the Gallican clergy, supported and backed by the king, and therefore contented himself with declaring all the transactions of their assembly void and null, with reprimanding the bishops for abandoning the cause of the church, and employing men of learning to confute the above propositions.¹ But the doctrine, which those propositions contain, is held to this day by the Gallican church.

While this contest between the pope and the king was carried on with great resolution and warmth on both sides, another unexpectedly broke out, that left no room to hope for an accommodation. The pope had

¹ Guarnacci Hist. Pontiff. a Clement XI. ad Clement X. tom. 1. p. 1. et seq.

¹ See Cardinal Norris *Istoria della Investitura Ecclesiastica*. p. 547; et Heidegger *Hist. Papalus Period VII.* p. 555.

Innocent dies :—[Year of Christ 1689.] His character. The rise of Quietism in his time. Some account of that sect. Alexander VIII. elected, The franchises given up by the French king.

allowed, as has been said, the French ambassador, marshal d'Etrees, to enjoy the "franchise" during his time. He died in 1686, and the following year the king appointed the marquis De Lavardin to succeed him, with positive orders not to give up, but to assert, if necessary, even by force, the disputed privilege. In compliance with this order, the marquis made his public entry into Rome with two hundred gentlemen, and four hundred of the French marine guards. This the pope highly resented, and when the ambassador sent to demand an audience, he refused to receive him till he publicly renounced the usurped immunity, and even interdicted the church of St. Lewis, where the marquis used to assist at divine service. On the other hand the king, exasperated beyond measure at the treatment his ambassador met with at Rome, arrested the pope's nuncio at Paris, cardinal Renucci, caused his parliament to appeal to a general council against any rash measures the pope might be induced by the enemies of France to pursue, and seized on Avignon. But the pope still continued inflexible, and the contest was carried on with the greatest animosity till the death of the pope, which happened on the 12th of August 1689, when he had presided in the see twelve years, six months, and two days. He is numbered by all, who speak of him, among the best popes; and very deservedly, having made it the whole business of his pontificate to abolish the abuses which his predecessors had thought it advisable to connive at; to reform the manners of the clergy, as well as the laity, and restore, by many wise and salutary regulations, the ancient discipline of the church. He carried his zeal perhaps too far in commanding, on pain of excommunication, women of all ranks and conditions to cover their bosoms and necks up to the chin, and their arms down to their wrists, with some stuff that was not transparent, and absolutely prohibiting them the learning of music. Innocent having found, upon examining the accounts of the apostolic

chamber, that since the pontificate of Clement VIII., who died in 1603, nepotism had cost the holy see, seventeen millions, he drew up a bull to suppress it for ever. But the cardinals, all to a man, opposed its publication.¹

It was in this pope's time, in the year 1682, that Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, published at Rome his "*Spiritual Guide*," a book that gave great offence to many, especially to the Jesuits. For the whole of religion was there placed in a perfect *calm* and *tranquillity* of mind, absorbed in the Deity, and in a pure and disinterested love of the Supreme Being, that is, a love exempt from all views of interest, or hopes of reward. From the *calm* and *quiet* of mind, which this doctrine required, it took the name of Quietism, and those who embraced it, were called Quietists. As by such principles all kinds of external worship were rejected as insignificant and quite useless, the adversaries of Molinos, not satisfied with refuting his doctrine, as contrary to that of the church, accused him to the inquisition as a heretic, upon his refusing to retract it. He had many friends and disciples in Rome of rank and credit, and even some cardinals, nay, and was highly esteemed by the pope himself: yet the Jesuits, his most bitter enemies, being powerfully supported by the cardinal D'Etrees, prevailed at last; and the pope, in order to gratify them, was obliged, contrary to his own inclination, to abandon a man, to whom he had shown particular marks of his favor. Molinos was taken up by the inquisition in 1685, was obliged to own, and publicly renounce the errors, of which he was accused, and was thereupon condemned to perpetual imprisonment. That Molinos and his followers were guilty of the many shocking obscenities laid to their charge; that they maintained that "the sin of a man, united to God, is no sin, since God works in him, and with him, whatever he does," has been asserted by some, and denied by others.²

ALEXANDER VIII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ 1689.] Upon the decease of Innocent, cardinal Peter Otoboni, a native of Venice, was preferred to the chair, on the 6th of October, by the name of Alexander VIII. The king of France no sooner heard of the election of the new pope, than, being desirous of terminating the differences that had subsisted between him and the holy see, during the late pontificate, he ordered

the duke de Chaulnes, his ambassador extraordinary at Rome, to give up all claim to the franchises, and at the same time he restored the city and territory of Avignon. But

¹ Etat du Siege de Rome. Guarnacci Hist. Pontif. p. 232.

² See Weismen. Hist. Eccles. Sec. XVII. p. 555. Colonia Bibliotheca Quietist. p. 455—488. D'Argentre Collectio Judicorum, &c. tom. 3. p. 357.

The doctrine of the Gallican church condemned by Alexander. He dies ;—[Year of Christ, 1691.] Innocent XII. elected. He abolishes nepotism ;—[Year of Christ, 1692.] He condemns the four propositions adopted by the Gallican clergy ;—[Year of Christ, 1693 ;]—and archbishop Feneion's *Divine Love* ;—[Year of Christ, 1699.] His death. Clement XI. elected.

Alexander was not yet satisfied. He insisted upon the French bishops revoking the four propositions, received by their assembly in 1682; and upon their still maintaining them, he condemned the said propositions by a bull, dated the 30th January 1691, and threatened the bishops, though supported by the king, with the censures of the church.¹ But the rising storm was happily laid by

the death of the pope. He died on the 1st of February 1691, after a pontificate of one year nine months and twenty-six days. The many wise and salutary regulations, made by Innocent, were transgressed with impunity in the pontificate of Alexander, the ancient disorders were all revived, and nepotism was carried to the most scandalous height.¹

INNOCENT XII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTIETH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1689.] The next election was very slow, and fell at last upon cardinal Antony Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, and archbishop of Naples. He was elected on the 12th of July, and took the name of Innocent XII. He undertook, in imitation of the good pope Innocent XI., the reformation of the church and court. As nepotism had proved extremely prejudicial both to the church and state, he caused a bull to be drawn up, in the very beginning of his pontificate, suppressing it for ever.—The bull was warmly opposed by most of the cardinals. But Innocent was inflexible : he obliged all the cardinals, who were then in Rome, to sign it, and thus signed, it was published, in spite of all their remonstrances, with unusual solemnity.²

In 1693 Innocent condemned anew the four propositions concerning the power and fallibility of the pope, which had been adopted by the Gallican church, and condemned by his two immediate predecessors. On this occasion the king abandoned their protection, to the great surprise of the whole kingdom; and they were forced to submit, and renounce the doctrine which they had so solemnly established but a few years before.³ At this time the pope was mediating a peace between the king and the emperor Leopold, and it was to gain the favor and good will

of his holiness, that Lewis left the bishops at his mercy.

In 1699 was condemned by Innocent, the book which the famous De la Mothe Feneion, archbishop of Cambray, had published under the title of “the Maxims of Saints.” In that piece “pure and disinterested love” was recommended and inculcated as alone becoming the saints. As the book made a great noise, recourse was had to the pope, who appointed a particular congregation to examine the doctrine it contained. The book was declared “unsound” by the divines, who composed that congregation. Twenty-three propositions were judged erroneous, and the pope condemned them by a bull, dated at Rome, the 13th of March 1699.—That excellent prelate not only acquiesced in the sentence, but read it to his people in the pulpit at Cambray, exhorted them to submit to it, and would not allow any of his friends to defend what the pope had condemned.²

Innocent died on the 27th of September 1700, having governed the church nine years two months and fifteen days. He was universally beloved for his eminent virtues, and is greatly commended by all the contemporary writers for his zealous endeavors to reform the church and the court, though they were not attended with all the wished-for success.

CLEMENT XI., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIRST BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1700.] The new pope Clement XI., a native of Urbino, called before his election, John Francis Albani, was

unanimously chosen on the 3d of November, though he was then only in the 51st year of his age. He declined, at first, the offered

¹ Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. 5. p. 392.

² Etat du Siege de Rome, tom. 2. p. 110 ; et Bullar. Bulla 19.

³ Etat, ibid. p. 146.

¹ Etat. du Siege de Rome, tom. 2. p. 84.

² Toussaint's Hist. de l'Eglise de Meaux, l. 5. p. 485, et seq. Ramsey Vie de Feneion.

Clement greatly embarrassed in the war about the Spanish succession. Dispute between the Jesuits and other missionaries about the Chinese ceremonies. Charge brought against the Jesuits. The ceremonies in dispute. Decisions of the popes concerning them. Condemned in China by the apostolic vicar. Forbidden by Clement;—[Year of Christ, 1704.] But still tolerated by the Jesuits.

dignity, alledging that he feared his extreme fondness for his nephews, and the rest of his family, would betray him, to the great dishonor of the holy see, into a transgression of the bull against nepotism, which he himself had drawn up, and zealously promoted. However, he yielded the third day, to the great satisfaction of the cardinals, who entertained the highest opinion of his abilities, and his skill in state affairs. In the war that broke out in the beginning of his pontificate, between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, about the Spanish succession, he resolved to stand neuter, and only act the part of a mediator. But his refusing to acknowledge either of the two competitors, Philip V. or Charles III., or grant to either the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, disobliged both, and involved the ecclesiastical state in all the calamities of a war. But Clement was not thereby diverted from attending to the affairs of the church. He hearkened to the accusations brought against the Jesuits by the Dominicans and other missionaries in China. The grand accusation was, that they tolerated in their converts the idolatrous practices of their old religion, and thus introduced a motley mixture of Christianity and paganism. The practices that they connived at and their adversaries branded them with idolatry, were: I. That they permitted the new Christians to adore the same god, whom they adored before under the name of *Tien*, which word in the Chinese language signifies the "heavens." The Chinese deity, was, as the adversaries of the Jesuits pretended, either the "material heavens," or a deity infinitely inferior, in excellence and perfection, to the God of the Christians. Were that true, the fathers of the society would, without all dispute, be guilty of the charge brought against them. But they maintained, that the Chinese, by their *Tien* meant, not the "material heaven," but the "Lord of heaven," an eternal and all-perfect being; the Creator and governor of the universe; and, in short, the same God whom the Christians adore, with all the attributes, which they ascribe to him. The Chinese, therefore, were no idolators, according to the Jesuits, but knew, and worshiped the true God, and consequently their order could not justly be accused of permitting idolatry in permitting their proselytes to adore the same God after their conversion, as they had adored before it.—II. The rights and ceremonies that were performed yearly by the learned among the Chinese to the memory of their great lawgiver Confucius, and by every family in honor of their ancestors, were tolerated by the Jesuits, but condemned by the other missionaries as rank idolatry. On these occasions the Chinese prostrate themselves before

a kind of tablet, on which the names of their ancestors, and that of Confucius, are written in golden letters, make offering to them of rich perfumes, victuals, fruits, &c., and repeat a great variety of prayers; which being ended, the person who officiates, dismisses the assembly with a blessing. Are these ceremonies only civil institutions, as was maintained by the Jesuits, or of a religious nature, as was asserted by the other missionaries? The deciding of this important question was, at last, referred to the infallible heads of the church; and surely, nothing has ever more plainly shown their total want of that prerogative, than their decisions concerning it. In 1645, Innocent X. highly disapproved of the conduct of the Jesuits, and stigmatized the ceremonies which they tolerated, with the name of "Chinese Superstitions." In 1656, Alexander VII. allowed the Chinese converts to observe several of the ceremonies, which Innocent had condemned. As the Jesuits had now one infallible pope for them, and one no less infallible pope against them, the succeeding popes avoided, for some time, to come to any determination, since they could come to none without contradicting that of one of their predecessors. Thus the contest was carried on with great warmth in China, to the inexpressible prejudice of the Christian religion; the more sensible among the Chinese desiring the missionaries to settle among themselves what was, and what was not to be believed and practised in their religion, before they recommended it to others. In 1693, a French priest, named Charles Maigrot, who had been sent into China with the character of apostolic vicar; and was afterward consecrated titular bishop of Conon, in that empire; condemned, by a public edict, the opinions and practices of the Jesuits as absolutely inconsistent with the principles of the Gospel and the purity of the Christian religion. From this sentence the Jesuits appealed to the pope, Innocent XII. who, in 1699, appointed a congregation to examine and finally decide this tedious controversy. But Innocent dying in the meantime, his successor, Clement XI., forbade, by a solemn decree in 1704, the use of the ceremonies in question, and at the same time required the general of the Jesuits, by a private brief, to see that his edict was punctually complied with by all under his obedience. The Jesuits did not acquiesce in the papal decree, but explaining it, as forbidding these ceremonies in a religious sense, and not as political institutions, in which light alone, they said, they were considered by the Chinese, they still maintained that they might be innocently observed by the new Christians; and continued, in spite of the pope's prohibition, to permit them.—

Clement's final decision. The controversy between the Jansenists and Jesuits revived, and upon what occasion. Clement's bull "Vineam Domini," &c. [Year of Christ, 1713.] His bull "Unigenitus," how received in France. He separates himself from the communion of those who refuse to accept it:—[Year of Christ, 1718.]

Thus was the war renewed between the Jesuits and their adversaries; and on both sides carried on, in China and in Europe, with more acrimony than ever. At last Clement, apprehending the consequences of his provoking so formidable an order as that of the Jesuits, thought it advisable to appease their resentment by a new decree; and, accordingly, he issued one in 1715, allowing the missionaries and their Chinese proselytes to use the word *Tien* to express the Divine nature, provided they added to it the word *Tchu*; these two words signifying the "Lord of heaven," and plainly showing that they adored not the "material heaven," but the "Maker of heaven," whom the Christians adored. By the same decree most of the ceremonies which Innocent X. had condemned, and Clement himself had forbidden, were permitted, upon condition that they should be considered by those who performed them, not as religious but as civil institutions, or merely as marks of respect to their ancestors and their lawgiver. Thus the Jesuits triumphed in the end; and they have been suffered, ever since the publication of this last decree, to pursue unmolested their own methods of conversion.

In the pontificate of Clement was revived the controversy between the Jansenists and Jesuits, on occasion of a question, probably proposed with that view, and commonly called "the case of conscience." The question was, "whether absolution could be granted to a man, who received *purely and simply* the above-mentioned formulary,¹ and yet believed, in his heart, that the pope and the church might be mistaken in matters of fact?" Or that the "five propositions" might not be found in the book of Jansenius, in the sense in which they had been condemned by the pope? In answer to this question forty doctors of the Sorbonne gave it under their hands, that absolution might be granted to such a person. As the pope's infallibility was thereby denied with respect to "matters of fact," the Jesuits and their friends, applying to his holiness, procured a bull, enjoining a belief of "matters of fact," as well as of "matters of doctrine," or opinion, and at the same time declaring, that a respectful silence was not sufficient with regard to the former, as was pretended by the Jansenists, but a positive assent was absolutely necessary. This bull begins with the words "Vineam Domini," and is dated the 20th of October, 1705. It was sent by the king to the assembly of the bishops, then sitting at Paris; to the parliament; and to the college of the Sorbonne, and by all received, for the sake of peace, "saving the

rights of the bishops, the liberties of the *Gallican* church, and the prerogatives of the crown." Thus was tranquillity restored. But it was soon disturbed anew on the following occasion. The famous Pasquier Quenel, a priest of the oratory, an intimate friend of the celebrated Arnauld, and after his death the leading man of his party, had published, in 1671, a book of "Moral Reflections" upon the text of the New Testament. This piece he afterwards improved, with many additions and practical observations, calculated to awaken in the reader the most lively sentiments of piety and religion. It was received with universal applause, and highly commended by several bishops, nay, and by the pope himself, Clement XI. But the Jesuits discovered in it the very quintessence of Jansenism, which had escaped his holiness's infallibility, and was insensibly imbibed by those who perused it. They publicly inveighed against it, as conveying the venom of Jansenism under the specious appearances of piety and devotion. They did not stop there, but having extracted from the book one hundred and three propositions, they prevailed upon the king, by their great interest at court, to apply to Rome for a bull condemning the said propositions, and the book itself. Clement readily granted the king's request, and, in 1713, issued out the famous bull *Unigenitus*, by which one hundred and one propositions were condemned in Quenel's book, the very book upon which Clement himself had bestowed the highest encomiums but a few years before. It was accepted by forty bishops, and opposed by seven, with cardinal Noailles, archbishop of Paris, at their head. But the bull being, notwithstanding their opposition, registered, by the king's express command, in the college of the Sorbonne, and in parliament, it obtained the force of a law. It would be both tedious and foreign to my purpose to relate the disturbances that attended the publication of this bull in France, and the severe treatment they met with from the king, who, instead of receiving it, appealed from the pope to a general council. I shall therefore only observe, that Clement, by a pastoral letter, dated the 8th of September, 1718, and beginning with the words "*pastoralis officii*," separated himself from the communion of all, by what dignity soever distinguished, who did not receive his constitution; that thereupon cardinal Noailles, on the 24th of the same month and year, published his appeal, dated the 3d of April of the preceding year, but was, at last, in 1728, prevailed upon to withdraw his appeal, and receive the constitution. Most of the bishops and their clergy followed his example. Thus was the public tranquillity restored. But in that kingdom many, both of the clergy and

¹ See above, p. 331.

Clement quarrels with the king of Sicily. He dies;—[Year of Christ, 1721.] His character. Innocent XIII. elected. Maintains and defends the bull *Unigenitus*. Invests the emperor with the kingdom of Naples. Dies;—[Year of Christ, 1724.]

the laity, still adhere to the doctrine of Jan-senius, and wait only for a favorable opportunity of reviving the controversy, and rekindling the flame that is covered, but not yet extinguished.

In 1717 Clement quarreled with the new king of Sicily, the duke of Savoy, about the Sicilian monarchy, as it is called; and upon the king's refusing to give it up, he laid the whole island under an interdict. But the king, paying no regard to the interdict, ordered the clergy to perform divine service as usual, and banished all who refused to comply. Of the monarchy of Sicily, and its origin, I have spoken at length elsewhere.¹

Clement had the misfortune to find himself constantly, we may say, between two fires: he could grant no favor to either of the pretenders to the Spanish monarchy without disobliging the other, and was thus looked upon by both, and treated as an enemy. To gratify Philip V., and avoid an open rupture with the court of Spain, he conferred, much against his will, the dignity of cardinal upon the famous Alberoni. That promotion was highly resented by the emperor, pretending that the new cardinal kept up a correspondence with the rebels of Hungary, and had solicited the Turk to join them. The menaces of the emperor, and the seizing of Comachio by the imperial forces, obliged the pope to levy troops, in order to repel force by force. But at the approach

of the emperor's army, consisting chiefly of Lutherans, he was glad to conclude a peace upon the terms prescribed to him.—In short, his pontificate was, from the beginning to the end, an uninterrupted series of troubles and cross events; and he was frequently heard to say, that he wished he repented as sincerely of his sins, as he did of his having suffered himself to be persuaded to accept of the pontifical dignity. Death put an end to his life and his troubles on the 19th of November, 1721, after a pontificate of twenty years, four months, and sixteen days. He was a man of an untainted character, was well skilled in state affairs, and surpassed, in sagacity, most of the preceding popes, but was often brought into difficulties by preferring the judgment of others to his own. He was well acquainted with scholastic divinity, and a very elegant Latin writer, as appears from his "Letters," his "Brevia Selecta," his "Orationes Consistoriales," his "Homilies," and his "Bullarium," of which a magnificent edition was published, after his death, by his nephew, cardinal Hannibal Albani. He was not altogether free from nepotism; but he never suffered it to lead him into those scandalous excesses, that had, in latter times, so disgraced the pontificates of most of his predecessors. Upon the whole, Clement XI. may deservedly be placed among the good popes.¹

INNOCENT XIII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SECOND BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1721.] In the room of Clement was unanimously elected, on the 8th of May, Michael Angelo Conti, of one of the most illustrious families of Rome, who took the name of Innocent XIII. He was a man of excellent parts, and of an irreproachable character, and had distinguished himself, when a cardinal, above most of the sacred college. But the infirmities to which he had been for some years subject, prevented him from making any figure as a pope. Soon after his promotion he received a letter, signed by seven French bishops, begging his holiness would be pleased to revoke, or, at least, to modify the bull *Unigenitus*, as surreptitious, and only calculated to keep those disunited, whom it was incumbent upon him to unite. In that letter, dated the 9th of June 1721, they urged so many arguments against the bull, that it rather deserved the name of a book

than a letter. Innocent referred it to the inquisition; and by a decree of that tribunal, dated the 29th of March 1722, it was condemned as schismatical, and tending to promote heresy; and all were forbidden on pain of excommunication, to publish, to peruse, or to keep it by them.

Innocent consented at last to invest the emperor, Charles VI., with the kingdom of Naples, but solemnly protested against the investiture of Parma and Piacenza, granted by that prince to the infant Don Carlos, pretending those states to be fiefs of the church, and not of the empire. He acquitted the persecuted cardinal Alberoni, received him into favor, and died on the 7th of March 1724, having governed the church two years and ten months. He left most of the chief employments possessed by the very numerous tribe of his nephews and relations, most

¹ See vol. II. p. 423.

¹ Polidorus de Vita et Rebus Gestis Clementis XI. Morci Ristretto della Vita de Clemente XI.

Benedict XIII. elected. Holds a provincial synod in the Lateran. Confirms the bull *Unigenitus*;—[Year of Christ, 1727.] Confers the dignity of cardinal upon his favorite Coscia, who governs uncontrolled. The bull *Unigenitus* received by cardinal Noailles;—[Year of Christ, 1728.] Benedict dies;—[Year of Christ, 1730.] His character. Remarkably kind to the poor.

of them persons of the first rank in Rome. The day before his death he was prevailed upon by the French ambassador to sign a dispensation for the prince De Buillon, eldest son to the duke of that name, to marry the princess of Turenne, his brother's widow.¹

BENEDICT XIII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-THIRD BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1724.] Upon the death of Innocent, cardinal Vincenzo Maria Orsini, a Dominican friar, and archbishop of Benevento, was raised to the chair on the 29th of May. He was a native of the kingdom of Naples, and the eldest son of the duke of Gravino of that kingdom; but, being of a religious turn of mind, had, from his tender years, embraced a monastic life in the order of St. Dominic. He was, in consideration of his noble descent, and exemplary life, preferred by Clement X., in 1672, to the dignity of cardinal, and soon afterwards to the archbishopric of Benevento. He was, with the utmost difficulty, prevailed upon to accept of the papal dignity, alledging, that he was utterly unacquainted with state affairs, and that it was too late for him to acquaint himself with them. But being forced to acquiesce in his election, he made it the whole business of his pontificate to reduce the pleasures and pomp of his court, to suppress abuses, and restrain the licentiousness of the clergy. With that view he held a provincial synod in the Lateran in 1725. But the Jesuits, of whom three were, at this time, cardinals, highly provoked at his approving the doctrine of the Dominicans concerning grace and predestination, found means to render all his endeavors ineffectual; nay, they took occasion, from his enmity to perukes, and his ordering the clergy of all ranks to wear their own hair, to expose both him and his council to contempt and ridicule. In 1727, Benedict published a bull, beginning with the word "*pretiosus*," to confirm the bull "*Unigenitus*." But as he adopted, in his bull, the system of the Dominicans, the Jesuits pretended that, instead of condemning, he had approved the doctrine of Jansenius. Indeed the doctrine of the Dominicans, with respect to grace and predestination, differs very little, if at all, from that of the Jansenists. But they now disguise their real tenets with terms and distinctions evidently borrowed from the schools of the Jesuits, and have, on that account, been severely reproached by the Jansenists with betraying the cause of truth.¹

Benedict would not suffer any of his re-

lations to interfere in the government. But his extraordinary kindness to the famous Nicholas Coscia, the confidence he placed in him, and his admitting him at last, though of a very mean descent, into the sacred college, offended the cardinals more than the most scandalous nepotism could have done. They pretended, that the dignity of cardinal ought to be the reward, not of private, but of public services only; and even compared the promoting of Coscia to so high a station to the promotion formerly made by Julius III. of his monkey-keeper to the same station. However, the favorite was no sooner vested with his new dignity, than the courtiers all strove, and among them some cardinals, who should be the foremost to congratulate him upon his promotion, and recommend themselves to his favor and protection. From that time he governed quite uncontrolled, while the good pope was wholly employed in visiting hospitals, and in such like works of charity, or in forming impracticable schemes to unite all Christian sects in one church and one faith.

One of the most remarkable events of Benedict's pontificate was the submission of the aged cardinal Noailles, who, in 1728, consented at last to receive, and to sign the bull *Unigenitus*, to the inexpressible joy of his holiness; and he immediately notified it to the cardinals in a full consistory, called for that purpose, requiring them all to write separately to him, and renew the so long interrupted correspondence between them, and so worthy a member of their college.

Benedict died on the 21st of February 1730, when he had presided in the see five years, eight months, and twenty-three days. He had ever led a most exemplary life, had ever been remarkable for the austerity of his morals, and the purity of his manners, was possessed of every Christian virtue in a most eminent degree, and in piety no ways inferior to any of the popes of the primitive times. His kindness to the poor was quite extraordinary and striking. He used to call them his nephews and relations, ordered the gates of the Vatican to stand ever open to them; admitted to his presence all who pre-

¹ *Lettres Provinciales*, Lett. II.

¹ Guarnacci Vit. Pontiff.

Benedict an enemy to all pomp and show. Clement XII. elected. Calls cardinal Coscia, and his accomplices, to an account. Quarrels with most of the Christian princes. Dies;—[Year of Christ, 1740.]

sented themselves, and at all hours of the day heard their complaints, and never failed to relieve such of them as he found, upon inquiry, to stand in real need of relief. In order to be better able to provide for them, without putting the apostolic chamber to any extraordinary expenses, he fixed the expense of his own table at eight baiocchi a day, scarce six pence English, drinking no wine, and living only upon vegetables. He visited all the public hospitals in town, at least, thrice a week; frequently administered to the sick their medicines with his own hand, and, when he found any of them at the point of death, he kneeled down by them and prayed till they expired. He was an utter enemy to all pomp and show, and would even have dismissed his guards, saying, "such marks of sovereignty became not the servant of servants, the successors of a poor fisherman," but was prevailed upon, not without much difficulty, to lay aside

that resolution. However, he made very little use of his guards, but walked out in the dusk of the evening to visit his sick friends, or went in a coach, attended by one servant only. Upon the whole, he was, with respect to his private character, one of the best popes we read of since the foundation of the see of Rome to his time. But if we view him in a public character, we shall, perhaps, find him to have been one of the worst. He left the government entirely in the hands of Coscia, and his other favorites, and entertained so high an opinion of their integrity, that he would hearken to no complaints against them, though guilty of the most enormous and notorious extortions. It must farther be owned, that this respectable pope betrayed, in most of his actions, some foible; and that, after all, neither his prudence nor his abilities were equal to so high a station.¹

CLEMENT XII., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOURTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1739.] The new election was protracted by political intrigues, and the disagreement of the different parties, for the space of near five months, that is, till the 12th of July, when the Albani party, consisting of the creatures of Clement XI., prevailed at last; and, by their interest, Laurence Corsini, a native of Florence, was raised to the papal chair, under the name of Clement XII. He began his pontificate with obliging cardinal Coscia, and those, whom he had employed, to give an account of their late administration, and answer the many accusations brought against them by persons of all ranks and conditions. They were tried by a particular congregation, appointed for that purpose, and it plainly appearing that they had defrauded the apostolic chamber of immense sums, they were sentenced to make them good, which reduced them almost to beggary. We are told, that a very small share of the sums which they were forced to refund, came into the apostolic chamber, his holiness having privately disposed of it to his nephews and relations.

Clement refused at first to confirm the infant Don Lewis in the archbishopric of Toledo, but was in the end obliged to yield, and even to distinguish him, though but eight years old, with the dignity of cardinal. He quarrelled with most of the Christian princes, especially with the emperor Charles, claiming a right to dispose of the duchy of Parma, as a fief of the empire, while his holiness obstinately maintained it to be a fief of the church.

Clement died on the 6th of February 1740, when he had governed the church nine years, six months, and twenty-five days. He was a man of learning, and an encourager of the learned, but left no writings behind him besides some bulls, and among these one, allowing the protestants, who should embrace the Roman catholic religion, to continue in the possession of the church lands, which they held before their conversion. He improved the Vatican library with a noble collection of very scarce and valuable books.

¹ Guarnacci Vit. Pontiff.

Benedict XIV. chosen pope. His zeal for a reformation procures him the denomination of the "Protestant Pope" He dies;—[Year of Christ, 1758.]

BENEDICT XIV., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIFTH BISHOP OF ROME.

[Year of Christ, 1758.] The college of cardinals was, at this time, divided into two parties, the one consisting of the creatures of the Albana, and the other of those of the Corsina family. As they were pretty equal in numbers, and neither would yield to the other, the contest lasted six months and some days. During that time, several cardinals of both parties, no longer able to bear their close confinement in the height of the summer heats, chose to quit the field of battle, and reserve themselves for a future chance. At last, the Albana party carried the day, and by them was elected on the 17th August, Prosper Lambertini, a native of Bologna, and archbishop of that city, who assumed the name of Benedict XIV. He was a man of an untainted character, of extraordinary parts, and in every respect worthy of and equal to so high a station. He undertook in the very beginning of his pontificate, the Herculean labor of cleansing the church as well as the court, and extirpating the many crying abuses that had taken deep root in both. His zealous endeavors were not quite destitute of success. But his diminishing the number of festivals, his abolishing some vain and senseless ceremonies, his dislike of the grosser superstitions that prevailed in the church, and his undisguised disapprobation of the many pious, or rather impious frauds, countenanced or connived at by his predecessors, gave great offence to some bigoted cardinals, and procured him the odious denomination of "the Protestant Pope" from the deluded multitude. He was a generous and munificent encourager of learning, and himself a most learned writer. His works, published at Rome, soon after his death, in twelve volumes quarto, will be a lasting monument of his extensive knowledge and profound erudition. But as the

actions of this pope, who died on the 2d of May, 1758, as well as those of the present pope, Clement XIII., elected in his room on the 6th of July of the same year, are sufficiently known to the present generation, I leave those who may hereafter undertake the continuation of this work, to transmit them to posterity, and close "the History of the Popes from the foundation of the see of Rome to the present time," the result of above twenty years labor.

It would betray an unpardonable presumption in me to imagine, that in so voluminous a work I have fallen into no mistakes. But I can say with the strictest truth, that I have spared no pains, no labor, or industry to avoid even the smallest. How far my endeavors may have been attended with success, I shall leave those to judge who judge with knowledge, candor, and impartiality; but I flatter myself, that the errors which may occur, are neither numerous nor important, and consequently that my labors may prove, in some degree, serviceable to the protestant cause, the cause of truth. I shall, therefore, conclude with offering the just tribute of my gratitude to the ALMIGHTY, who has enabled me, in my advanced years, to pursue and complete so toilsome a work, notwithstanding the violent and repeated efforts of the enemies of truth, and their unnatural allies, to divert me from it. May the detection of the many gross and pernicious errors which I have shown, in the course of this history, to have been engrafted, from time to time, upon the pure religion brought down from heaven by "the Author and Finisher of our faith," lead my readers to reject "the commandments and doctrines of men," and place their sole confidence in his holy word.



CONTINUATION
OF
BOWER'S
HISTORY OF THE POPES.

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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

THERE is a great difference between a historian of original research, and one who depends on secondary authorities. The one consults the sources, the other only the streams. And we admit that the true idea of a historian is of the former kind—one who uses original records, studies them, forms his opinions alone on pure evidence, and takes no modern annalist or theorizer for a guide in the facts and through the mazes of historical science. And we make this concession, merely to add to it the acknowledgment, which truth demands, that we have had only secondary documents, though of great respectability and credibility, in the preparation of our portion of the *Lives of the Popes*. Our materials seem good as far as they go; but they are neither so pure, nor so full, as we should prefer. We have endeavored to consult and compare the best authorities, and to unite the results for the confidence of our countrymen. And, yet, it is but honest to avow that our work of continuation is neither so complete, nor so excellent, as in other circumstances we could both desire and anticipate.

It should also be remembered that we are only *continuing* a work of sketches; that we do not profess or aim to give a full biography of any one of the popes, or to supersede such a work whenever published; and that our views will be met and our pledges redeemed, should we furnish a continuation in the same style and method, substantially as are exemplified in the work of our author. If our execution is humble, so also is our profession; and the coincidence evinces, at least, our honesty, as it may also demonstrate what should be the expectation of the reader.

As to the disputes, protestant and papal, which our author had to encounter in his day, and which were so ferocious and personal, so uncompromising and virulent, we owe them, probably, little or no consideration. Our author himself replied to them, and put his accusers to the worse in the combat. Whether or not he was a plagiarist, whether he pirated his materials or not from Tillemont and Bruys, from Baronius and Bellarmin, and Du Pin, as well as other writers, chiefly Romanists, or only used them in a legitimate way, and with confessing honesty, is a question comparatively of no very great importance to the public. But there is another question of very great importance—Is his work authentic as a history? Is it true and correct? May we rely on its statements as valid and truthful? The affirmative is our full persuasion; and if this is true, then is his work one of great historical merit. We refer the reader to our *Introduction* to this edition, for our views of it in this relation; and to the deliberate judgment of the Reverend Doctor Samuel Miller, of Princeton, for the views of all learned protestants, especially of later ages and modern times, in regard to its authenticity and worth as a rich and credible history: which judgment—and who in the country is more competent—will be found in the first volume of this edition. As to the calumnies of Romanists and their approved oracles—we may well expect them to visit any work of light which shows their system and their course in characters of truth; and we may well leave them too where we find them, agreeably to that wisdom of our Lord, “Let them alone; they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.” What kind of *History of the Popes* will that be—which never was or shall be written—that tells the truth and yet pleases Romanists? Let us not be so silly or unjust as to expect what is impossible, or condemn a work of great merit to an ordeal that is unreasonable. Let Romanists, and Jesuits, and infidels, say what they will, and answer it to God. They have

a common cause—and we display on our banners this motto of triumph, against all *the armies of the aliens*—“*IF GOD BE FOR US, WHO CAN BE AGAINST US ?*”

In his seventh and last volume, quarto, Bower treats in all of forty-nine popes, and to Clement XIII, then alive, fifty ; but not with equal extent and minuteness of narration throughout. From Pope Urban V, enthroned in 1362, to Pope Clement VII, enthroned in 1523, that is, from the one hundred and ninety-seventh pope to the two hundred and seventeenth, twenty-one popes in all, he has devoted more than four-fifths of his volume, or about four hundred and forty-four pages ; while to the twenty-eight popes that remain, he has given less than sixty pages ; bestowing on each of the twenty-one, more than the average of twenty-two pages, and on the twenty-eight that remain, about two pages on an average to each. Thus, for upwards of two hundred years of the most modern part of his work, he is very succinct and general, and his reasons for this, as exemplified *seriatim* from the times of Pope Paul III, enthroned in 1534, inclusive, to the end of his volume and his work, we leave others to conjecture. Such, however, is the fact, and in reference to the then reigning Pope, Clement XIII, he says very little indeed, “ as the actions of this pope are sufficiently known to the present generation.” From this example we might feel authorized to give sketches, facts in outline, and general statements, since we can no more, instead of prolonged and copious commentary, or minute details of personal biography, varying with the circumstances of every individual reign. Indeed, as we understand the duties of a continuator, he is obligated not at all to be more diffuse, or extensive, or elaborate, than his author ; though, should he judge it proper to be more ample and complete, he is restrained by no law from doing it ; while his readers could neither demand it at his hands, nor be properly otherwise than sensible of the gratuity, should he execute it with tolerable success.

The difficulties in the way of a continuator of Bower’s History of the Popes, in this country, are practically great, and even formidable. They are properly and mainly three-fold ; respecting the materials to be procured, time for their due comprehension and arrangement, and the qualifications, of a personal sort, for the finished execution of the work in a proper manner.

More difficulty has been experienced in obtaining the requisite materials than was anticipated. We have written to Europe, and received thence some valuable accessions to our cis-Atlantic means ; but nothing less than a foreign voyage, and a general exploration of libraries, and converse with the learned for several years, and the best opportunities afforded, could suffice for the most full and accurate account of the last seven of the popes of Rome : and all our materials here are, confessedly, general and insufficient to that end, however authentic and valuable as far as they proceed, and however suitable and proper as a continuation.

If his humble office, as mainly a compiler from the works of others, promise little honor or emolument to himself, he will be satisfied, and count it good success, if the result shall be found authentic, correct, and useful. It is an age, and a country, where the precious cause of protestant truth and Christian liberty, is in crisis and in peril : while every patriot and every Christian is peculiarly obligated to do something for the interests of man and the glory of God, which may tend to the prosperity and the perfection of our political and protestant liberties. The aphorism of Lord Bacon, that *KNOWLEDGE IS POWER*, was never truer, or more applicable, than at the present period, and in our own nation. Christianity is the grand promoter and patron of knowledge. All the interests of society flourish, where knowledge and Christian influence predominate together. And we trust in God that it is not in the power of popery, or infidelity, or human folly in any other form, to roll back the orb of day, and curtain again the thick darkness of the night of the dark ages over the mind of the nations, or invade with triumph our western hemisphere or our beloved country.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPE, OR BISHOPS OF ROME.

CLEMENT XIII, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH BISHOP OF ROME.

GEORGE II AND GEORGE III, *Kings of England*.—LOUIS XV, *King of France*.

[Year of Christ, 1758—69.] The preceding pope, Benedict XIV, having died, May 2d, 1758, after an interval of two months, Charles Rezzonico was elected his successor, July 6th, 1758, and assumed the title of Clement XIII. He was born in Venice in 1693, and was consequently sixty-five years old at his accession.

There seems to be some general reason with the conclave of cardinals for the elevation, preferably, of aged candidates. Vacancies more frequently occur as the result; and if the term of each is shorter, the terms themselves are more frequent, and the successful candidates are comparatively numerous.—From Alexander VI to Paul IV inclusive, the average age of the ten popes is, as nearly as we can ascertain their respective ages, about seventy years; and the last in this decade attained the age of eighty-three years; while the average reign of forty-one popes, from Alexander VI to the present time, including Gregory XVI, is eight years and five months; covering a period of three hundred and forty-five years. Of these, the longest reign was that of Pius VI, twenty-five years; and next, his immediate successor, Pius VII, twenty-four; then Urban VIII, twenty-one, and Clement XI, twenty years, while several of them were very short; six reigns were each less than a year, one of them only twelve days, another eighteen, and another twenty-one days. Of five popes in succession, four reigned, ending with Leo XI, only one year and five days collectively; so fatal was their elevation to the supreme pontificate, foregoing their “princely mantle” for a brief tiara—and then a shroud of comparatively durable, if not desirable decoration.

It was two months and four days from the demise of the former pope, till the election of his successor. Whether the result was

retarded or not, by the ordinary disarray of parties in the conclave, as the creatures of the antagonist factions of the Albani and Corsini families in the former election, it seems just, as it is now accredited, to impute the elevation of Rezzonico to the arts of the Jesuits and the powerful influence of the empress, Maria Theresa. His predecessor reigned long, and comparatively well; and had he continued for a few years more, it is probable, as it was apprehended, that he would have coerced the order and “reduced it to subordination by a searching and radical reform;” if, indeed, his measures would not have extended further to diminish or suppress it. This will account for their alertness to secure *a man after their own heart* as the successor of Benedict; and Clement, probably knowing his obligations, remembered them with an appropriate gratitude. He conferred on the empress the title of *apostolic majesty*, and patronized the Jesuits in many ways; little recking of the means by which he would attain the end, he advanced their interests, even at the sacrifice of his own honor, peace, and safety.

Forty-four cardinals constituted the conclave at the time of his election. Archinto, who had exercised great sway under the previous pontificate, at the first scrutiny had twenty-three votes. His party, however, were soon divided, and reinforced the faction of Cavalchini, on whom were united twenty-seven of the suffrages. But the French faction repelled the nomination of that prelate, because he was connected with the Jesuits, and because he had aided the canonization of Bellarmin, the fiery writer who, in his works, extolled regicide. The cardinals Passionei, Spinelli, and, afterwards, the Venetian, Charles Rezzonico, were nominated, the last of whom obtained the majority.

As soon as that cardinal perceived that his elevation was secured, he uttered lamentable cries, shed tears, raised his eyes and arms towards heaven, declared himself unworthy of such great honor, and refused to put on the pontifical ornaments. He played the comedy so perfectly, that the members of the conclave pressed around him, that he might receive their adoration.¹ As they could not stop his lamentations, one of them exclaimed: "Well, my lords, let us leave this brayler; we have nothing to do, since he will not accept the tiara; let us nominate another pope!" Upon hearing that, Rezzonico replied—"No, in the name of God, you shall not do it; I accept." Then wiping away his tears, he called his conclavist, proceeded to his toilette, and was enthroned under the name of Clement XIII.

Charles Rezzonico belonged to a family of Como, in the territory of Milan. He had been, at first, an associate papal prothonotary, governor of the cities of Rieta and of Fano, then auditor of the rota, for the Venetian commonwealth, and finally a cardinal. Scarcely seated on the papal throne, the new pontiff, who secretly was united with the society of Jesuits, announced that he would defend those fathers against the French philosophers, and that he was determined not to make any concession to the notions of the age. The disciples of Ignatius Loyola, then conceived the hope of triumphing over their enemies, and solicited the court of Rome to revoke the brief of Benedict XIV relative to the affairs of Portugal.

The cardinal Saldanha, appointed papal commissary to execute the bull, already had commenced his researches in the Jesuit establishments; he was assured that they were employed in traffic, and in the name of the king he seized their warehouses, their merchandize, their bills of exchange, and their commercial books. But those measures discouraged not the Jesuits. They hoped to fix the attention of the king and the marquis of Pombal upon other affairs. They denounced a commercial society who were invested with the exclusive privilege of trading in the wines of Oporto, and fomented troubles in many provinces, under the pretext of claiming the suppression of that monopoly.

That scheme having tended only to shut up their colleges, they changed their battery, and covertly prepared to strike a terrible blow, which should restore to them all their influence in Portugal. Among the members of the company, was Gabriel Malagrida, an ignorant fanatic, who, to gain access into the palaces of noblemen and princes, pretended to hold direct communication with Jesus Christ, and boasted that he was the object of the Virgin's especial predilection. That impostor had among his penitents, the marchioness of Tavora, a haughty ambitious

woman, who was enraged at the disgrace which had befallen her husband, the former viceroy of India.

The Jesuit Malagrida perceived the use which he could make of that woman's exasperation. He flattered her hatred, called to his aid her religion and her vanity, encouraged her in her resolutions of vengeance, and satisfied her respecting the consequences of a crime which she was contriving. With the assistance of Jean Mathos, and Alexander Souza, his two companions, he assured her that a Christian could not do any thing more agreeable to God than to kill a king, and that all sins and crimes can be expiated by a regicide. The marchioness of Tavora became convinced, adhered to the project of a conspiracy, and sought for accomplices.—She seduced into the plot, Joseph Mascarenhas, duke of Aveiro, the ex-minister of John V, who had been in disgrace since the elevation of Joseph to the Portuguese throne. She also disclosed the affair to her husband, who was director-general of the cavalry and counsellor of war; to Louis Bronard, and to Joseph Marie of Tavora, her sons; to Don Jerom d'Ataide, her son-in-law, officers of the palace guard, and to her daughter, who was the monarch's mistress.

Several meetings of the conspirators took place at St. Antoine and St. Roch, two houses belonging to the Jesuits, that they might arrange the measures to execute their criminal project. When all the means were prepared, one night as Joseph was going unattended from the palace of Quinto do Mego to the residence of Quinta da Cima, privately to meet his mistress; Mascarenhas, duke of Aveiro, accompanied by two ruffians, rushed from an ambuscade upon the postilion, who drove the king. The shot having missed him, the postilion whipped his horses into a gallop, and the two assassins hurried on in pursuit of the carriage; but their horses not gaining in speed, they discharged their muskets at the coach and retired into the wood, to leave to the other conspirators, who were stationed farther on the road, the completion of the affair. Circumstances transpired different from this anticipation—for Joseph, wounded by two balls, and losing much blood, ordered the postilion to turn back to Junqueira, which saved him from certain death.

On the next day, through the activity of the marquis of Pombal, all the criminals were in the hands of justice. All the family of Tavora were executed, except the young Countess d'Ataide, who was immured in a convent. All occurred for the best. The ministers brought to trial all the nobles who were concerned in the conspiracy; and then commenced process against the Jesuits.

The secular judges refused to enforce the appearance before them of the Jesuits Malagrida, Mathos, and Souza, who, it had been proved during the previous trial, were ac-

¹ Quem creant, adorant, as the adage runs.—S. H. C.

complices, and declared that they had not the power to take cognisance of a crime committed by priests. The ministers wished to appoint an extraordinary tribunal to try them, but the prelates protested, and the accused appealed to the pope. Joseph I then issued a decree of banishment against the Jesuits, as traitors, rebels, enemies, and assailants of his person and dominions, of the public peace and the general welfare of his people. He proscribed them as deprived of naturalization, and as outlaws. He confiscated their property, ousted every one of them, and made them embark in ships, the captains of which were ordered to land them on the Italian shore. The three criminals only were detained at Lisbon, in the dungeons of the palace, to await the pontif's decision.

Clement XIII not only would not authorize the proceedings against the disciples of Ignatius Loyola, but he menaced Joseph and his ministers with all his wrath, if they did not instantly revoke the decree against the society. That excessive audacity determined the king promptly to break off his alliance with the court of Rome, and to recall his ambassadors; and as he dared not violate the privileges of the regular priests by the trial of Malagrida as a regicide, against the papal prohibition, he thought that he would deliver him to the Dominicans, who are the natural enemies of the Jesuits, who burned him alive as a heretic, fanatic, and false prophet. His two associates were only condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Throughout Europe, and particularly in France, the Jansenists, the philosophers, and the magistrates, applauded the energetic act of Joseph I, and sought to excite all the governments to imitate the example of the king of Portugal, and drive from their dominions the base cohorts of the Jesuits.—They, instead of repelling the attacks of their enemies, and of taking measures to avert the danger, permitted them to act; whether they were struck with a sort of blindness, or whether they were weary of their incessant struggles against the parliament, soon they aided their adversaries, and furnished to them the opportunity to destroy them in public opinion and to annihilate them.

A French Jesuit, named Lavallette, had been sent by his superiors to Martinique, as the curate of a small village, and had become the superior or rector of their establishment in that island. By his financial ability, he had considerably increased the wealth of the community, and was the chief of the insular commerce. A rich banking-house of Marseilles, the brothers Lioncy and Gouffre, were directed by Sacy, the attorney-general of the seaward islands, and by Forestier, the provincial of France, to furnish funds to Lavallette, and to honor all his bills of exchange under the tacit guarantee of the society of

Jesuits. That prosperity had its limit.—Several vessels, despatched by Lavallette to Lioncy and Gouffre, to defray the sum of two millions of livres in bills of exchange which they had accepted, were captured by the British. That incident forced the bank to address the Jesuits Socy and Forestier, as well as the general of their order, for the reimbursement of the drafts. The Jesuits replied, that the statutes of their order authorized the superiors to disavow the acts of the inferior members; when any injury might result to the society from the recognition of their engagements. One of the brothers, Gouffre, hastened immediately to Paris, to interest the dignitaries of the company in favor of the bank. To all his entreaties, and reasonings, and solicitations, these monks returned but this single response—"The statutes of the order are inflexible; we can do nothing for you!" In vain did he attempt to impress them, by his assurances, that the house must become bankrupt, that he and his partner would not survive their ruin, and that the society would be the cause of their suicide. The Jesuits very coolly answered,—"**WE WILL CELEBRATE MASSES FOR THE REPOSE OF YOUR SOULS.**"

The Marseilles banker left Paris, returned to his partners, and announced the wretched result of his journey. The unhappy bankers having no means to meet their acceptances, declared their failure of payment, and surrendered all that they possessed. The assignees of the creditors instantly prosecuted the Jesuit Lavallette. He also announced himself a bankrupt for debts amounting to four millions of livres, thereby to destroy the legitimate claims of the creditors of the brothers, Gouffre and Lioncy, upon the property of the Jesuits in the islands. The scandalous affair was soon promulged, and the assignees, without loss of time, sued the whole order of the Jesuits. By a decree of the council, the king remitted the entire cause to the parliament of Paris, who exulted to see their enemies brought to their bar, accused of fraudulent bankruptcy.

The disciples of Loyola, nevertheless, acknowledged the jurisdiction; expecting to confine themselves behind their constitutions, and to deny their participation, and their responsibility, in the transactions of Lavallette, they committed their great mistake by exposing the mysterious acts of their society, thereby to sustain their plea. As the examination of those institutes required protracted labor, the parliament of Paris, first of all, decreed against the society, declaring the order one and indivisible, under their general's authority; and condemned them to pay the amount of the bills of exchange drawn by Lavallette upon the banking-house of Lioncy and Gouffre of Marseilles.

That decree taught the Jesuits the mistake which they had committed in permitting the affair to become so extended; and they re-

solved to comply with the decree in its exact terms, thereby to stifle the affair, and to prevent a greater evil. But it was too late. The scrutiny of their famous statutes had produced dread and consternation in the different classes of society, and on every side the expulsion of the Jesuits was loudly demanded.

The duke of Choiseul and the marchioness of Pompadour, delighted to find the means of attracting public attention from themselves, and to divert the popular regard from the frightful disasters which they had brought upon France, encouraged those hostile manifestations towards the disciples of Loyola, and united with their enemies. The society were on the alert to appease the storm, and by the influence of the papal nuncio, they obtained the appointment of a council of forty prelates to examine their statutes. As might be expected, those prelates declared that the constitutions of the society of Jesuits, were altogether irreprehensible, and decided that there was not any cause of prosecution.

The parliament being secretly influenced by the minister Choiseul, refused to register that edict, and sustained their opposition by such powerful motions, that Louis XV was obliged to submit to the influence of the magistracy, and yield to them the decision of that important affair. The parliament of Paris renewed the proceedings, and after some months devoted to inquiries and pleadings, they passed a decree which characterized the doctrines and practices of the Jesuits as "perverse, destructive of every principle of religion and probity, injurious to Christian morality, pernicious to civil society, outrageous to the rights of nations, to the royal prerogatives, and to the personal safety of rulers; adapted to excite the greatest trouble in all states, to form and nourish the greatest corruption in the human heart. In consequence, they ordained, that the order of the Jesuits should cease irrevocably to exist throughout the kingdom, forbade any subjects of the king to propose, solicit, and demand, at any time, or on any occasion, the recall of that society, or to frequent the colleges, the boarding houses, the seminaries, the retreats, and the congregations of those infamous monks—and they enjoined on the disciples of Loyola, to vacate all the schools, professed houses, noviciates, residences, missions and other establishments, of every species of rule, and to withdraw to any part of the kingdom which they pleased, there to reside under the ordinary authority, with the authoritative injunction neither to reside together, nor to acknowledge the authority of their general, nor to wear the monkish garb."

In their decree, the parliament reviewed all the ordinances published in France, both favorable to the society and against them—the former to demonstrate that the Jesuits always had passed over the limited conces-

sions which had been given them; and the second, to justify the allegation, that they had constantly given occasion for just complaints and grave recriminations. The act of condemnation relates the principal works of the Jesuits, cited as extremely dangerous, because of the doctrines which they professed in reference to the subjects of simony, blasphemy, magic, witchcraft, astrology, irreligion, idolatry, impurity, false-witness, adultery, incest, sodomy, theft, suicide, murder, parricide, and regicide. Finally, the decree is concluded by a list of kings, princes, prelates, and popes butchered or poisoned by the disciples of the renowned and the sainted Loyola.

The pope, to counterbalance the decision of the parliament, collected the cardinals who were devoted to the Jesuits, in a secret consistory, and after having made a violent speech against the princes, ministers, magistrates, Jansenists and philosophers of France, he exhibited to them the ensuing protestation, written entirely by his own hand:

"We, Clement XIII, Vicar of Christ, successor of the apostle, in the infallibility of our wisdom, we condemn, reprove, and curse all that the French magistrates have attempted against religion, the universal church, the holy see, and the pontifical constitutions, in proscribing the society of the Jesuits. Moreover, we declare, decree, and ordain, by virtue of this consistorial and solemn statute, that all the mandates, orders, decrees, edicts, ordinances, censures, sentences, judgments and declarations, emanating from the secular power of the kingdom of France, relative to the extinction and dissolution of the said society of Jesuits, have been, are, and ever shall be, in full right, null, without efficacy, invalid, and entirely deprived of any legitimate result. We also affirm that persons are not obliged to regard them, *although bound by oath!* Moreover, of our own will and certain knowledge, in the plenitude of our power, we disallow, annul, abolish, cancel, and annihilate all those impious and barbarous acts, and we protest before Christ, their absolute nullity, reserving to ourselves to give more ample proof of their annulling, overthrow, abolition, and abrogation, as soon as we shall judge that it ought to be done without danger to the church!"

Clement XIII communicated that protestation to the French priests in a confidential brief, in which he enjoined upon the prelates to oppose the parliament, and to cajole the count and the monarch, who will speedily ascertain, he said, that "the disciples of Ignatius Loyola are the best auxiliaries of despotism."

Louis XV long had known that truth—for Cardinal Fleury had incessantly repeated to him in his youth: "Sire, the Jesuits are infamous miscreants; worthless, you can

make them useful instruments to subjugate the people, and to establish your domination." Thus the king had tolerated, rather than approved, through compliance with his favorite mistress, the act of parliament which suppressed the society of Jesuits.

He had even some slight motions of remorse on the expulsion of the Jesuits, since he had proposed to the pope to restore the society in his dominions, on the sole condition that the members would modify their doctrines on regicide. But the headstrong Clement XIII answered, abruptly, to his proposition, that the Jesuits should remain as they had ever been, or they should not exist at all. Thus; Louis XV had been forced to sanction the parliamentary decree, and to declare by his edict, dated at Versailles, that the society should not any longer exist in his kingdom, or its dependencies under his government.

The archbishop of Paris, Gustavus de Beaumont, opposed and censured the acts of the government in his prelatical instructions. All that he obtained by it was a second parliamentary decree, which condemned his orders to be burned, and a mandamus from the king, which sent him into exile in the abbey of La Trappe.

The expulsion of the four thousand Jesuits who infested the metropolis of France, and the banishment of the archbishop of Paris, incensed Clement XIII to the utmost fury. The pope, not knowing what obstacle to oppose to the general fermentation of governments, as he named it, issued the bull, *Apostolicum pascendi munus*, filled with eulogies on the vile troops of Jesuits, and with outrageous abuse of their enemies.—The parliament of Paris suppressed that bull, and prohibited the printing of it in France. The parliament of Aix acted with more boldness. They directed that it should be torn to pieces by the hangman, in public, and then be burned; and, also, requested Louis XV to sieze the Comtat Venaissin to avenge himself on the Roman court and the pope.

Louis XV, influenced by the marchioness of Pompadour, appeared fully disposed to adopt very rigorous measures, and only seemed to wait for an occasion to lay waste the city of Avignon, when the almost sudden death of his favorite mistress, turned him from his project, and delivered the society of the Jesuits from their most formidable enemy. The priests took courage, intrigued around the monarch, and obtained authority to call a synodal assembly, in order to decide on the best measures to allay the discord between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions.

In consequence of that permission, thirty-two archbishops, or prelates, and thirty-six deputies of the second order in the hierarchy, met together in council, in the capital of France, and fulminated their anathemas against the principal works of the philoso-

phers; the Encyclopedia, Bayle's Analysis of the works of Helvitus, Emily, the Social Contract, Letters from the Mountain, by Rousseau, the Essay upon Manners, the Philosophical Dictionary, and the Philosophy of History and Oriental Despotism, by Voltaire.

They next claimed that the priesthood alone are authorized to educate and instruct children; that they only are judges of doctrine, and may fix the degree of submission that is due to them; and by the assistance of Jesus Christ, that they only can regulate articles and dogmas of faith; that they alone have the right to pronounce on the excellence of the monkish orders, and to sustain or suppress them; that to the Roman priests alone appertains the administration of sacraments; that the civil authority is not in any way justified to act contrary to the canon law, or to force priests to administer sacraments to sinners whom they pronounce unfit to receive them. In fine, those prelates decreed that the bull *Unigenitus*, is obligatory upon all the Romanists of France.

The parliament quashed the acts of the ecclesiastical assembly, as outrageous against the authority of the government, and forbade the citizens to pay any regard to it. The priestly dignitaries immediately hastened to Versailles, cast themselves at the feet of Louis XV, and obtained from him an edict nullifying the parliamentary decree.

That primary victory emboldened the ecclesiastics. On all sides they exhibited great haughtiness. They published the panegyric of the archbishop of Paris, and announced the speedy restoration of the Jesuits. The Marshal Richelieu and his nephew, the Duke d'Aiguillon, secret enemies of the prime minister, the duke of Choiseul, intrigued for the Jesuits, and published that "the reign of confessors would succeed the sway of mistresses." The king himself became a devotee, and shut up the royal *hupanar*, called the king's deer-park. That monarchical caprice continued for a short period only; a young lady attracted his attention, and hindered him from all amendment. The parliament took advantage of that circumstance to stop the encroachments of the Jesuits.—They published a decree which rendered silence upon all religious topics obligatory upon the priests as well as the people. The priests who obstinately refused to administer the sacraments, were prosecuted. The prelates who held cabals in the metropolis, were enjoined to return to their diocesses under the penalty of the confiscation of their temporal emoluments, and energetic measures were adopted against the disciples of Loyola.

At this epoch, the historian of the Jesuits has to record a long sequence of their disasters. Expelled from China and Portugal, in one day all those monks, who were in Spain, were arrested by the order of Charles III, and then conducted by myrmidons to

different sea-ports, embarked on board ships, and landed on the coast of Italy.

France delayed not to imitate the example of Spain, and drove beyond the mountains the Jesuits who continued to infest the provinces. The king of the Two Sicilies expelled them from his dominions. Don Ferdinand, duke of Parma and Placenza, the infant of Spain, followed the political impulse of his family, and excluded them from his states. The soil of Italy alone was polluted with that filthy slime, which the nations had cast from their bosom, and which they had sent back to Rome, *the source of all corruption*.

The pope was terrified at the prodigious swarm of Jesuits who were cast upon the patrimony of Rome, as upon the prey which belonged to them; and to shelter his territories from certain desolation, he forced them into the neighboring provinces.

Nevertheless, the pope issued a bull of excommunication against the kings who persecuted the Jesuits, and threatened with his vengeance all princes who maintained the decrees of proscription with which the disciples of Loyola were crushed. Clement wished also to join action with his menaces. He found fault with the duke of Parma, who was the least formidable of their adversaries, summoned the Infant Don Ferdinand to restore to Rome the duchies of Parma and Placenza, and sent troops to enforce his demand.

The kings of France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal, who were united by family compact, boldly declaimed against the court of Rome, and prepared to punish the outrage which had been perpetrated upon a prince of their houses. Louis XV, by the advice of the duke of Choiseul, sent troops to Avignon, and took possession of Comtat Venaissin. The young Ferdinand IV, king of the Two Sicilies, invaded the province of Beneventum, which Neapolitan troops occupied; while the courts of Parma, of Madrid, and Lisbon, and the parliament of France commanded that the bull of Clement XIII should be destroyed.

The pope then sought for assistance from Austria, and demanded succor from Maria Theresa: but the empress, dissatisfied with the Jesuits, who, not long previous, had betrayed her secrets to the Roman court, deigned not soon to answer the letter of Clement, and in the duchy of Milan, suppressed the famous bull, *In Cæna Domini*, which the archbishop annually read. The pope thus repulsed in every quarter, without allies, or succor, humbled his arrogance, and announced that he was willing to make concessions, and implored the clemency of the European sovereigns.

But the motion was given, and his tardy submission could not impede the progress of reform. The Romish potentates continued to trace definitively the line of demarca-

tion between the spiritual and the temporal, and exacted, as the condition of the peace, that the pope should suppress, throughout the papacy, the order of the Jesuits.

Clement XIII, too weak to resist the will of the Bourbon princes, at length determined to sacrifice the janizaries of the popedom, and announced that he would formally proclaim the abolition of the order of the sons of Ignatius Loyola, in a public consistory.

That was the cause of his death. The Jesuits were on the watch, and during the night preceding the day appointed for that solemn act of justice, the pontif was seized with extraordinary pains, and expired in terrible convulsions, early in the morning of February 2d, 1769. *The Jesuits had poisoned their pope!*¹

Thus testifies De Cormenin, a French layman, a Romanist, and a respectable modern historian, "who has imbibed deeply the spirit of liberty, and who sees and confesses the existence of the most horrible crimes in the bosom of his own church."¹

The spirit of Rome is one, in all its members, from its head, the sovereign pontif, with the sword and the keys of a bifarious domination equally pendent from his impious girdle, to the lowest and the meanest official of his court or jurisdiction.

It was a saying of Cardinal Bellarmine, that the cardinals were not holy, because they were all desirous of being "most holy," *Non sono santi, perche vogliono essere santissimi*—That is, "they all desire to be pope." It is hard for poor human nature to set foot on the first step of the pyramid of hierarchy, without being, passively as it were, seized with a too natural ambition to be seated serenely on its summit; all the decent hypocritical etiquette of *nolo episcopari* to the contrary notwithstanding.

Clement XIII would have made a different figure, if Cardinal Archinto, his minister, in whom he entirely trusted, had lived longer. After that cardinal's strange death, which happened suddenly, Cardinal Torrigiani, a man of sense, but, as things were then circumstanced, too declared a friend of the Jesuits, and not sufficiently acquainted with the different courts of Europe, became minister of state. Then was seen an extraordinary change in the manner of thinking and of acting. The sovereign princes were affronted, instead of being appeased: and, as if it had been designed to exasperate them still farther with respect to the Jesuits, the bull *Apostolicum*, which confirmed to them all their privileges, justified them in every point, and made the most pompous eulogy of their zeal, services and talents, was published with an air of insult.

Cardinal Spinelli, in 1762, wrote a letter to Cardinal Susale, archbishop of Naples, as follows:—"I am most sincerely grieved,

¹ Biblical Repository, July, 1845.

that the pope is no longer to be seen, but by some particular cardinals, and that one cannot have the least discourse with him without being heard, and even interrupted, by others. It was not so in Cardinal Archinto's time. God knows how all this may end: but it is to be feared, that the potentates will be so far provoked, as to remember it a long time. The pope formerly did me the favor to hear me; and now I find my presence gives him uneasiness. Cardinal Passionei is the only one, who speaks with earnestness: but as he is known to be too warm, whatever he can say, makes no impression. Cardinal Ganganelli would be more capable than any other, of making the holy father change his resolution, as he is much more moderate, takes things perfectly right, and sees them in their true light; but he is distrusted merely on account of his great talents, and because he disapproves of the conduct held with regard to Portugal. After all, his most *faithful majesty* must be satisfied; he demands no more than he has a right to demand, unless we are totally to break off with that crown."

Clement XIII himself was at last sensible of the justness of these reflections; and being, moreover, warmly pressed by the house of Bourbon, and that of Braganza, who ardently demanded of him the suppression of the Jesuits, in a memorial presented in January, 1769, appointed a consistory for the 3d of February. There he was to have proposed to the cardinals an acquiescence in the desires of the sovereign princes: but to use an expression of Clement XIV, "he died in the night, when there was not the least expectation of his death." He had supped; and as he was getting into bed about ten at night, he screamed out, vomited a large quantity of blood, and instantly expired.

The following is the memorial of France: His most Christian majesty expects from the common father of all the faithful, that his holiness will consider nothing upon this important occasion but his own judgment, the uprightness of his intentions, and of counsels dictated by an enlightened understanding, by the true interests of the church, by the consideration of the tranquillity of all the territories subject to the spiritual authority of the sovereign pontificate, and by the apprehensions of those misfortunes, which the experience of what hath happened in past times gives us reason to dread a renewal of, if the Jesuits are suffered to exist in any part of the world.

The king, as well in his own behalf, as in concert with their catholic and Sicilian majesties, therefore earnestly entreat his holiness to extirpate without reserve, and without delay, throughout the whole world, the society of Jesuits, and to secularize all the individuals that compose it, forbidding them in the most express manner, to assemble for the future, or form any association on any pretence whatsoever. This requisition ought

to be the more favorably received by our holy father, the pope, as it is presented to him by three monarchs equally well acquainted with, and zealous for, every thing that can contribute to the personal glory of his holiness, and the tranquillity of all the catholic states.

The Jesuits, the genuine *frogs* of the Apocalypse, (Rev. 16: 13, 14,) had been unceasingly troublesome to the sovereigns of Europe, and the object of just suspicion among the people. They were, indeed, the disturbing forces in all the machinery of government, and in both hemispheres. Their intrigues, their versatility, their military subordination and efficiency, their promptitude and utter devotion to the interests of the papal cause, their duplicity, tact, and corrupt casuistry, their industry, intrusiveness, and indomitable perseverance, their pliability and conformity to circumstances, their address and taking costume of sheep's clothing, their numbers, correspondence, art, and almost ubiquity, their disguises and dispersions, made them justly formidable to every interest of society, to the diplomacy of nations, the debates of senates, the progress of learning, the movement of armies, the integrity of families, and the hopes of man.— Their power as the renowned instructors of youth, was surpassed only by their reputation; and their ambition to form the minds of young nobles and princes, was inflamed by a thousand considerations of the universal sway of the papacy as the result of their own exertions, and the honor thence accruing to themselves, with adequate emoluments in all coming ages. But here a philosopher may be justly allowed to question their competency, if the criterion be the valid and useful erudition they imparted, as contradistinguished from their impious sectarian fallacies, and the facility and speciousness with which they corrupted their pupils, with a corresponding proficiency in the arts and subtleties of their own false wisdom.— "The boasted genius of the Jesuits for education," says M. Cousin, "is nothing but the organization of a vile system of spying into the conduct of the young men, and there never was one manly course of studies in their institutions. They sacrifice substance to show, and deceive parents by brilliant and frivolous exhibitions." Alas! that this kind of education should, under any other auspices, have become so popular.

Entirely devoted to the Jesuits, Clement XIII supposed that the king of Portugal had not done homage to the ancient exigencies of the papacy, by their expulsion. The pope, on hearing that the Jesuits of Portugal were landed on the shore of Italy, commanded that the manifesto of the marquis of Pombal should be burned. The only reply to which was this, the confiscation of the society's possessions for the crown of Portugal.

Charles III of Spain, did not consult the pope, and only announced to Clement XIII the fact of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain, as already accomplished. A courier carried to the pontiff that king's autograph letters, and at the same time a decree, published by the royal order, suppressing the Jesuits throughout the Spanish dominions. The order of the court, which had been kept a profound secret during the whole year after the scheme was adopted, was promptly executed. On April 2d, 1767, at the same hour, in Spain, in Africa, in Asia, in America, and in all the islands of the monarchy, all the governors of the provinces, and the alcaldes of the cities and towns, opened a packet which was thrice sealed. The tenor of them was uniform. Under the severest penalties, and of death, they were enjoined to proceed immediately, with a sufficiently armed force, to the houses of the Jesuits, to invest them, to drive them from their monasteries, and, as prisoners, to conduct them within twenty-four hours to the seaport designated. The captives were all embarked at the same hour, having their papers under seal, having nothing with them but a breviary, a purse of five hundred crowns, and their clothes.

Clement XIII, a weak old man, shed an abundance of tears. Cardinal Torrigiani left the pope to weep, and resolved to act; but although he ruled Clement, he himself was under the harsher bondage of the Jesuits.—Ricci, the general of the order, beheld the utmost humiliation of his associates in their exclusion from Spain. Charles III sent them to the Roman ports; and Ricci determined to reject them. Subject to his mandates, Torrigiani informed the Spanish ambassador that the pope would not admit the Jesuit exiles. After some days at sea, the six thousand Jesuit priests arrived at Civita Vecchia. They were repulsed by force, and finally were landed in Corsica, after a maritime wandering of six months, without help or hope, worn out, decimated by sickness, and cast off by their order—there they found a miserable asylum, very little preferable to their distresses on the sea.

The moment favorable to the secularization of the Jesuits had not arrived; but an act of the Romish court furnished another occasion to expedite the affair. Clement provoked an explosion which Benedict XIV had foreseen. The pope issued a bull to depose the duke of Parma. The duke of Choiseul represented to Louis XV the consequences of that papal act, as renewing the audacious projects of Gregory VII and of Sixtus V. Louis was more chagrined than irritated. He feared Rome; and was irresolute, fickle, and silly, although proud; for he thought that his royal blood was divine.—Choiseul pointed out to him Rezzonico, the son of a Venetian shopkeeper, insulting the grandson of *Saint Louis*! The ambassadors

of France, Naples, and Spain, eventually were ordered to demand an audience of the pope. That interview was dangerous to the Jesuits. Torrigiani and the other cardinals of the Jesuit party, depicted to the pontiff, in a victorious resistance, the glory of the martyr, so often desired by Clement XIII. They told him that Benedict XIV had debased the tiara before the kings, but God had predestined him anew to raise it. The Jesuits forgot neither discourse nor pictorial representations; and dictated to the pope, already enfeebled by age, the most violent answers. At his first audience of D'Aubeterre, the French ambassador, Clement declared that he would rather die a thousand times, than revoke his decree; that in recognizing the rights of the Infant of Parma, he should commit a great sin against God, and that he should contradict his conscience, of which he was sole judge, and of which he had only to render an account to the Divine tribunal.

The French having then seized Avignon, and the Neapolitans having taken possession of Beneventum and Porto Corvo, the ambassadors were instructed to behave with a chilling disdain. They declared that they would have no intercourse at all with Cardinal Torrigiani, and even opposed his correspondence with the papal nuncios to France and Spain.

Amid these multiplied embarrassments, Clement turned for support to Maria Theresa of Austria—but his appeal was in vain. After the example of the king of Portugal, she refused all interference, and even interdicted the utterance of the bull *In Cæna Domini* in Lombardy. Notwithstanding, Clement refused to annul his brief. D'Aubeterre therefore recommended the French king to send a small army to the Tiber, who, with a body of Neapolitans to join them, could hinder the transport of provisions for Rome, and then the famished Romans would force the pope to comply with the demand of the sovereigns. He added, "This is the only method to obtain the expulsion of the Jesuits." On December 10, 1765, the ambassador of France presented to the pope his imperative demands for the total abolition and secularization of the Jesuits, in the name of the three monarchs of France, Naples, and Spain.

The pope received the paper in utter dread, and never recovered the shock. A short period after, he died almost suddenly. Clement was a pope of the twelfth century, and a stranger to the eighteenth age. Under his pontificate, the favor of the Roman court was as a shadow. Scarcely was his death known, before the ambassadors of France and Spain resolved to be masters of the conclave. They arrogantly proclaimed the necessity of electing a pope agreeable to those two crowns; and demanded the delay of the meeting of the conclave until the French

and Spanish cardinals had arrived. At the same time they represented that an election hostile to the three courts of France, Naples, and Spain, would cause a rupture between Rome and the Bourbon princes; that the ambassadors would not recognize the pope elect; and that they would quit Rome for Frescati to await further orders. The cardinals promised submission; and having hastily interred Clement XIII, they shut themselves up in their conclave.

The choice of pope seemed to rest between the Cardinals Chigi and De Bernis. During the vacancy of the popedom, the emperor of Germany, Joseph II, visited Rome, as incognito, with his brother Leopold of Tuscany. He displayed a profound contempt for the Jesuits, and encouraged not their hopes. Nevertheless, they deluded themselves with flattering expectations. But their illusions were dissipated at the visit which Joseph made to the professed house of the order, named "Gran-Gesu," a wonder of magnificence and bad taste. The general, Ricci, appeared before the emperor and prostrated himself with profound humility. Joseph, without waiting for him to speak, coldly asked Ricci, "When do you mean to cast off your monkish costume?" Ricci became pale with trouble, and murmured some almost inarticulate words. Joseph fixing his eyes upon the statue of Ignatius, covered with massive silver and jewels, adverted to the prodigious sum that it must have cost. "Sire," the general of the Jesuits stammered out, "this statue was made with the *deniers* of the society's friends."—Joseph replied, "Say rather with the profits of India." He then left the monks in the most gloomy mortification. Joseph also declared in public, with the duplicate object to humble both the pope and the Bourbons, that an election of pope was of no importance, unworthy to occupy the thought for a moment of a monarch in the eighteenth century, and positively forbade Cardinal Pozzo Bonelli, his minister, to take any concern in it.

The cardinals invited Joseph to visit them, with which he complied; and after exhibiting his polite contempt of Cardinal York, the last of the Stuarts, and given the conclave his advice to mind their own affairs, not to infringe the laws of decorum, and to exhibit the proof of a good education in their intercourse with kings, he departed, and told D'Aubeterre, the French ambassador: "I know too well the court of Rome not to despise it. Those people," referring to the cardinals, "wished to influence me by their peculiar distinction showed to me, but I am not their dupe. They only wished accurately to examine me, as they would a rhinoceros."

The conclave had been prolonged for three months, and the design of the court of Madrid was this, to bind the future pope by a written and duly attested promise, to abolish

the order of the Jesuits. De Bernis declared that scheme not only impracticable, but useless, not obligatory, and dishonorable. At length it was resolved to consult, on that topic, Cardinal Ganganelli, who exhibited a reserve and ingenuity which finally led to his own election as pope, by the title of Clement XIV.

To the above notices from Alexis de Prest, we subjoin others from Henrion, vols. x, xi.

On January 31, 1759, Clement XIV issued his brief condemning the Mind by Helvetius; assigning as his reason, that it nullified the Christian religion, and substituted the law and integrity of nature.

The parliament of Paris issued a decree against the French philosophers, April 16, 1759; but from its severity, and the opposition to the enforcement of it by the president, Malesherbes, the philosophers continued to be tolerated, and their works were disseminated, notwithstanding all the efforts of Clement, and the prelates, and the Jesuits to suppress them.

Carvalho, the Portuguese minister, after the suppression of the Jesuits in Portugal, published a long document of fearful circumstances respecting them, which were scattered abroad in Cochin China, and other neighboring countries. Clement XIII, in consequence, addressed to the papal nuncio in Spain, a brief, in which he condemned Carvalho's declaration as a work of darkness, the offspring of envy and licentiousness. In consequence of that brief, the principal papers of Carvalho were committed to the flames at Madrid, by the hands of the executioner. The Spanish Inquisition united with the secular authority, and prohibited the reading of all the condemned works, and punished some monks who had undertaken to distribute them.

After the destruction of the order of Jesuits in France, Clement wrote to the prelates, the ecclesiastical assembly, and the king, Louis XV. All was useless. He also published, September 3, 1762, an apologetical brief in behalf of the Jesuits, which he addressed to the French cardinals. In that document he stated, that not being any longer able to tolerate so grievous an injury to the papacy, as the abolition of the Jesuits, and the publications concerning them, he had held a secret consistory, in which he had solemnly decreed, that all the ordinances of the parliament of Paris, were null and void. But the enemies of the society disregarded that pontifical decision. The efforts of the pope, however, were futile; for Louis XV, ruled by his mistress and her minion, the minister, directed the registration of the edict, December 1, 1764, which enjoined on those Jesuits who remained in France, that they should reside in the diocese in which they were born, that they should not approach within thirty miles of Paris, and that every six months they should present

themselves before the magistrates who were appointed to watch their conduct.

Until that time, the pope had spoken as a father to his wandering children—but then he resolved to interfere as the sovereign pontiff. After the act of authority which consummated, in France, the ruin of the society of Jesuits, Clement perceived the necessity of a solemn protestation. He therefore published, on January 7, 1765, his bull, by which he confirmed anew the institution of the Jesuits. But the efforts of the pope were fruitless; and in France and Portugal his acts were disregarded as if they had been a nonentity. Some of the parliaments suppressed the bull; and that of Aix, solicited the king to resume his right to the Comtat Venaissin.

The two principal documents are too important to be omitted :

LETTER OF CLEMENT XIII TO LOUIS XV.

To our Dear Son in Jesus Christ, Louis, the most Christian King, Clement XIII, Pope.

Our very Dear Son in Jesus Christ, Health and the Apostolical Benediction:—In the month of last June, we wrote to your majesty a letter, in which we desired you to grant, in the most efficacious manner, your royal protection to the company of Jesuits, established in your flourishing dominions; expecting that you would shelter them from the storm which has been raised against them. The answer with which your majesty honored us, filled us with comfort, by the hope which it gave us, that by the favor of your sovereign authority, serenity and a calm would follow the tempest. From that time to the present, we have been tranquil; and being informed of the successive events, we admired the high prudence of your majesty, always attentive to take the most just and moderate measures to execute your designs. We thought that we had arrived at the hour of success; but what was our surprise and grief, when we learned that measures were adopted which must tend to place that object at a greater distance. We have understood that the cardinal of Rochecouart, your majesty's minister, has demanded in your name, that the general of the society should nominate a vicar general for the Jesuits of France. That act is not in the general's power; and we, with all our authority, cannot authorize it. This would be an alteration too essential in the institution of the company, an institute approved by so many constitutions of our predecessors, and even by the council of Trent. That example would draw after it such most unhappy consequences, that the least evil which would succeed would be the dissolution of a body who, during two hundred years, have been so useful to the church, principally by their union, and their entire dependence on their

chief.¹ That union, sire, and that dependence, notwithstanding all that the evil-disposed can say, has never troubled the public tranquillity, either in your own kingdom or any other. But that which is true is this, that formerly, as at present, they have been an infinite trouble to the enemies of religion and to the refractory, who saw themselves attacked by a numerous society of people whose sole occupation is the advancement of piety and the sciences, and who, filled with zeal, and animated by the same spirit, cease not to combat error and the spirit of independence.¹

Therefore they have made every effort imaginable to destroy them, employing imposture and calumny, because they could not find sufficient weapons in truth; but as all the means which they have used have not succeeded, they have invented another: which is, to break the ties which unite the members of that society, because the bonds once broken, will necessarily involve their ruin.

You, sire, have inherited from your ancestors the title of eldest son of the church. By your happy dispositions you merit that of defender of religion. To those two titles, no person can have more at heart than yourself to preserve, in all its integrity, a society who contribute so much to the object which your majesty regards as the most essential of your government.

In this view, we supplicate, with scalding tears,² that your majesty will not permit, that the least change shall be made in the institution of the society of Jesuits, nor that there shall be any disjunction, either in appearance or reality, from that body, of one of its most considerable privileges.

This we feel bound to expect from the heroic piety and filial attachment of your majesty. This confidence calms the agitations of our heart: and with all paternal tenderness we give your majesty, and all the royal family, the apostolical benediction.

Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major, January 28, 1762, the fourth year of our pontificate.

CONSTITUTION OF CLEMENT,

By Divine Mercy, Pope, the Thirteenth of that name; by which the Institute of the Company of Jesuits was anew approved.

Clement, Bishop; Servant of the Servants of God—For perpetual remembrance, Jesus Christ, our Lord, having charged the blessed Apostle Peter, and the Roman pontiff, his successor, with the obligation to "feed his flock," a duty which neither time nor place, nor any human consideration, nor any thing in truth can limit, it is the bounden duty of

¹ How suitable an influence for this independent country!—S. H. C.

² What a contemptible piece of truckling and cowardly infallibility.—S. H. C.

him who is seated in Peter's chair, to give his attention to all the various functions of the charge which Jesus Christ has confided to him, without omission or neglect of any one, and to extend his vigilance to all the wants of the church. One of the principal functions of this charge is, to take under his protection, the religious orders approved by the holy see, to give new activity to the zeal of those who, being devoted by solemn oath to the religious profession, labor with courage, sustained by piety, to defend the catholic religion, to extend it, and to cultivate the field of the Lord; to inspire with ardor, and to give energy to those who, among them, are languishing and feeble; to comfort those whom affliction might abase, and, above all, to banish from the church confided to our vigilance, every scandal which daily arises, and the effect of which may be the loss of souls.

The institute of the company of Jesuits, which had for its author a man to whom the church universal has given the worship¹ and honors which are rendered to the saints; which many of our predecessors, of happy memory, Paul III, Julius III, Paul IV, Gregory XIII, Gregory XIV, and Paul V, have approved and confirmed more than once after having carefully examined it; which received from them, and many others of our predecessors, to the number of nineteen, favors and particular kindness, which the prelates, not only of our days, but of preceding ages, have highly praised as being very advantageous, very useful, and very proper to increase the worship, honor, and glory of God, and to procure the salvation of souls; which the most powerful princes and the most pious and distinguished in the Christian republic, always have taken under their protection, whose rules were formed by nine men who rank with saints and the blessed, among whom three received the crown of martyrdom; which has been honored with the eulogies of many personages celebrated for their sanctity, who we know in heaven now enjoy the eternal glory, which the church universal have affectionately nourished in their bosom during two centuries, constantly trusting in those who profess the principal functions of the holy ministry which they have always fulfilled to the great advantage of the faithful; and, in fine, which was pronounced pious by the church universal assembled at the council of Trent; in that same institute, then were recently found men who, after having disfigured it by false and malign interpretations, have not been afraid to characterize it as irreligious and impious, as well in private conversations as in printed writings scattered in public, to rend it by the most injurious imputations, to cover it with opprobrium and ignominy, and are now arrived at such a point, that not

content with their own particular idea, they have undertaken, by every species of artifice, to circulate their poison from country to country, to spread it in all parts, and cease not to make use of every imaginable trick to induce the unguarded faithful to imbibe their venomous discourse; thus, in the most outrageous manner, insulting the church of God, whom they virtually accuse with being deceived in judging and solemnly declaring as pious and acceptable to God, that which is irreligious and impious, and to be so fallen in error, so much the more criminal, that it should so long have suffered, during more than two hundred years, to the great prejudice of souls, its bosom to be defiled with such a withering stain, an evil so great, which spreads its roots so much the more profound, and daily acquiring greater force, that it has longer dissembled, and deferred every remedy; this would be to deny us both the justice which ordains us to assure to every one his rights, and vigorously to sustain them, and the movements of that pastoral solicitude which we have for the welfare of the church.

To repel, therefore, the atrocious injury done at once to the church which God himself has committed¹ to our care and to the holy see in which we are seated, to stop by apostolic authority¹ the progress of so many impious discourses contrary to all reason and equity, which, spreading on all sides, carry with them the seduction and the close danger of the loss of souls; to insure the state of the regular priests of the company of Jesuits who demand of us this justice, and to give them a firmer consistency by the weight of our authority; to bring some solace to their pains in the great disaster which afflicts them; in fine, to yield to the righteous wishes of our venerable brethren, the prelates in all parts of the catholic world, who, in their letters addressed to us, highly eulogize that company, from whom they assure us that they derive great service, each in his own diocese, of our own motion and certain knowledge, using the plenitude of apostolic power, walking in the path of our predecessors, by our present constitution which shall avail in perpetuity, we say and declare, in the same form and manner which they said and declared, that the institute of the company of Jesus respires in the highest degree of piety and sanctity, both in the principal design which they have in view, the defence and propagation of the catholic religion, and in the means which they employ to obtain that end. This experience hitherto has taught us. This experience has also taught us how the regulations of that company have formed until our own days, defenders of the orthodox faith, and zealous missionaries who, animated with invincible fortitude, have exposed them-

¹ What abominable idolatry.—S. H. C.

¹ A very convenient and proudly false assumption.

selves to countless dangers, by land and by sea, to carry the light of evangelical doctrine to ferocious and barbarous nations. We see that all those who profess this laudible institute are occupied in holy functions; some to form youth for virtue and the sciences; others are devoted to spiritual exercises; one part assiduously to administer the sacraments; above all, penance and the eucharist, and to urge, in their discourses, the faithful frequently to use them; another part carry the word of the gospel to the inhabitants of the country. Therefore, after the example of our predecessors, we approve of this same institute which Divine Providence has raised up to work such great things, and we confirm, by our apostolic authority, the approbations which have been given to it. We declare that the vows by which the regular priests of the company of Jesuits consecrate themselves to God according to the said institute, are pure and agreeable to his eyes; we approve and praise particularly as very proper to reform the manners, to inspire and fortify piety, the spiritual exercises which the same priests of the company of Jesuits give the faithful, who, far from the tumult of the world, pass some days in retreat, in occupying themselves seriously and only with their eternal safety. More we approve of the congregations or sodalities erected under the invocation of the blessed Mary, or under any other title, not only those which are formed of young people who frequent the schools of the company of Jesuits, but also all others, whether they are of the faithful in Jesus Christ only, or whether they are composed of both: and we give our equal approbation to all the pious exercises which there are fervently practised; and we recommend extremely the very particular devotion which they adopt to cultivate and augment, in those sodalities, towards the blessed mother of God, Mary, always Virgin. We confirm, by our apostolic authority, the bulls by which our predecessors of happy memory, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, Gregory XV and Benedict XIV, have approved of the said sodalities; and, also, by our present constitution, we strengthen by all the authority which God has given to us, and by the energy of our apostolic confirmation, all the other constitutions made by the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, to approve and praise the functions of the same institute of the company of Jesuits, each of which constitutions it is our will shall be regarded as if it were inserted in this; willing and ordaining, if need be, that they shall be deemed as made anew, and as if published by ourself.

Let no person, therefore, attack our present approbatory and confirming constitution, nor be rash enough to dare to oppose it; but if any one should have the presumption to break through this prohibition, let him know that he will incur the indignation

of Almighty God, and the blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome, at *Saint Mary Major*, the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1765, January 7, the seventh year of our pontificate.

C. Cardinal PRODATAIRE,
N. Cardinal ANTONELLI,

Visa. J. MANASSEI L. EUGENIO.

Registered in the office of the Secretary of Briefs.

In the year 1767, Clement addressed a brief to the king of Spain, in which he announces that, the acts of Charles III, against the Jesuits, evidently endangered his soul; that the body and mind of the society were innocent; that even were some of those monks culpable, they ought not to have been punished without accusation and conviction. Not content with this declaration, the pope protected the proscribed Jesuits, provided for their wants, and honored them with public proofs of his attachment.

The chief of the Jesuits at this time was Lorenzo Ricci, a man and a religionist of the most resolved and incorrigible zeal for the order and its prerogatives. No medium, no composition, no flexibility of purpose, ever appeared in his politics or his sympathies. Every attempt to move or to qualify his positions, was vain. Great too was his influence with the pope, who refused to the sovereigns what his nobler successor granted to their importunities. Clement replied, that this constitution had been too distinctly sanctioned by the holy council of Trent, and by numerous decrees of his predecessors, for him to alter it. They rejected every kind of modification. The whole mind of Ricci was expressed in the words, *sint ut sunt, aut non sint*: "let them be as they are, or let them not be at all."

Here we are reminded of the familiar apophthegm, *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat*: "that God is wont first to infatuate those whom he intends to destroy."—Their inflexible and infallible obstinacy, seems to have been among the means used in measure to open the eyes of many to their real character. The sovereigns and their courts only the more abhorred them; and thus the way was prepared for the thunderbolt that blasted them, under the succeeding pontificate.

We admire consistency, however, and characteristic heroism of principle, irrespectively of the *morale* or the circumstances of its display. Even the lurid magnanimity of Milton's demons, in their infernal conclave, seems to charm us perhaps too much, considering the uproar of desperate impiety amid the outbreaks of which its orgies are enacted.

But how can infallibility repent? Are the pope and all his predecessors wrong in the matter of the Jesuits, and the *sacro-sanc-*

tissima Tridentina synodus, the last and wisest œcumenical council of the church, wrong too? Alas! it will be more than a death struggle that shall ever force Rome to such an admission. It will be only at the judgment seat of Christ—and in eternity—and then too late!

Rezzonico expired, February 2, 1769, aged almost 76, after a tumultuous and inglorious reign of nearly eleven years. His secretary of state, Torregiano, swayed him even to servility, and the general of the Jesuits, Ricci, extended over him a kindred dominion. He even ventured in 1768, to repeat the bull *In Cœna Domini*, in a menacing brief to Parma, thus irritating all the allied courts and sovereigns of his jurisdiction. During his pontificate the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal, Spain, France, Naples, Sicily, and Parma, taking refuge with their sovereign papa in Italy. They were here a great burden and perplexity to him; yet still he loved and cherished and patron-

ised them. By his blind devotion to their interests, and his own arrogance of manner towards the Bourbons, he lost Avignon, Venaissin, and Benevento. His reservation of benefices in Spain was rejected, the Neapolitan tribute refused, and Germany was instructed by Justus Febronius, respecting the bounds of the papal authority. Rome at this period suffered twice from famine, namely, in 1764 and 1766, but without any mark of moral good resulting from the righteous discipline. Rev. 9: 20, 21.

His position, however, on such a throne, makes him an object of pity, as well as of pious abhorrence. Who could do well in such a sphere, unblest and impracticable! He was a weak, dispirited, perplexed, old man. The appearance of energy at times in his administration resulted mainly from the measures of his two counsellors—and the rest shall be known at the judgment seat of Christ.

CLEMENT XIV, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVENTH BISHOP OF ROME.

GEORGE III, *King of England*.—LOUIS XV, *King of France*.

[Year of Christ, 1769.] Forty-seven cardinals opened the conclave to appoint a successor to Clement XIII. From the commencement, the electors were divided into two equally powerful factions. One of which, affiliated with the Jesuits, were desirous to nominate a pontif capable of tracing the footsteps of Gregory VII and Pius V.—The others, who had sold themselves to France and Spain, cabaled to place the tiara on the head of a pope sufficiently conciliating to reëstablish concord between the altar and the throne. The intrigues continued through three entire months. At length the Franciscan monk, named John Vincent Antony Ganganelli, obtained the suffrages of the majority, and was proclaimed the supreme head of the papacy, by the appellation of Clement XIV.

The new pontif was nearly sixty-four years old. He was born in the little town of Archangelo, near Rimini, where his father was of the medical profession. From his infancy, Ganganelli displayed a great propensity to meditation, which determined his family to place him in a Franciscan convent, where his virtues soon distinguished him.—He was taken thence to be raised to the office of counsellor of the inquisition, by Pope Benedict XIV. Under the following reign, he obtained the cardinal's hat.

Ganganelli, with the tiara, preserved the same manners as under the Franciscan's

cowl. He continued humble, charitable, and was solicitous to preserve the frugal and studious habits which had been the charm of his existence. Since Titus, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius, a sovereign endowed with a more noble character, a finer soul, a more judicious mind, had never swayed the sceptre at Rome. His first act of authority was to dismiss from his court the ministers in whom his predecessor trusted. Then he announced his design to give peace to the popedom by restoring Christianity.

Great was the consternation of the cardinals, the prelates, the priests, and the monkish communities, who fattened on the toils of the wretched. All of them in a mass united against Clement XIV, and endeavored to make him renounce his generous designs by terrible threats. One of the Jesuits dared to affix openly, at the principal entrance of the Vatican, a placard containing these words—"O pray for the pope, who is near death!" Another fanatic slipped under his table a letter with these four letters—"P. S. S. V."—which the pope thus explained: "*Presto sara sede vacante*"—"The seat will soon be vacant."

Unshaken in his resolution, Clement disregarded the complaints, the curses, and the threatenings of all those ecclesiastics. He moved with a firm step in the course which he had traced. The public finances were in extreme disorder through the depredations

of his predecessors. He therefore changed the fiscal administrators, diminished the number of the charges which burdened the treasury, and thus eased the people. The arts and industry languished, commerce and manufactures were in a deplorable condition. He established manufactories, repaired the public edifices, was engaged in the draining of the Pontine marshes, founded the rich museum which bears his name, defrayed the expenses of the nunciatories and missions, and supplied the payment of troops and of artists, and paid with regularity the pensions which were chargeable on the Roman court. Having regulated the interior affairs, he began to search into the exterior subjects of policy. The political horizon was full of clouds. The irritation of the crowned heads had been carried to the highest degree by the brief of Clement XIII against the duke of Parma, and from a new attempt by the Jesuits to the assassination of the king of Portugal. That monarch even announced the intention to nominate a new patriarch independent of the pope, and thus by one stroke to close all connection with the Roman court. Clement XIV began by renewing his relations with the kings of France and Spain. He ingeniously insinuated to them that the papacy was the basis on which reposed the absolute authority of the popish princes; that it was their interest to defend it; except to restrain any privileges which their ancestors had conceded to the "successors of the Apostles," and which were deemed incompatible with their dignity. Finally, that he might join example to the precept, he abrogated the famous bull, *In Cæna Domini*; revoked all the decrees of the council of Trent and of the popes, relative to this constitution; abandoned both in theory and in practice all pretension to the temporal jurisdiction over princes, and gave pledges of his sincerity. That conduct regained him all minds.—France restored the Comtat Venaissin, and the king of Naples restored Benevento and Pontecorvo. Nevertheless, the princes of the houses of Braganza and Bourbon yielded not in their rigors towards the Jesuits, and earnestly claimed the suppression of the order. Clement XIV, like a prudent man, answered, that before he could execute an act so solemn as the abrogation of an institute which enrolls its members by tens of thousands, and which had its ramifications in all parts of the world, he must previously become acquainted with the causes which would justify his decision in the eyes of posterity. From that time, the pope was shrouded in impenetrable mystery. He studied with profound attention and scrupulousness, the statutes, the rules, the arts, and the history of the society. He nominated papal visitors to examine the administration of the wealth of their colleges, and expert proctors

to establish the account of their prodigious riches.

Clement XIV, however, was not so engrossed by that affair that he could not act the part of a pope, and hurl his bulls of excommunication against Diderot, D'Alembert, Voltaire, Helvétius, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Marmontel, and the Baron D'Holbach, on account of the anti-papist doctrines which they taught in their works. The French priests naturally ranged themselves on the side of the pope against the philosophers. The parliament but feebly opposed those by whom they had been aided in triumphing over the Jesuits, and authorised the prelates of that kingdom to assemble at Paris to judge the works censured by the court of Rome. These are the terms in which that conclave of ignorant prelates formally issued their recriminations in their address to the French Monarch:

"Most Reverend Sire—Impiety has not been restrained from attacking the church! and thus at the same time has assailed the sanctuary and the empire. It publishes that it will not be satisfied until it has abolished all divine and human authority. If your majesty should doubt this sad truth, we will hasten to furnish the proofs of it by placing before your eyes a work recently published under the specious name of the "System of Nature." The author of that publication, probably the most criminal which the human mind ever brought forth, thinks it not enough to injure men in teaching them that there is not any revealed religion, that hell is a hideous, absurd chimera, which owes its origin to the knavery of priests; he dares even to notice civil society and the governors of it. He proclaims that he perceives in the different states but a vile mass of weak or wicked men, abased before prelates who rob them, or before princes who oppress them. He says that all the national chiefs are infamous usurpers, who sacrifice the people to their execrable passions, and who arrogate to themselves the haughty title of God's representatives, only to exercise with more impunity their odious despotism over mankind. He asserts, that the agreement of the priesthood with the sovereign power is a sacrilegious compact enacted by craft and force. He dares to deny that the authority of kings is of divine right, and pretends that the people may demand an account of the management of their affairs, and even, O what excess of audacity! may divest them of their crown and life, if they have abused their supreme authority. Take care, Sire: such principles are naturally pleasing to the imagination, and can be propagated with extreme rapidity; the inevitable consequence of which will be the emancipation of the human race, and the ruin of the throne and the altar! Nevertheless, Sire, who could believe it? That dan-

gerous and impious book is sold in your capital, and near the gates even of your palace. Soon it will penetrate to the extremities of your empire, and there diffuse in the hearts of the people the seeds of liberty, our enemy so fearful to all. Yet the laws are silent! and authority unmoved thinks not of taking out of the hands of your subjects that monstrous miscellany of blasphemies. O prince, well-beloved, tolerate not this scandal any longer. Arrest the progress of human reason. Bind in chains this spirit of independence which so often has overturned thrones. Repress these flashes of a delirious imagination which dreams of equality among men, or tremble for the future kings of your race!"

To the representations of the prelates were joined the requisitions of the magistracy.—The advocate general, Seguier, was directed to prosecute the philosophers before the parliament, who thus expressed his opinions:

"An impious and audacious sect has decorated false wisdom with the name of philosophy. Its partisans have raised themselves to the rank of preceptors of the human race, and seek to overthrow the altar and the throne. Their rallying cry is the *liberty of the press!* and to make their device triumphant, they are placed at the head of the infidels, and have unfurled the standard of revolt. If, then, we could insure our privileges from the strokes of those dangerous doctrines which tend to turn society upside down, under the pretext of reforming abuses, we must exercise severity on those works, exterminate them, and even efface from all remembrance the existence of them!"

In conformity with the outrageous opinions of the advocate general, the parliament, by their decree of August 18, 1770, condemned to the flames, the works which had been denounced by the ecclesiastical assembly—the System of Nature; Hell Destroyed; Sacred Contagion; Examination of the Prophecies which are the foundation of religion; Christianity Unveiled, God and Men, Discourse on the Miracles of Jesus Christ; Philosophical Miscellany; and Critical examination of the Apologists for the Christian Religion. Those works were attributed to Domilavillo, Diderot, Voltaire and D'Holbach, whose house, according to an expression of Grinam, long was one of the rendezvous of the initiated Encyclopedists, and designated as the "Synagogue" by the priests, who also applied the name "Parish" to the house of Madam Necker, where constantly met the Abbé Chauvelin, the worthy successor of the Abbé Pucelle, the Count Argental Mairaud, Mirabeau, Fonesmague, Bachaumont, Voisenon, and other disciples of Voltaire.

Through the imprudent conduct of the parliament, the Jesuits seemed once more to be regaining their ancient preponderance, as the magistrates had stupidly aided the

priests in their struggle with the philosophers. The priests, whose interests were connected with those of the Jesuit society, made a common cause with the disciples of Ignatius Loyola, and intrigued so well, that finally the "well-beloved" Louis XV dismissed the parliament.

The king yielding to the solicitations of his new favorite, the countess of Barry, who was the instrument of the Chancellor Maupeou, the hiring of the Jesuits, announced that he would recognise that company, and made known his intentions to the Roman court. The sovereign pontif wrote in haste to that monarch, and requested him to leave things in the state that he found them until after his judgment concerning the society was published.

Clement XIV continued his minute inquiry without any regard to the menaces or obstacles of every kind which he met with in his course. Nevertheless, he deemed it prudent to use due precautions to evade the terrible doom of his predecessor. Thus, he filled the place of chief cook of the palace Quirinal by a monk named Francis, his friend, who, from his attachment to the pope, had consented to serve him in the preparation of the food allotted for his table.

Nothing intimidated Ganganelli; and when he became amply instructed in the crimes of the society, after four years of severe inquest, he issued his celebrated bull, "*Domini ac Redemptor.*" The brief which abolished the Jesuit order was thus formally promulgated—"Inspired by the Holy Ghost, impelled by duty to restore harmony to the church, convinced that the congregation of Jesuits cannot any longer render the services for which Paul III, our predecessor instituted them, determined besides by other motives which morality commands us to retain in our own mind, we abolish, by virtue of our sovereign authority in religious affairs, and we annihilate for ever the society of Jesuits, its functions, its houses, and its institutions." Having subscribed that bull, Clement XIV with a sigh remarked, "I now sign my death-warrant, but I obey my conscience."

The decision immediately was made known to the professed house, and to the other colleges by the deputies of the commission of inquest. To prevent any rebellion, the pope arrested the general of the order, Lorenzo Ricci, his assistants, the secretary general, and the monks Faure, Forestier, and Gautier, who were conducted to the castle of Angelo. Clement instantly redoubled the precautions to secure him from the effects of the revenge of his enemies, and renewed his recommendations to the Franciscan to watch the kitchen—"Brother Francisco," he said, "watch the boiler." The active inspection of the monk disconcerted not the Jesuits; it only rendered them more ingenious; and this was the infernal trick which they adopted to obtain their end.

A woman of Sabine, devoted to the Jesuits, had in her garden a tree which produced the finest figs in Rome. The Jesuits knowing that the pope was exceedingly fond of that fruit, persuaded that lady to disguise herself as a country woman, and to carry some figs to the monk Francis. The votary performed her manœuvre several times, gained the Franciscan's confidence, and one day she slipped into a basket a fig much larger than the others, into which had been infused a most subtle poison called "aquetta." Until that period the pope had enjoyed perfect health. He was well formed, though of the ordinary height. His voice was sonorous and strong. He walked with youthful agility, and every thing about him presaged a long old age.

From that day the health of Clement XIV disappeared in the most extraordinary manner. His voice was sensibly weakened.—With the first symptoms of disease were joined an inflammation of the throat, so violent that he was forced continually to hold his mouth open; then vomitings succeeded the inflammation, accompanied by pains in the bowels. Finally, as the disease became more intense, the pope perceived that he had been poisoned. He used antidotes, but they were too late. The disorder was beyond remedy, and hastened the decomposition of his frame. During three months continuance of his terrible agony, his fortitude did not cease for a moment. One day only, after a critical scene more violent than all the rest, he said, "Alas! I knew well that they would poison me, but I did not expect to be murdered in this slow and cruel manner!" Clement had become only the shadow of himself. His flesh was liquified by the constant action of the aquetta; his bones even had been attacked, and were mollified in distorting his limbs, which gave them a hideous form. At length God pitied that wretched victim of the execrable Jesuits, and removed Ganganelli on the morning of September 22, 1774.

An authentic document, the despatch of the Spanish ambassador, relates in its minute details, the *post mortem* examination of the corpse, which was made on the day after the death of Clement, and adds to the other irrefragable proofs of the poisoning of the pontif and the wickedness of the sons of Ignatius Loyola. We quote the text of the process concerning the examination, without either addition or change. "Before the embalming, and at the opening of the corpse of Pope Clement XIV, we observed that the face was livid, the lips and the nails black, the dorsal region of a tawny color, the abdomen swelled, the whole body emaciated and of an ashy-cedar-like tint, but which, nevertheless, left upon the arms, sides, thighs, and legs, livid spots beneath the skin. Then, the corpse being opened, we perceived that the lobes of the lungs adhered

to the pleura and were mortified. We opened the pericardium, and took out the heart, which was considerably diminished. Under the diaphragm, the stomach and the duodenum were filled with air and entirely gangrenous. In the skull, we found the dura mater tumefied, and in a singular state of flaccidity. After having embalmed the intestines and the viscera, we laid them in a vessel to preserve them, but the vase was instantly broken. On the next day, we again returned to the chamber where the defunct pope lay, to proceed to the interment. We were almost suffocated on entering by the horrible smell of the dead body; on which we determined to proceed to a second embalming. We remarked also that the face was swelled and of a brown color, the hands black, and on the exterior parts covered with small bladders, raised to the size of two fingers, and full of lixivial serosities. Moreover, a large quantity of serous humor, mingled with corrupted blood, trickled from the corpse by the leaning side of the bed, and flowed in abundance on the stones.

"When we attempted to take off the pontifical garments, a large part of the epidermis and of the durma adhered to them. The nails even were detached by the slightest touch or shake, and all the hair remained on the cushion which supported the head. On the corpse we noticed a flowing or gushing of fluid, which appeared to the eyes in the form of shining globules, which infected the atmosphere; which forced us, after four attempts at embalming, to enclose the body in the coffin with all the pontifical ornaments, and not to permit the usual exposure of the body to the *veneration* of the public!"

Thus were exemplified the threats of the Jesuits; and thus were accomplished their sinister predictions.

Ganganelli was born at Archangelo, October 31, 1705, of a plebeian family. His father was either a laboring agriculturist or the village surgeon. He early devoted himself to the monastic vocation; but the cloister did not mould his character into that of a misanthropist, or a fanatical bigot; for his mind and heart were full of tolerance. He held strong friendships, as his lasting attachment to the monk Francis proved. He loved the charms of nature. Botany and natural history cheered his leisure hours; for he was often engaged in dissecting an insect, or analyzing a flower; or with a book in his hand, he would traverse the woody solitudes.

Ganganelli fancied that he was born for a high destiny, like Sixtus V, who had been a rustic, a swineherd, and a begging friar; and, therefore, he resolved to rise. He was offered the generalship of the Franciscan order, but he scorned the lowly prize, under the pretext of the greatest humility. The general of the Jesuits recommended him to the pope's nephew; and Clement XIII made him a cardinal, and clothed him with purple.

But during his cardinalate he preserved his simple habits, preferring them to the vain ceremonies in which he was obliged to participate. While comprehending the reality, he was unconcerned for the pomp of power; for he would say, "The arms of temporal sovereigns are very long; they reach over the Alps and the Pyrenees;" therefore, he abandoned all connection with the Jesuits, and secretly took part with the crowned heads. In the ecclesiastical conclaves, he spoke on the behalf of the princes, but with great precaution; and when the election for the new pontif was proceeding after the death of Clement XIII, he was merely considered as not inimical to the plans of the monarchs, who determined to extirpate the Jesuit society. After a protracted series of duplicity and intrigue, it was found impossible to elect a decisive partisan of the Jesuits, because the French, Spanish and Neapolitan governments decided against it, and Bernis, the French cardinal, was opposed, as he was adjudged to be a mere tool of France. Hence some of the emissaries of the courts proposed to Ganganelli that he should become a candidate, probably with the expectation that his former adherence to the royal power in preference to the ascendancy of the Jesuits, would induce him to extirpate the society.—Having finally satisfied Cardinal Bernis, that he would willingly aid the schemes of the Bourbons, Ganganelli was elected pope, and assumed the title of Clement XIV.

Having been enthroned, the pope perceived that he must temporize, amuse the princes by promises, quiet the Jesuits by hesitation and delay, and endeavor to elude, instead of facing the danger. Ganganelli was swayed by an aversion to the grantees of Rome, and cautiously secluded himself from them. The Jesuits did not neglect the endeavor to obtain an influence over the pope, through his only intimate companions, the long tried friends of earlier years. The cardinals and princes, deprived of all direct means to communicate with the pope, united with the Jesuits. To attain their end, they made use of all their knowledge of mankind; for the Jesuits even in the Roman palaces, were the managers of the husbands, the preceptors of the children, the directors of the women, and in all bedchambers, at all tables, and at all amusements, the Jesuits reigned as despots. Hence their triumph would secure that of the aristocracy. The pope repelled their advances; would not receive them in public audience, and in private answered them with evasions; thus he kept them in constant fear, and their confidence and hope were always mingled with discouragement. But Ganganelli discovered that he vainly flattered himself that in quietude he could hold the balance between the kings and the Jesuits, by lulling them in turn with promises always renewing, but never accomplished.

Wearied with such long waiting, the king

of Spain redoubled his solicitations, and accompanied them with threats. The Jesuits also adopted the same course. Seduction had not succeeded, they then employed terror. They penetrated at once into the designs of Ganganelli—and they anticipated their ruin from their views of him formed on the day after his election. Having represented to the pope the danger of irritating the cardinals, and the nobility; to counteract the menaces of France and Spain, the Jesuits threatened him with death. At length his gait partially subsided, he shut himself up in seclusion, and became peculiarly careful of his food, and drink and clothing.

Urged on all sides to abolish the Jesuits, who he himself declared had, "merited their ruin by the turbulence of their minds, and the audacity of their plots," the pope resolved to procrastinate until all the European monarchs had given their assent to the abolition of the society. But he was obliged to act, as he thought, with peculiar circumspection. He began on the Thursday before Easter Sunday, by the omission of the bull *In Cœna Domini*, which ever before had been announced. The pope also made peace with Portugal—but amid a variety of circumstances—the grant of papal dispensations, a magnificent Auto-de-Fe, in which many Christians were martyred, the grant of a cardinal's hat to the brother of Pombal the prime minister, and a formal promise at a proper season to suppress the Jesuits.

Amid these conflicts, the situation of Clement was most unhappy. Every contrivance for delay was exhausted. The menaces of the Jesuits became louder and more fearful; and assumed the form of predictions. His approaching death was announced by a woman named Bernardina Beruzzi, who pretended to be a prophetess; who scattered her fanatical hints under the form of these four letters, P. S. S. V. "Presto sara sede vacante;" "the papal see will soon be vacant." The pope, therefore, doubted not that the dagger or poison would be his portion. The Jesuits and their partisans constantly calumniated him. Insulting caricatures, and hideous pictures foretold his approaching death as a providential avenging of the society.—Ricci himself, the general of the order of the Jesuits, instigated the avowed sorceress of Valentavo.

At length delay was no longer possible, for the princes would not listen to the pope's promises. Maria Theresa of Austria, and Joseph of Portugal, having given their cordial assent to the entire abolition of the order of Jesuits, the brief was prepared; but previous to its publication, the pope wished to reverberate some sounds of it.—Permission was given for the adversaries and creditors of the Jesuits to prosecute them, who, before, had never been amenable to any law. Their debts, and the wicked doings of their seminaries, till then con-

ceased, were all publicly exposed; and their famous Roman college, with all its property, was confiscated for the payment of their creditors, as well as other portions of their wealth.

Finally, on July 21, 1773, the brief “*Dominus ac Redemptor*” appeared. France restored Avignon to the papedom, and Naples made restitution of Beneventum, which courts rendered the pope very popular at Rome. At this period, and during some months after, the health of the pope was unusually good, and his strong constitution promised a long pontifical career. Notwithstanding, portentous rumors were privately circulated; and amid every symptom of manly vigor, the report of his speedy death was universally diffused; and about the end of the Roman Lent, those intimations seemed likely to be realized. The pope immured himself in his palace, and refused all audiences, even to the diplomatic body. However, August 17, the ministers of the principal powers were admitted to an interview. The aspect of the pope surprised them, for he appeared to be a mere skeleton. From that day, the ambassadors began to prepare for another electoral conclave. How, in so short a time, could Clement XIV have passed from energy to decrepitude, and from life to death? After eight months of perfect health and vigor, the pope, rising from table, felt an internal affection, accompanied with a deadly chill. His friends at once perceived alarming symptoms. His voice, till then, strong and sonorous, was affected with an unprecedented hoarseness. He had, also, a strange inflammation in the throat, attended with vomitings, and such weakness in his legs that he could scarcely walk; and his sleep, until then, profound and refreshing, was ever interrupted by the sharpest pains. At length, rest altogether vanished. He attempted to extirpate his malady by antidotes to poison, but in vain. Even his character became changed. Instead of equanimity, he exhibited caprice, fits of anger were developed instead of a sweet temper; and poniards and poisons ever flitted before his eyes. His blood became corrupt. The atmosphere of his apartment increased the effects of his unwholesome food. In this derangement of his physical frame, his mental and moral condition also were affected. So Pius VII said, when he was a prisoner at Fontainebleau in 1814; that they were endeavoring to make him a fool and murder him like Clement XIV. Phantoms disturbed his sleep. He was terrified with the most hideous dreams. At length, after six months in protracted unceasing torture, Clement was delivered; and in his last moments, his reason was fully restored. He endeavoured to speak, but the words adhered to his lips and he ceased to breathe, September 22, 1774. The sight of Ganganelli’s corpse was sufficient to prove

that he had died by violence. The embalmers found a livid countenance, black lips, an inflated abdomen, the emaciated limbs spotted, a diminished heart, the muscles decomposed; and neither aromatics nor perfumes could counteract the mephitic exhalations. The entrails broke the vessel in which they were deposited. The skin adhered to the pontifical garments. The hair was united to the velvet cushion on which his head had reposed, and the least friction rubbed off the nails. The physicians privately, the funeral rites publicly, and all Rome aloud, declared, “Clement XIV perished by the aqua tofana of Perugia.”

The ensuing paragraph from the official correspondence of Bernis, is of too great importance to be slighted:—“August 28. Those who judge rashly, or with malice, perceive nothing natural in the pope’s situation. September 28. The pope’s malady and the circumstances of his death render the belief universal, that it was not natural. The physicians who assisted at the opening of the corpse, speak with prudence, but the surgeons with less circumspection. It may be best to believe the former; and not to attempt the illustration of the afflictive truth, which it would be mournful to unravel. October 26. When a person is enlightened as I am, from the authentic documents which the late pope communicated to me, we shall find that the suppression of the Jesuits was just and necessary. The circumstances which preceded, accompanied and followed the death of the late pope, equally excite horror and compassion. I have collected the true circumstances of the sickness and death of Clement XIV, from the end of Lent, when his disease commenced.” Three years after, October 28, 1777, writing of Pius VI, he remarked:—“Pius VI is profoundly acquainted with the wretched end of his predecessor, and will not risk the same misery.”

Immediately after the murder of Clement XIV, a strange contrast arose between the philosophers and the Jesuits. Those chanted his eulogy, while the Jesuits resounded their curses and anathemas against him. The Jesuits have never pardoned the unfortunate pontiff whom they killed. Their tongues knew no restraint. In their fury against the pope, they surpassed the school of Voltaire, for they mocked and scoffed at their own “Lord God the pope,” and dragged in the dust, and trampled there, their own adored *Infallible!*

As soon as Ganganelli was advanced to the pontifical throne, all were in haste to heap eulogiums on him, and it was on this occasion, he said to the tribunal of the Holy Office, when that body paid their compliments to him: “The Saviour of the world received blessings, when he made his entrance into Jerusalem; and a few days after the same people demanded his death! I, who am his vicar, may possibly undergo the

same fate in the present unhappy situation of the affairs of the church."

Never had pope been chosen in more tempestuous times. Portugal exasperated to the highest degree against Rome, as not having received satisfaction in what it desired with respect to the Jesuits, meditated means of adhering to its own patriarch alone, and of having no further communication with the pope, but in way of prayers. Spain, which absolutely insisted on their abolition, used thundering menaces against the holy see, and gave indications of some steps to be taken, fatal to the court of Rome. France, now some years in possession of Avignon, and greatly irritated by the manner in which the duke of Parma had been treated, joined with Spain in showing, on every occasion, the height of her resentment; since Clement had threatened to interdict the territories of the duke, excommunicate his person, ministers, and other dignitaries, and declared he held Parma only as a feudatory of the holy see. Naples, supported by the other crowns, and a resolute active ministry, kept possession of Benevento and Pontecorvo; and threatened to extend her limits still farther. Parma, which had been the stumbling block, insisted on a retraction from the pope himself, as an act of justice due to it. Venice claimed a right to reform the religious communities without consulting Rome. Poland was considering of means to abridge the privileges of the Nunciature, and consequently of putting a check on the papal power. The Romans themselves grumbled to see their possessions become the prey of foreigners. And to complete all these misfortunes, a spirit of giddiness, every where spread abroad, attacked kings, popes and God himself, ranking Christianity in the class of chimeras and superstitions. What a prospect was here for the "head of the church," as their heathenish delusion entitles the pope!

Clement knew that the Jesuits were accused of trading, disturbing the public peace, and of teaching a loose morality, and of having favored the Malabarian rites: these are the very words of the brief, "and that his most Christian majesty, as well as his catholic majesty, as also his faithful majesty, after having expelled them their territories, warmly solicited their destruction."

These were so many complaints to be weighed. Ganganelli, therefore, took the space of four years to calculate the advantages of such a step, notwithstanding the daily repeated instances of the princes and their ambassadors; notwithstanding the murmurs of a populace, ever impatient, and who imagine people have nothing else to do but to satisfy their curiosity. "We thought it necessary to take a considerable length of time," said the pope in his brief.

The people became sensible that it was to no purpose for the potentates to suppress

the Jesuits in their respective dominions; and that they never could be destroyed, till Rome should speak.

The number of conferences and audiences in the palace, and even in the pope's presence, on this subject is incredible. The cardinals de Bernis, Orsini, and the prelate Azparu, minister of Spain, presented themselves one after another, and sometimes came all together, to lay open the reasons of their respective sovereigns, and to determine the pontif to put an end to this great affair.

In the mean time Clement XIV, though in the midst of the most important negotiations, appeared quite easy, and suffered nothing of what passed in his own soul, to transpire.

He had been crowned in the Basilic of St. Peter, the 4th of June, 1769, in the midst of acclamations; and on the 26th of November, the same year, he took possession of St. John Lateran, with all the magnificence annexed to that pompous ceremony.

The common people did not love Ganganelli, because he was not extravagant in his way of living; and the grandes were disaffected, because he kept all his designs from them. The cardinals murmured, but he said, "A sovereign who hath many confidants is infallibly governed, and often betrayed. I sleep at my ease, when I am sure my secret is known to myself alone."

This procured him a deputation from the cardinals, who represented to him "that the pontifs had hitherto taken the advice of the sacred college." He contented himself with answering them: "That the affairs he had in hand required the greatest secrecy: whereas all Rome generally knew whatever was entrusted to them." He undoubtedly feared the discovery of his designs.

Spain warmly solicited the beatification of John Palafox, bishop of Angelopolis, and afterwards of Osma, as having been one of the most dreaded antagonists of the Jesuits. The court of Madrid thought, that by placing in the catalogue of saints, a prelate who had painted the Jesuits in very frightful colors to Innocent X, they would be quite crushed, and that it would be the most terrible stroke that could be given them.

The secrecy with which all the measures leading to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and its immense dominions, and the silence with which they were executed, were truly astonishing. The king's ordinance shows those measures were the result of a council held the 29th of the preceding January, and the king's commission to the Count d'Aranda for the execution of them, was issued on the 27th of February. Between eleven and twelve at night, March 31st, 1767, the six houses of the Jesuits at Madrid were surrounded by different detachments of regular troops; who having got open the outside doors, the bells were immediately secured, and a sentry placed at the

door of each chamber. The Jesuits were then ordered to rise, and being assembled, they were acquainted with the king's orders, and assisted in packing up such things as were requisite for their journey. In the mean time, all the hired coaches and chaises in Madrid, together with several wagons, had been secured, and distributed in proper places; so that without any loss of time, they began their journey to Carthagea very early in the morning, and were escorted by a strong and numerous guard. All this was effected without the least noise or disturbance: the inhabitants of Madrid were in their beds, and knew nothing of what passed, till they heard it, to their surprise, in the morning, when the affair was quite over.

On the third day after, in the morning, the Jesuits' college at Barcelona was invested by the civil and military power: the members were sent off guarded for transportation, and their effects seized upon and sealed up. The same measures were put in execution, at the same hour, in every part of Spain. The packets which conveyed the orders to the governors were enclosed in letters, which gave directions that they should not be opened till a certain hour; after which no person to whom any part of the orders had been communicated, was to quit the governor's sight till they were executed. In the meantime, orders were sent to the sea-ports to examine all persons that should attempt to take their passage to any of the Spanish Indies, that no Jesuit might pass in disguise that way. Ships were also provided, and the prisoners sent by different embarkations to Civita-Vecchia, where they were refused admittance by the pope, and, at last, after many difficulties at sea, and some demurs on the parts of the Genoese, they were landed at Calvi, Algaiola, and Ajacio in Corsica, July 8th, to the number it is said, of two thousand three hundred of the survivors.

In the month of July, the Jesuits of Mexico, to the number of seven hundred, were in like manner arrested, and secured till ships could be provided to convey them home. The same measures were executed in all the foreign Spanish dominions. Their confiscated estates and effects in Mexico only amounted to seventy-seven millions of piasters or above seven millions sterling. The effects found in different warehouses in Old Spain were valued at a prodigious sum; and the Jesuits of Peru, and the southern provinces were still richer than those of Mexico.

Clement despatched a brief to the prelates of the Spanish Indies, by which he granted them the faculty of dispensing in the second and third degrees of kindred, to obviate the inconveniences which arose from that impediment of matrimony.

The prelate Azparu, Minister of Spain, who took so much pains in stirring up the pope to hasten the death of the society, died

before he had brought that affair to a conclusion. The court at Madrid, sensible of this loss, was not deceived, when it nominated Monsignor Monino to succeed him.—“He is an asp,” said the partisans of the Jesuits, “who is continually twisting himself about the pope, and bites him from time to time, to induce him to extinguish the society.”

The pope informed himself of every thing, without letting any one perceive that he did so: and even while he was seen on horseback, riding in the environs of Rome, or taking some recreation, he, at the same time, was planning the greatest schemes. Overwhelmed with business, he stood in absolute need of unbending his mind. But, besides that, the activity of his genius did not suffer him to be entirely inactive; the violent iniquities with which he was agitated during his pontificate, were of such a nature, as to mount behind, and gallop with him wherever he went. Indeed he often said, “I am really in purgatory—Io sono veramente nel purgatorio.”

The Romans employed, to no purpose, every means to penetrate the designs of the pope; and as no pontificate pleases them, unless they can lead the pontiff, they often broke out into bitter complaints. The pope knew that they had spoken ill of him at the house of a lady, who warmly took his part. The next day he sent her a present, with this message, “that she had pleaded his cause very well, and that it was but an act of justice to pay his counsel.”

Clement XIV was sensible, as he often said, “that the religious orders had degenerated, because it is impossible that fervor should always be kept up to the same degree; that no reformation lasts above a hundred years; and that even then, according to the remark of a famous writer, there are seventy years for God, and thirty for the world: that studies were on the decline in cloisters, as well as elsewhere; in a word, that there were too many convents of religious communities, especially in country places, where dissipation brings with it a multitude of abuses.”

One day pointing to brother Francis, he twice repeated the following words: “He hath kept his habit, and is happier than I am, who wear the tiara. They would make me pope: and I very much fear . . .” here he stopped short; “but after all we must submit to the will of God.”

There was not any publication of consequence on the company of Jesuits, of which he was not perfectly master. He studied also the memoirs of Maigrot, who had been papal vicar in China; and who drew on him the hatred of the Jesuits, by publishing that their conduct was atrociously vile, and that their rites practised in China were superstitious and idolatrous. He requested of the king of Spain, the correspondence between

Philip II and Sixtus V, with regard to the Jesuits, whose suppression was even then designed. Never was man more impartial: he renounced his own will: he divested himself of whatever favored of prepossession; he judged as posterity itself will judge hereafter.

When the potentates pressed him to come to a determination on the affair, he answered, "Give me time to examine the important business on which I have to pronounce. I am the common father of all the faithful, but more especially of the regulars; and I cannot destroy a famous order, without having such reasons for so doing, as will justify me in the eyes of all ages to come, but above all, in the eyes of God. I will not merely execute the will of others, I will be a judge."

When any of his formerly brother-friars asked him questions relating to the Jesuits, he said to them: "While I was brother Ganganelli, I might have trusted you with my most secret thoughts; but now I neither ought, nor can I speak." The Romans easily pass from an enthusiastic admiration to downright hatred. They more than once have abused the very pontiffs they had most desired: and a pope, to please them, ought not to reign above three years. Unhappy from their laziness, they always hope, that by changing their masters, they may become more fortunate; in the same manner, as a sick man fancies he shall be much better when he hath changed his posture. It is not therefore surprising that Clement was by turns exposed to murmurs and eulogies.

Every body's eyes were fixed on him, to see what he would do, from the warm interest they took in the affair of the Jesuits. Some gave out that he could not destroy them, because the Council of Trent had approved of them: others maintained that the council had only spoken of them occasionally: while Pasquin, ever a great prater, said, "they would infallibly be destroyed, as the Marechaussée (a body of horse patrol, employed to catch malefactors at Rome) of God were at their heels."

The thunder which had been rattling for some time, and which still remained suspended, without its being possible to foresee how it would burst at last, rendered the situation of the Jesuits more cruel than ever; particularly as they only removed from one country to another to meet with new misfortunes.

Scarce had they taken refuge in Avignon, when that city was seized by the French; and as soon as they withdrew to Corsica, they found themselves, by the singularity of events, under the necessity of quitting it.

If the pope had consulted only his own heart, he would, no doubt, have softened their destiny, as he himself often declared. But powerful motives had determined him

to act in the manner he did: "*gravissimis adducti causis*" are his own words: and the monarchs who insisted on the abolition of the order, were not of a character to bend or be neglected.

Joseph, king of Portugal, jealous of his power and of his rights, did not think he could be sufficiently revenged, unless the church was rid of those men, whom he considered as his greatest enemies. Charles, king of Spain, as invariable in his resolutions as in his principles, thought that the best means of hindering the Jesuits from ever entering his kingdom again, would be to abolish the order. Lewis, king of France, ever a friend to the popes and the priests, and to please whom it was consequently the interest of Rome, saw himself forced by motives which are easily seen to demand the suppression of the society. Charles, king of Naples, saw a plan completely formed among his august relations; and Ferdinand, duke of Parma, a prince already capable of determining himself, would not suffer men accused of great misdemeanors to remain in his territories. There were none but their ministers, who could abate the zeal of the monarchs. The influence they have over them is well known: but those who were then in favor, warmly advised the total suppression of the society; and their suffrage had the greater weight, as they were highly esteemed throughout all Europe for their reputation and talents.

The emperor and empress-queen of Hungary, consented to the destruction of the society, after informations had been communicated to them in order to determine them to take that step.

Clement XIV, had he even been a zealous friend of the Jesuits, could no more hold out against such authorities, than any other pope could have done; or had he presumed to attempt it, he must have exposed Rome to some violent storm. Clement XIII himself, at the time of his death, had determined to abolish them, which thing would then have caused the greater surprise, as he must have been obliged to declare against his own work, the bull *Apostolicum*.

The affair of the Jesuits having come to full maturity, nothing remained to be done but to pronounce the definitive sentence, which should determine their doom.

Notwithstanding all the precautions the pope had taken not to be deceived, he still distrusted himself; and in order to avoid all reproach, he communicated his brief to some of the most learned among the theologians and cardinals. He carried his attention still further, and secretly sent it to the potentates interested in the quarrel with the Jesuits; and even to those who were indifferent with respect to that dispute, to take their advice, and not to expose his own authority to be called in question.

When he had received the answers of the

princes, who approved of his resolutions, and promised to have them executed according to their form and tenor, he waited still some time longer: not that he was intimidated by papers posted up, even in his own palace, "recommending the holy father to the prayers of the public, as being soon to die," but because he saw that he was going to extinguish a famous order, which had connections, and correspondences in every part of the globe; that he was going to cause an immense chasm which would not be filled immediately, and that he was going to render himself odious to a multitude of people in power.

He saw, at the same time, that their existence had caused disturbances from the very beginning; that the complaints and accusations brought against the society increased more and more every day: that the kings of France, Spain and the Two Sicilies had found themselves absolutely obliged to drive them out of their territories and demand their abolition; that a great number of bishops and others, distinguished for their dignity, learning and religion, had solicited their suppression; and that they themselves had consented to their own annihilation, when they declared, without any ambiguity, by the mouth of their general, that they rather chose to subsist no longer, as a body, than to undergo any reformation. His words were these—"Sint ut sunt, aut non sint." "Let them continue to be as they are, or not be at all."

At length, Clement signed the brief, and then said to his attendant and others, "the suppression of the Jesuits is now decided. I do not repent of my act. I did not determine to do it, till I had well examined and weighed every thing: and because I judged it useful and necessary for the good of the church, I thought myself obliged to do it: and would yet do it, if it were not already done. But this suppression will be my death. 'Ecce la dunque fatta questa suppressione. Non me ripento. Non mi fon determinato, che doppo aver tutto effaminato e ponderato: e perche l'ho giudicata utile e necessaria per el ben della chiefa, ho creduto dovere far la: e la farei ancora, se non fosse fatta. Ma questa suppressione mi dara la morte.'"

Immediately after, the pope commissioned Cardinal Malvezzi of Bologna, to secularize the Jesuits in his diocese; and all the other prelates of the popedom received a similar commission to make the Jesuits give an account of their administration, and to expel them from their houses.

Thus a Franciscan friar destroyed in an instant the work of more than two ages: A society closely cemented by vows of religion, policy, and the protection of a multitude of pontiffs and sovereigns. A society which, as well by its credit, as by its extent, seemed to promise a duration equal to that of the papacy itself. Thus was destroyed a body of men which had given so much trouble; against

which so much had been written; which, by its connections in all the courts of the universe, could not fail of doing both good and harm: and which, by desiring to support the court of Rome too far, had rendered that court odious not only to protestants, but unto Romanists themselves.

Clement was capable neither of hatred nor prepossession against any one; so that he destroyed the society, only because he thought himself obliged to do it. "Whoever imagines," said an ambassador, "that Clement XIV is a pope, who may be made to do what any one pleases, is deceived. We have found him immovable on certain occasions; and whatever is said to him, he comes to no determination till he hath maturely considered what is to be done."

A pilot is known in the midst of a storm; the higher the billows rose, the more calm and easy the pope appeared. Whatever the commissioners were to execute, he regulated with the most surprising presence of mind.

"It is a siege," said he one day to Cardinal Stoppani, "which I am to stand out; but this war will have an end: and if I fall in it, such will be the will of God. I foresaw all this: I am prepared for whatever can happen. Even the poor nuns are armed against me; and fanaticism can go no further."

A paper was posted up on the gates of the palace of the pope, containing only these five letters, "I S S S V," which nobody could explain, when he himself immediately said, with an unconcerned air, that the meaning of these letters were that "in September the see would be vacant." "In Settembre sara side vacante."

The republic of Venice, having long wished for the suppression of several holydays, to give free course to daily labor, presented a request, desiring him to enter into their views. The pope, who perfectly knew the abuse the common people make of the most holy days, by abandoning themselves to immoderate excesses, acquiesced in the desire of the Venetians.

There appeared also an edict of the pope to hinder vagabonds from remaining in the ecclesiastical state, and to obviate the mischiefs which are committed by persons who can give no account of themselves. Beggary hath at all times been a nursery of vice, especially in Italy, where charities, bestowed without choice, are only an encouragement to it.

The pope's health, which had been hitherto remarkably good and vigorous, began to decay: and his countenance, which seemed to have assumed a new bloom since his pontificate, insensibly lost its color. In the month of April, 1774, the first symptoms of languor appeared.

The malady of the pope increased more and more, and his bowels being often racked with unheard-of pains, he was advised to

use the waters: but as he found no ease from them, it was judged proper to excite an abundant perspiration by artificial means, though in the midst of the burning heats of summer. This did not, however, prevent the pope from falling into a universal marasmus. By the end of July, Clement was no more than the shadow of what he had been. His bones exfoliated, and seemed to grow less, like a tree which, when wounded in its root, decays, loses its bark, and by degrees falls to the ground. He found himself dying by piecemeal, the pains he suffered were so acute, that the amiable serenity, by which he used to gain every heart, no longer spread its rays around him.

Never was situation so painfully cruel as his! Tormented with the most troublesome and knotty affairs; bespattered with libels, which were every moment springing up; surrounded by sinister predictions, which foretold his death, and fixed the time thereof; consumed by a disorder which neither could be known, nor cured.

There is not the least doubt, after all the circumstances and symptoms, which were carefully observed, but that Clement was cruelly poisoned; and there even appear proofs that this execrable piece of villainy was twice attempted; first in the month of April, and afterwards at the end of June, 1774.

A herpes or serpigo struck in, which some people supposed the cause of his death, could not have produced a burning heat in his throat, stomach and bowels; nor could it have caused frequent colics, nauseas, convulsions, absence of mind, an intercepted respiration, and so great a degree of emaciation, that he was scarce to be known for some time before he died: nor would his body, the moment he expired, have been seen to swell, turn black, fall to pieces, or spread such an infectious smell, though he was reduced to a skeleton, that there was no coming near it.

Doctor Salicetti was sent for only a short time before the death of the pope; and the judgment he pronounced on his disorder, only served to show that it was equally extraordinary and incurable.

As his health continued to decay, his physician, Doctor Salicetti, recommended it to him, to keep himself quiet; when he replied; "Death, against which we wrestle in vain, will soon give me an opportunity of doing that." True indeed it is, that it beset him on all sides, and he seemed to drag it along with him whenever he went abroad.

The partisans of the society made loud complaints, because the ex-general Ricci was not set at liberty; but the pope contented himself with answering that, "all communication between the members and the head must necessarily be stopped: that he had his reasons for acting with severity; and that God who was to be his judge, knew that

it was neither animosity nor prejudice that guided him in what he did."

The month of September being come, the pope was made to believe that, notwithstanding the progress of his disorder, which wasted him more and more, he would have strength enough to bear the journey to Castle-Gandolpho. It is true he had, for five months past, forced death, which was privily working within him, to respect his sacred functions: but a time at last comes, in which nature yields, and that was on the 10th of September, when returning from an airing, he was brought to the palace of the Quirinal, and from that moment he was never able to go out again.

The decease of Clement XIV took place September 22, 1774, early in the morning; and scarcely had he expired, when his body turned black, and appeared in a state of putrefaction; the cause of which was discovered when his bowels were examined. They exhibited undeniable proofs of the poison which had been secretly administered to him, either in a large fig, or as Ganganelli himself supposed, in the mass wafer.

The character of Ganganelli as a man and as pope of Rome, is well established by the agreement of historians. He suited the times and the exigencies of the sovereign pontificate, reconciling adverse interests, and making his administration respectable even in the eyes of protestants. Cool in thought, and sagacious in affairs, he kept his own secrets, and used the obsequiousness of those about him. Amiable in appearance, and urbane in manners, he conciliated esteem and inspired respect, even in the bosoms of the doubtful or disaffected. Calm in measures and well versed in the knowledge of recorded events, he was courageous in action when occasion demanded, and not afraid of establishing a precedent of his own, when he found none to suit him in the history of his predecessors. Compared with others who had graced or disgraced the eminence of office as popes before him, his morals were correct, his principles pure, and his conscience unsullied; and some of his religious and principal adversaries, in the admiration of his character, have been almost persuaded of his real piety, and willing to admit, after his exodus from life, that there might be, possibly, one pope in heaven; and this with no concession to the necessity of a quarantine of years or ages in the special grace of purgatorial fire.

As to the celebrated letters that claim his name and authorship, I shall content myself with leaving the question of their genuineness very much where I found it. For one, I am at a loss to determine. The internal evidence seems decisively in their favor. If spurious, one would say, after reading them, the counterfeit is executed prodigiously well. Such a fund of particulars; such rare specification of names, places, times, and circum-

stances; such knowledge of affairs, peculiar and minute; such a well sustained character, identified throughout with all we might suppose of Ganganelli; their style, so easy, so epistolary, so natural; and every thing connected with their total execution, so fitting, so probable, so adapted to convince and captivate the reader, and, withal, so masterly and successful, that we can scarce conceive how genuine could be better, or, for their object, more desirable. *Ars est celare artem.*

'Tis art consummate to conceal
Profoundest art with nature's veil.

But, on the other hand, there seem to exist objections to the supposition that are quite invincible. How came the first editor of the work to get together such a multitude of letters written through so many years, on such different occasions, dispensed abroad in so many distant countries, so miscellaneous in character, and directed to such a variety of individuals in every rank of life, and of every class of society. We have no convincing or credible account of the matter. Who collected them, by what means, at whose cost, and with what difficulties, or facilities, who knows? They purport not to have been written, at their times, with any thought of publication. There seems to be no evidence that copies of them were kept by the alleged writer. They are said to be discredited utterly by the learned at Rome, irrespectively of any questions of policy. They are thought by some critics incidentally to betray their Gallic origin, and are attributed, with great assurance, to a Frenchman of ready genius, of travel and research, of inventive and versatile wit. We profess our own dubitation, and care very little for the question—or how, or by whom, or where it is decided—if this should ever be done properly, or done at all, in the empire of letters.

Some attribute their authorship to Caraccioli, a native of Paris, of a noble family.—He is said to have published the letters, with design to impose on the world—at least for a time—with the idea that they were genuinely those alone of the pope Ganganelli. A nearer examination, however, proved the deceit, when Ganganelli was represented as

speaking of Herculaneum before it was discovered, and of the writings of Gesner before they were published. The critics seem to think, also, that there are other lapses and anachronisms, as well as some more inconsiderable vestiges of their Gallic, or, at least, of their non-italian origin, that may be observed and identified occasionally in the work; which, if spurious as to its alleged author, may certainly claim a paternity of no ordinary grade—such genius, coolness and self-possession, general consistency, characteristic similarity, immense variety, and versatility, such knowledge of incidents and men, of history and philosophy and antiquity, united with simplicity, naturalness, and epistolary ease, are found to distinguish the work throughout. Very rare in the world of letters can we find a production of such qualities; and yet, its utility to the Christian life, the theological science, or Christian doctrine, is quite inconsiderable, and the question, “who was its author?” may remain unanswered, alternately to amuse and perplex the young literary adventurer, in successive ages, as the proper counterpart of another, “who was Junius?”

The memorable document, by which the society of Jesuits was authoritatively abrogated and annuled, we view as of sufficient interest and importance, to deserve for it a place appended to the life of Clement XIV. We present in parallel columns, the original and the translation, rarely to be found at present, as previously published, and made the text of many a commentary of joy or grief, by the protestants or the papists, and especially the Jesuits, of the mother country. It is a document of great value to Americans, and will yet be quoted in new relations, as the cause of scriptural, righteous, and universal liberty holds its due course and expects the consummation of universal prevalence. The shock of moral electricity felt at its discharge throughout Christendom, and inspiring different sensations in different places and persons, is one of the most notable, if not the most illustrious, in the annals of human history. It is worthy of studious and profound consideration, and important as a source of reference and authority.

THE BRIEF FOR THE ABOLITION

OF THE

ORDER OF THE JESUITS.

CLEMENS P. P. XIV.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam

DOMINUS, ac redemptor noster Jesus Christus, Princeps pacis à prophetâ præ-nuntiatus (quod in mundum veniens per angelos primum pastoribus significavit, ac demum per seipsum, antequam in cælos ascenderet, semel et iterum suis reliquit discipulis) ubi omnia Deo patri reconciliavisset, pacificans per sanguinem crucis suæ, sive quæ in terris, sive quæ in cælis sunt, apostolis etiam reconciliationis tradidit ministerium, posuitque in eis verbum reconciliationis, ut, legatione fungentes pro Christo, qui non est dissentionis Deus, sed pacis et dilectionis, universo orbi pacem annuntiarent, et ad id potissimum sua studia conferrent ac labores, ut omnes, in Christo geniti solliciti essent servare unitatem spiritûs in vinculo pacis, unum corpus et unus spiritus, sicut vocati sunt in unâ spe vocationis, ad quam nunquam pertingitur, ut inquit S. Gregorius Magnus, si non ad eam unitâ cum fratribus mente curratur.

Hoc ipsum potiore quâdam ratione nobis divinitus traditum reconciliationis verbum et ministerium, ubi primum, meritis prorsus imparibus, evecti fuimus ad hanc Petri sedem, in memoriam revocavimus, die noctueque præ oculis habuimus, cordique altissimè inscriptum gerentes, ei pro viribus satisfacere contendimus, divinam ad id opem assiduè implorantes, ut cogitationes et consilia pacis nobis, et universi Dominico gregi Deus infundere dignaretur, ad eamque consequendam tutissimum nobis, firmissimumque aditum referare. Quin imo probè scientes divino nos consilio constitutos fuisse super gentes et super regna, ut in excolendâ vineâ Sabaoth, conservandoque Christianæ religionis ædificio, cujus Christus est angularis lapis, evallamus et destruamus, et disperdamus, et dissipemus, et ædificemus et plantemus, eo semper fuimus animo, constantique voluntate, ut quemadmodum pro Christianæ reipublicæ quiete et tranquillitate nihil à nobis prætermittendum censuimus, quod plantando, ædificandoque esset quovis modo accomodatam; ita, eodem mutæ charitatis vinculo expostulante, ad evellendum, destruendumque, quicquid jucundissimum etiam nobis esset, atque gratissimum, et quo carere minimè possemus sine maximâ animi

CLEMENT XIV, POPE.

For an Everlasting Memorial.

OUR Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, having been announced beforehand by a prophet as the Prince of Peace, and having intimated the same by angels to the shepherds at his first coming into the world, and afterward in person bequeathed repeatedly peace to his disciples before his ascension into heaven; when he had reconciled all things to God the Father, and pacified by his blood on the cross whatever is in heaven and on earth, delivered over to his apostles also the ministry, and gave to them the word of reconciliation, that like ambassadors from Christ who is not a God of dissention, but of peace and charity, they might announce peace to the whole earth, and turn all their desires and labors to this chief point, that all who have been born again in Christ, might be solicitous to preserve an unity of spirit in the bond of peace, being one body and one spirit, as called to one hope of their vocation, which can never be attained, as St. Gregory the Great observes, unless we run to it in unity of mind with our brethren.

As soon as we, without any proportionable merit on our part, were raised to this chair of Peter, we called to mind that this word and ministry of reconciliation was in a more particular manner entrusted to us by the appointment of heaven, and having this constantly before our eyes day and night, having it also deeply imprinted on our hearts, we have labored, to the uttermost of our power, to discharge our duty in this point. We have constantly implored the divine assistance, that God would vouchsafe to pour on us, and on the whole flock of the Lord, thoughts and counsels of peace, and open to us the safest and securest road to it.—Knowing, moreover, that we are established by divine appointment over nations and kingdoms, in order that while we cultivate the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth, and keep in repair the edifice of the Christian religion, of which Christ is the corner stone, we may root up, and pull down, and waste and destroy, and build, and plant; it ever hath been our resolution and disposition of mind, that, as on one hand, we thought it incumbent on us to omit nothing that could contribute, in any shape, towards planting and building what might be for the peace and tranquillity of Christendom; so, on the other hand, we

molestiâ et dolore, prompti æquè essemus atque parati.

Non est sanè ambigendum, ea inter, quæ ad catholicæ reip. bonum felicitatemque comparandam plurimum conferunt, principem ferè locum tribuendum esse regularibus ordinibus, ex quibus amplissimum in universam Christi ecclesiam quâvis ætate demanavit ornamentum, præsidium et utilitas. Hos idcirco apostolica hæc sedes approbavit non modo, suisque fulcita est auspiciis, verum etiam pluribus auxit beneficiis, exemptionibus, privilegiis et facultatibus, ut ex his ad pietatem excolendam et religionem, ad populorum mores verbo et exemplo ritè informandos, ad fidei unitatem inter fideles servandam confirmandamque, magis magisque excitarentur atque inflammarentur. Ast ubi eò res devenit, ut ex aliquo regulari ordine, vel non amplius uberrimi ii fructus, atque optatissima emolumenta à Christiano populo perciperentur, ad quæ afferenda fuerant primitus instituti; vel detrimento potius esse visi fuerint, ac perturbandæ magis populorum tranquillitati, quam eidem procurandæ accommodati; hæc eadem apostolica sedes, quæ eisdem plantandis operam impenderat suam, suamque interposuerat auctoritatem, eos vel novis communire legibus, vel ad pristinam vivendi severitatem revocare, vel penitus etiam evellere ac dissipare minime dubitavit.

Hæc sanè de causâ Innocentius Papa III, prædecessor noster, cum comperiisset nimiam regularium ordinum diversitatem gravem in ecclesiâ Dei confusionem inducere in concilio generali Lateranensi IV, firmiter prohibuit, ne quis de cætero novam religionem inveniat; sed quicumque ad religionem converti voluerit, unam de approbatis assumat; decrevitque insuper, ut qui voluerit religionem domum de novo fundare, regulam et institutionem accipiat de approbatis. Unde consequens fuit ut non liceret omnino novam religionem instituere sine speciali Rom. pontificis licentiâ: et merito quidem; nam cum novæ congregationes majoris perfectionis gratiâ instituantur, prius ab hæc sanctâ apostolicâ sede ipsa vitæ futuræ forma examinari, et perpendi debet diligenter, ne sub specie majoris boni, et sanctioris vitæ, plurima in ecclesiâ Dei incommoda, et fortasse etiam mala exoriantur.

Quamvis vero providentissimè hæc fuerint ab Innocentio III, prædecessore constituta, tamen postmodum non solum ab apostolicâ sede importuna petentium inhiatio aliquorum ordinum regularium approbationem extorsit, verum etiam non nullorum præ-

should be equally willing and ready to root up and pull down, whatever was, even in the greatest degree, pleasing and agreeable to ourselves, and which we could not want without the greatest uneasiness and grief of mind, when the same bond of mutual charity required it of us.

It cannot, in truth, be doubted, but that, among those things which contribute most to the good and happiness of catholic states, the regular orders hold almost the first place; as from them, in every age, the greatest ornament, assistance and advantage have flown on the church of Christ. For which reason this apostolic see hath not only approved of these orders, and supported them by its protection, but has bestowed on them many favors, exemptions, privileges and faculties, to encourage them the more, and warm them with a greater desire of cultivating piety and religion, of forming the manners of the people by word and example, of preserving and strengthening the unity of faith among believers. But when it happened that any of these religious orders ceased to produce those ample fruits, and most desirable advantages to the Christian people, for which they were at first designed and instituted; or if they rather appeared detrimental, and more likely to disturb, than promote the tranquillity of states; this same apostolic see, who had lent its assistance and interposed its authority in planting them, hesitated not either to reform them by new laws, or call them back to their former severity of life, or entirely to "root them up," and "destroy them."

It was for this reason that Pope Innocent III, a predecessor of ours, finding the too great multiplicity of regular orders to be the occasion of great confusion in the church, strictly forbid, in the fourth general council of Lateran, the inventing of any new order for the time to come; but whoever was disposed to become a convert to a religious state, should embrace one of those already approved; and he moreover decreed, that whoever had a mind to found anew any religious house, should take the rule and institute from such as had been approved of before. Hence it followed that none were allowed to institute any new religious order, without the special leave of the Roman pontif, and that very justly; for as all new congregations are instituted with a view of greater perfection, the form of life they are to lead, ought first to be examined, and carefully considered, lest, under pretence of a greater good, and a more holy life, many inconveniences, or even evils might thence arise in the church of God.

But notwithstanding these prudent regulations of Innocent III, our predecessor, some time after, the importunate eagerness of the petitioners wrung from the apostolic see the approbation of some new religious orders, and the presumptuous rashness of

sumptuosa temeritas, diversorum ordinum præcipuè mendicantium nondum approbatorum, effrenatam quasi multitudinem adinvenit. Quibus plenè cognitis, ut malo statim occurreret, Gregorius Papa X, pariter prædecessor noster, in generali concilio Lugdunensi, renovatâ constitutione Innocentii III, prædecessoris, districtius inhibuit ne aliquis de cætero novum ordinem, aut religionem adinveniat, vel habitum novæ religionis assumat. Cunctas vero generaliter religiones et ordines mendicantes post concilium Lateranense IV, adinventos, qui nullam confirmationem sedis apostolicæ meruerunt, perpetuo prohibuit: confirmatos autem ab apostolicâ sede modo decrevit subsistere infrascripto; ut videlicet professoribus eorundem ordinum ita liceret in illis remanere, si voluerint, quod nullum deinceps ad eorum professionem admitterent, nec domos, seu loca quæ habebant, alienare valerent sine ejusdem S. sedis licentiâ speciali. Ea enim omnia dispositioni sedis apostolicæ reservavit in terræ sanctæ subsidium, vel pauperum, vel alios pios usus per locorum ordinarios, vel eos quibus sedes ipsa commiserit, convertenda. Personis quoque ipsorum ordinum omnino interdixit, quoad extraneos, prædicationis et audiendi confessiones officium, aut sepulturam. Declaravit tamen in hac constitutione minimè comprehensos esse prædicatorem et minorum ordines, quod evidens ex eis utilitas ecclesiæ universali proveniens perhibebat approbatos. Voluitque insuper Eremitarum S. Augustini et Carmelitarum ordines in solido statu permanere, eo quod istorum institutio prædictum generale concilium Lugdunense præcesserat. Demum singularibus personis ordinum, ad quos hæc constitutio extendebatur, transeundi ad reliquos ordines approbatos licentiam concessit generalem, ita tamen, ut nullus ordo ad alium, vel conventus ad conventum se, ac loca sua totaliter conferret, non obtentâ prius speciali sedis apostolicæ licentiâ.

Hiscemet vestigiis, secundum temporum circumstantias, inhæserunt alii Romani pontifices, prædecessores nostri, quorum omnium decreta longum esset referre. Inter cæteros vero Clemens Papa V, pariter prædecessor noster, per suas sub plumbo 6. Non. Maii Anni Incarnationis Dominicæ 1312, expeditas literas, ordinem militarem templariorum nuncupatum, quamvis legitime confirmatum, et aliàs de Christianâ rep. adeo præ clarè meritum, ut à sede apostolicâ insignibus beneficiis privilegiis, facultatibus, exemptionibus, licentiis cumulatus fuerit, ob universalem diffamationem suppressit, et

some individuals invented, as it were, an unbridled number of diverse orders, particularly mendicants, which had not been approved. Pope Gregory X, likewise one of our predecessors, perceiving this, in order to put an immediate stop to the evil, renewed in the general council of Lyons the constitution of Innocent III, our predecessor, and forbade in a more strict manner, the inventing any new religious order for the future: or wearing the habit of any such. He for ever abolished all the religious and mendicant orders in general invented after the fourth general council of the Lateran, which had met with no approbation from the apostolic see. As for such as had been approved by the apostolic see, he ordered them to be continued in the following manner: namely, that such as had made their profession in those orders, might continue therein, if they pleased; but they were not to admit any more to their profession, nor acquire any new house, or land, nor alienate or dispose of the houses or places they had, without special leave of the same holy see. For all these he reserved to the disposition of the apostolic see to be employed by the ordinaries, or others appointed by the said see, either in subsidies for the Holy Land, the use of the poor, or other pious uses. He prohibited likewise the members of these orders to preach, to confess, or even to bury any such as were not of their own order.—He declared, however, neither the preaching friars, nor the friars minors, included in this constitution, as the evident advantage arising from them to the universal church showed their approbation. He ordained likewise, that the orders of the Hermites of S. Augustin, and that of the Carmelites, should remain on their established footing, as their institution had preceded the said general council of Lateran. Finally, he granted a general leave to every individual of the orders, which that constitution regarded, of passing over to other approved orders, but under this restriction, that no order should altogether pass over to another order, nor any whole convent to any other convent, so as to transfer with them the whole of what belonged to them respectively, without having first obtained a special leave of the apostolic see.

Other Roman pontifs, our predecessors, all whose decrees it would be long to mention here, according to the circumstances of times, trod in the same steps. But amongst others, Clement V, also one of our predecessors, by his letters "sub plumbo" expedited the 6th of the Nones of May, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord, 1312, did suppress and totally extinguish the military order called Knights Templars, on account of the general disrepute that order had fallen under, although it had been legally confirmed, and in other respects had merited so much of the state of Christendom, as to have

totaliter extinxit, etiâsi concilium generale Viennense, cui negotium examinandum commisserat, à formali et definitivâ sententiâ ferendâ censuerit se abstinere debere.

S. Pius V, similiter prædecessor noster, cujus insignem sanctitatem piè colit et veneratur ecclesia, ordinem regularem Fratrum Humiliatorum, concilio Lateranensi anteriore, approbatumque à felici recordationis Innocentio III, Honorio III, Gregorio IX, et Nicolas V, Romanis pontificibus, prædecessoribus iudem nostris, ob inobedientem decretis apostolicis, discordias domesticas et externas exortas, nullum omnino futuræ virtutis specimen ostendentem, et ex eo quia aliqui ejusdem ordinis in necem S. Caroli, S. R. E. Cardinalis Borromæi protectoris, ac visitoris apostolici dicti ordinis sceleratè conspiraverint, extinxit, ac penitus obolevit.

Recolendæ memoriæ Urbanus Papa VIII, etiam prædecessor noster, per suas in simili formâ brevis die 6 Feb. 1626 expeditas litteras, congregationem Fratrum Conventualium Reformatum à fel. mem. Sixto papâ V, iudem prædecessore nostro solemniter approbatam, et pluribus beneficiis ac favoribus auctam, ex eo quia ex prædictis fratribus in ecclesiâ Dei spirituales fructus non prodierint, imò complures differentiæ inter eosdem fratres conventuales reformatos, ac fratres conventuales non reformatos ortæ fuerint, perpetuò suppressit, ac extinxit: Domus, conventus, loca, supellectilem, bona, res, actiones et jura ad prædictam congregationem spectantia ordini F. F. Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium concessit, et assignavit, exceptis tantum domo Neapolitanâ, et domo S. Antonii de Paduâ, noncupatâ de Urbe, quam postremam cameræ apostolicæ applicavit, et incorporavit, suæque suorumque successorum dispositioni reservavit, fratribus denique prædictæ suppressæ congregationis ad Fratres S. Francisci Capucinos, seu de observantiâ, nuncupatos transitum permisit.

Idem Urbanus Papa VIII, etiam prædecessor noster, per suas in simili formâ brevis die 2 Dec. 1643 expeditas litteras ordinem regularem SS. Ambrosii et Barnabæ ad Nenum perpetuò suppressit, extinxit et abolevit, subjecitque regulares prædicti suppressi ordinis jurisdictioni, et correctioni ordinariorum locorum, prædictisque regularibus licentiam concessit se transferendi ad alios ordines regulares ab apostolicâ sede approbatos. Quam suppressionem recol. mem. Innocentius Papa X, prædecessor quoque noster solemniter per suas sub plumbo kal. April. An. Incarn. Dom. 1645 expeditas

the very greatest favors, privileges, faculties, exemptions, and grants heaped on it by the apostolic see; and although the general council of Vienne, to which the examination of that affair had been committed, had thought proper to abstain from any formal and definitive sentence.

S. Pius V, another of our predecessors, whose eminent sanctity is respected and venerated by the catholic church, suppressed and entirely abolished the regular order of the Frates Humiliati, though its institution was anterior to the council of Lateran, and had been approved by Innocent III, Honorius III, Gregory IX, and Nicholas V, Roman pontiffs of happy memory, in like manner our predecessors, for their disobedience to the apostolic decrees, their quarrels among themselves, and with others not of their body, their showing no appearance of any future virtue among them, and for some of that order having wickedly conspired against the life of St. Charles Borromæus, a cardinal of the holy Roman church, and protector, and visitor apostolic of the said order.

Urban VIII, of a respectable memory, another of our predecessors, suppressed for ever, and totally abolished by his letter in the like form of a brief expedited the 6th of February, 1626, the congregation of the Frates Conventuales Reformati, though solemnly approved, and endowed with many benefactions and favors by Pope Sixtus V, of happy memory, another of our predecessors; because no spiritual fruits sprung up in the church of God from those brethren; but on the contrary very many differences had risen between the same Friars-Minors reformed, and the non-reformed. He granted and assigned to the Friars-Minors Conventual of St. Francis the houses, convents, places, furniture, goods, effects, claims and rights belonging to the aforesaid congregation, except only the house of Naples, and that of St. Anthony of Padua, called de Urbe, which last he applied to, and incorporated with, the apostolic chamber, and reserved it to be disposed of by himself and his successors: lastly, he allowed the brethren of the aforesaid suppressed congregation, to go over to the friars of St. Francis called Capuchins, or de Observantiâ.

The same Pope Urban VIII, by another letter of his in the like form of a brief expedited the 2d of December, 1643, for ever suppressed, extinguished, and abolished the regular order of SS. Ambrose and Barnaby ad Nenum, and subjected the regulars of the aforesaid suppressed order to the jurisdiction and government of the respective ordinaries, and granted the aforesaid regulars leave to go over to any of the other regular orders, approved by the apostolic see. Which suppression Pope Innocent X, of respectable memory, another of our predecessors, confirmed in a solemn manner, by his letters "sub

litteras, confirmavit, et insuper beneficia, domus et monasteria prædicti ordinis, quæ antea regularia erant, ad sæcularitatem reduxit, ac in posterum sæcularia sive et esse declaravit.

Idemque Innocentius X, prædecessor, per suas in simili formâ brevis die 16 Martii 1645 expeditas litteras ob graves perturbationes excitatas inter regulares ordinis pauperum matris Dei scholarum piarum, etsi ordo ille prævio maturo examine à Greg. Papâ XV, prædecessore nostro solemniter approbatus fuerit, præfatum regularem ordinem in simplicem congregationem, absque ullorum votorum emissionem, ad instar instituti congregationis presbyterorum sæcularium oratorii in ecclesiâ S. Mariæ in Vallicellâ de Urbe S. Philippi Neri nuncupatæ, reduxit: regularibus prædicti ordinis sic reducti transitum ad quamcunque religionem approbatam concessit: admissionem novitiorum, et admissorum professionem interdixit: superioritatem denique et jurisdictionem, quæ penes ministrum generalem, visitatores, aliosque superiores residebat, ad ordinarios locorum totaliter transtulit; quæ omnia per aliquot annos consecuta sunt effectum, donec tandem sedes apostolica, cognitâ prædicti instituti utilitate, illum ad pristinam votorum solemnium formam revocavit, ac in perfectum regularem ordinem redegit.

Per similes suas in pari formâ brevis die 29 Oct. 1650 expeditas litteras, idem Innocentius X, prædecessor, propter discordias quoque et dissensiones exortas, suppressit totaliter ordinem S. Basilii de Armenis: regulares prædicti suppressi ordinis omnimodè jurisdictioni, et obedientiæ ordinariorum locorum subiecit in habitu clericorum sæcularium, assignatâ iisdem congruâ sustentatione ex redditibus conventuum suppressorum: illisque etiam facultatem transeundi ad quamcunque religionem approbatam concessit.

Pariter ipse Innoc. X, prædecessor, per alias suas in dictâ formâ brevis die 22 Junii 1651 expeditas litteras, attendens, nullos spirituales fructus ex regulari congregatione presbyterorum Boni Jesu in ecclesiâ sperari posse, præfatum congregationem perpetuo extinxit: regulares prædictos jurisdictioni ordinariorum locorum subiecit, assignatâ iisdem congruâ sustentatione ex redditibus suppressæ congregationis, et cum facultate transeundi ad quemlibet ordinem regularem approbatum à sede apostolicâ: suoque arbitrio reservavit applicationem bonorum prædictæ congregationis in alios pios usus.

Denique fel. recordat. Clemens Papa IX, prædecessor itidem noster, cum animadvertet tres regulares ordines, canonicorum videlicet, Regularium S. Georgii in Algâ

plumbo," expedited on the 1st of the Calends of April in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord, 1645, and farther he secularised, and declared thenceforward should be, and then were secularised, the benefices, houses, and monasteries of the aforesaid order, which before had been regular.

The same, Innocent X, our predecessor, by his letters in like form of a brief of the 16th of March 1645, reduced the regular order of the Poor of the Mother of God of the Pious or Charity Schools, though approved in a solemn manner, after a previous mature examination, by Pope Gregory XV, one of our predecessors, to a simple congregation without making any vows, according to the institute of the congregation of secular priests of the oratory, in the church of St. Mary in Vallicella de Urbe, commonly called the congregation of St. Philip Neri: he granted the regulars of the said order so reduced leave to go over to any other approved religious order: he forbade the admission of any novices, and the profession of such as had been admitted: lastly, he wholly transferred to the ordinaries all that superiority and jurisdiction, which had been invested in the minister-general, visitors, and other superiors: all which dispositions had their full effect for some years, till at last this apostolic see, fully informed of the utility of that institution, recalled it back to its first form of making solemn vows, and reinstated it a perfect regular order.

By like letters, in the same form of a brief, of the 29th October, 1650, the same Innocent X, our predecessor, totally suppressed the order of St. Basil of the Armenians, on the same account of quarrels and dissensions arisen therein: he subjected, in every respect the regulars of the aforesaid suppressed order to the jurisdiction of, and obedience to, the respective ordinaries, in the dress of the secular clergy, having assigned them a competent maintenance out of the revenues of the suppressed convents: and granted them also leave to go over to any approved order.

The same Innocent X, our predecessor, by another letter of his, in like form of brief, of the 22d of July, 1651, abolished for ever the congregation of the Priests of the Good Jesus, when he saw no hopes of any spiritual fruits arise from the said regular congregation: he subjected the aforesaid regulars to the jurisdiction of their respective ordinaries, allowing them a competent maintenance from the revenues of the suppressed congregation, with leave to go over to any regular order approved by the apostolic see: and reserved to himself the application of the effects of the aforesaid congregation to other pious uses.

Lastly, Pope Clement IX, of happy memory, another of our predecessors, when he observed the three regular orders, namely, those called the Regular Canons of St.

nuncupatorum, Hieronymianorum de Fesulis, ac tandem Jesuatorum à S. Johanne Columbano institutorum, parum, vel nihil utilitatis, et commodi Christiano populo afferre, aut sperari posse eos esse aliquando allaturos, de iis supprimendis, extinguendisq. consilium cepit, idque perfecit suis litteris in simili formâ brevis die 6 Dec. 1668 expeditis; eorumque bona, et redditus satis conspicuos, Venetorum Rep. postulante in eos sumptus impendi voluit, qui ad Cretense bellum adversus Turcas sustinendum erant necessario subeundi.

In his vero omnibus decernendis; perficiendisque satius semper duxerunt prædecessores nostri, eâ ut uti consulissimâ agendi ratione, quam ad intercludendum penitus aditum animorum contentionibus, et ad quælibet amovenda dissidia, vel partium studia, magis conferre existimarent. Hinc molestâ illâ, ac plenâ negotii prætermissâ methodo, quæ in forensibus instituendis judiciis adhiberi consuevit, prudentiæ legibus unicè inhærentes, eâ potestatis plenitudine, quâ tanquam Christi in terris vicarii, ac supremi Christianæ reip. moderatores amplissimè donati sunt, rem omnem absolvendam curarunt, quin regularibus ordinibus, suppressioni destinatis, veniam facerent, et facultatem sua experiundi jura, et gravissimas illas vel propulsandi criminationes, vel causas amoliendi, ob quas ad illud consilii genus suscipiendum adducebantur.

His igitur, aliisque maximi apud omnes ponderis, et auctoritatis exemplis, nobis ante oculos propositis, vehementique simul flagrantibus cupiditate, ut in eâ quam infra aperiemus deliberatione, fidenti animo, totoque pede incedamus, nihil diligentia omisimus, et inquisitionis, ut quicquid ad regularis ordinis, qui *Societatis Jesu* vulgo dicitur, originem pertinet, progressum, hodiernumque statum perscrutaremur: et compertum inde habuimus, eum ad animarum salutem, ad hæreticorum, et maximè infidelium conversionem, ad majus denique pietatis, et religionis incrementum à S. suo conditore fuisse institutum; atque ad optatissimum hujusmodi finem facilius, felicisque consequendum, artissimo evangelicæ paupertatis voto tam in communi, quam in particulari fuisse Deo consecratum, exceptis tantummodo studiorum, seu litterarum collegiis, quibus possidendi redditus ita facta est vis, et potestas, ut nihil tamen ex iis redditibus in ipsius societatis commodum, utilitatem, ac usum impendi unquam possit, atque converti.

His, aliisque sanctissimis legibus probata primum fuit eadem societas Jesu à rec. memoriæ Paulo Papa III, prædecessore nostro, per suas sub plumbo 5 Kal. Octobris An. Incarn. Dom. 1540 expeditas litteras, ab eodemque concessa ei fuit facultas condendi

George in Alga, the Jeromites of Fiesole, and the Jesuati instituted by St. John Colombanus, to be of little or no use or advantage to the Christian world, nor any hopes that they would be so in future, formed the design of suppressing and abolishing them, which he executed by his letter, in like form of a brief, of the 6th day of December 1668, and at the request of the Republic of Venice, ordered all their effects and revenues, which were pretty considerable, to be employed in the expenses necessary for carrying on the war of Candia against the Turks.

Our predecessors, in taking and executing these resolutions, have always thought proper to pursue that method which they considered as the most effectual towards stopping every inlet to dissensions, disputes, and a spirit of party. They, therefore, adhering only to the laws of prudence, without any regard to the troublesome and tedious methods usually followed in the courts of judicature, took care to despatch the whole business by that plenitude of power with which, as vicars of Christ on earth, and supreme moderators of Christendom, they are so amply invested, without giving the orders, designed to be suppressed, any leave or opportunity of trying their right, clearing themselves from the very heavy accusations brought against them, or of opposing the motives which had induced them to take such resolutions.

Having, therefore, before our eyes these and other precedents of the greatest weight and authority with all; and at the same time having an ardent desire to proceed with certainty and safety in the deliberation we shall hereafter unfold, we have omitted no care nor inquiries, which might enable us perfectly to understand whatever regards the origin, progress and present state of the regular order, commonly called the Society of Jesus: and in the course of these inquiries we found that the design of the holy founder in the institution of this order, was the salvation of souls, the conversion of heretics, but more especially of unbelievers; lastly, the greater increase of piety and religion. And in order to attain more surely and happily such a very desirable end, that this order was consecrated to God by a most strict vow of evangelical poverty, binding both the society in general, and each individual member in particular, except the colleges instituted for study and literature, which might and could enjoy stated revenues under this restriction, that no part of those revenues could at any time be expended in, or converted to the profit, advantage, or use of the society itself.

Under these and other most holy laws was this society first approved by Paul III, of venerable memory, our predecessor, by letters "sub plumbo" of the 5th of the Calends of October, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord, 1540, and leave was

jura, atque statuta, quibus societatis præsidio, incolumitati, atque regimini firmissè consuleretur. Et quamvis idem Paulus societatem ipsam augustissimis sexaginta duntaxat alumnorum limitibus ab initio circumscripsisset; per alias suas tamen eidem sub plumbò pridie Kal. Martii An. Incarn. Dom. 1543 expeditas litteras, locum dedit in eadem societate iis omnibus, quos in eam excipere illius moderatoribus, visum fuisset opportunum, aut necessarium. Anno denique 1549 suis in simili formà brevis die 15 Nov. expeditis litteris idem Paulus prædecessor pluribus, atque amplissimis privilegiis eandem societatem donavit, ac in his indultum, aliàs per eundem præpositis generalibus dictæ societatis concessum, admittendi 20 presbyteros coadjutores spirituales, eisque impertiendi easdem facultates, gratiam et auctoritatem, quibus socii ipsi professi donantur, ad alios quoscunque, quos idoneos fore eidem præpositi generales censuerint, ullo absque limite, et numero extendendum voluit, atque mandavit; ac præterea societatem ipsam, et universos illius socios, et personas, illorumque bona quæcunque ab omni superioritate, jurisdictione, correctione quorumcunque ordinariorum exemit, et vindicavit, ac sub suâ et apostolicæ sedis protectione suscepit.

Haud minor fuit reliquorum prædecessorum nostrorum eandem erga societatem liberalitas, ac munificentia. Constat enim à rec. mem. Julio III, Paulo IV et V, Gregorio XIII, Sixto V, Gregorio XIV, Clement VIII, Paulo V, Leone XI, Gregorio XV, Urbano VIII, aliisque Românis pontificibus, privilegia eidem societati, jam antea tributa, vel confirmata fuisse, vel novis aucta concessionibus, vel apertissime declarata. Ex ipso tamen apostolicarum constitutionum tenore, et verbis palam colligitur, eandem in societate, suo fere ab initio, varia dissidiorum, ac æmulationum femina pullulasse, ipsos non modo inter socios, verum etiam cum aliis regularibus ordinibus, clero sæculari, academiis, universitatibus, publicis litterarum gymnasiis, et cum ipsis etiam principibus, quorum in ditionibus societas fuerat recepta; easdemque contentiones, et dissidia excitata modo fuisse de votorum indole, et naturâ, de tempore admittendorum sociorum ad vota, de facultate socios expellendi, de iisdem ad sacros ordines promovendis sine congruâ, ac sine votis solemnibus contra Concilii Tridentini, ac S. Memonæ Pii Papæ V, prædecessoris nostri decreta; modo de potestate absolutâ, quam præpositus generalis ejusdem societas sibi vindicabat, ac de aliis rebus ipsius societatis regimen spectantibus; modo de variis doctrinæ capitibus, de scholis, de exemptionibus, et privilegiis, quæ locorum ordinarii, aliæque personæ in ecclesiasticâ vel sæculari dignitate constitutæ, suæ noxiæ esse jurisdictioni, ac juribus contendebant:

granted it, by the same pope, to form laws and statutes, in which the defence, safety, and permanent government of the society might be consulted. And although the same Paul, our predecessor, at first limited the same society to the very narrow bounds of only sixty members; yet by other letters, in like manner "sub plumbò," of the day before the Calends of March, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1543, he allowed admittance into the same society to all such as the moderators thereof should think convenient or necessary to admit. Afterwards, in 1549, the same Paul, our predecessor, by letters of the 15th of November, in like form of a brief, bestowed many and very ample privileges on the same society; and amongst these an indult, which he had before given to the generals of the said society, to admit twenty priests as "spiritual coadjutors," and to impart to them the same faculties, privileges, and authority, as the professed members enjoyed, which he appointed and ordered to be extended, without any limited number, to any others, whom the said generals should think proper subjects; and, moreover, he exempted and withdrew the society itself, all its members, and persons, and possessions whatever, from all superiority, jurisdiction and dominion of whatever ordinaries, and took them under his own protection, and that of the apostolic see.

Nor was the munificence and liberality of the rest of our predecessors less towards this society. For it is well known that Julius III, Paul IV, Pius IV and V, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, Gregory XIV, Clement VIII, Paul V, Leo XI, Gregory XV, Urban VIII, and other Roman pontiffs, of venerable memory, either confirmed, or enlarged, or clearly explained, whatever privileges had already been granted to the same society. But it plainly appears from the tenor itself, and the very words of these apostolical constitutions, that there sprung up in this society, almost from its beginning, various seeds of discord and dissensions, not only among the members thereof, but between them and other regular orders, the secular clergy, the academies, universities, the public schools, and even with the princes themselves, in whose territories the society had been admitted; and that the subject of these dissensions and disputes sometimes regarded the tendency and nature of the vows they made, the time of admitting the members to take their vows, the power of expelling the members, of promoting the said members to holy orders without a competent provision, and without making their solemn vows, contrary to the decrees of the Council of Trent, and those of Pius V, of holy memory, our predecessor. Sometimes they regarded the absolute power, which the general of the same society challenged to himself, and other points respecting the government of the society; at other times they regarded different points of doctrine,

ac demum minime defuerunt gravissimæ accusationes eisdem sociis objectæ, quæ Christianæ reip. pacem, ac tranquillitatem non parum pertubarunt.

Multæ hinc ortæ adversus societatem quærimoniæ, quæ nonnullorum etiam principum auctoritate munitæ, ac relationibus ad rec. memoriæ Paulum IV, Pium V, et Sixtum V, prædecessores nostros delatæ fuerunt. In his fuit claræ memoriæ Phillipus II, Hispaniarum rex catholicus, qui tum gravissimas, quibus ille vehementer impellebatur rationes, tum etiam eos, quos ab Hispaniarum inquisitoribus, adversus immoderata societatis privilegia, ac regiminis formam acceperat clamores, et contentionum capita à nonnullis ejusdem etiam societatis viris doctrinâ, et pietate spectatissimis confirmata, eidem Sixto V, prædecessori exponenda curavit, apud eundemque egit, ut apostolicam societatis visitationem decerneret, atque comitteret.

Ipsius Philippi Regis petitionibus, et studiis, quæ summâ inniti æquitate animadverterat, annuit idem Sixtus prædecessor, delegitque ad apostolici visitoris munus episcopum prudentiâ, virtute et doctrinâ omnibus commendatissimum; ac præterea congregationem designavit nonnullorum S. R. E. Cardinalium, qui ei perficiendæ sedulam navarent operam. Verum dicto Sixto V, prædecessore immaturâ morte prærepto, saluberrimum ab eo susceptum consilium evanuit, omnique caruit effectu. Ad supremum autem apostolatûs, apicem assumptus felicitis rec. Gregorius Papa XIV, per suas litteras "sub plumbo" 4 Kal. Junii An. Dom. Incarn. 1591 expeditas, societatis institutum amplissimè iterum approbavit; rataque haberi jussit, ac firma privilegia quæcunque eidem societati à suis prædecessoribus collata; et illud præ cæteris, quo cautum fuerat, ut ÷ societate expelli, dimittere possent socii, formâ judiciariâ minimè adhibitâ nullâ scilicet præmissâ inquisitione, nullis confectis actis, nullo ordine judiciario servato, nullisque terminis, etiam substantialibus servatis, solâ facti veritate inspectâ, culpæ vel rationabilis causæ tantum ratione habitâ ac personarum aliarumque circumstantiarum. Altissimum insuper silentium imposuit, vetuitque sub pænâ potissimum excommunicationis latæ sententiæ, ne quis dictæ societatis institutum, constitutiones aut decreta directè, vel indirectè impugnare auderet, vel aliquid de iis quovis modo immutari curaret. Jus tamen cuilibet reliquit ut quicquid addendum, minuendum, aut immutandum censeret, sibi tantummodo, et Romanis solum

their schools, exemptions and privileges, which the ordinaries, and other persons in office, both ecclesiastical and secular, pretended were prejudicial to their jurisdiction and rights. Lastly, there were not wanting very heavy accusations brought against the same members of this society, which caused no small disturbance to the peace and tranquillity of Christendom.

Hence arose many complaints against the society, which were strengthened moreover by the authority of some princes, and transmitted in memorials to Paul IV, Pius V, and Sixtus V, our predecessors of respectable memory. Among these was Philip II, of illustrious memory, his catholic majesty, king of Spain, who took care to lay before the same Sixtus V, our predecessor, not only the very weighty reasons which made a strong impression on his own mind, but the loud complaints he had received from the inquisitors of Spain against the immoderate privileges of the society, and its form of government, and other sources of contention, which were confirmed even by some of the members of the society itself, persons most respectable for their learning and piety: and he treated with the same pontif about ordering and appointing an apostolical visitation of the society.

The same Sixtus V, our predecessor, consented to these requests and desires of King Philip, as he saw them grounded on the greatest justice, and made choice, for the charge of apostolical visitor, of a bishop in the greatest esteem with all for his virtue and learning; and moreover appointed a congregation of some cardinals of the holy Roman church to employ themselves in carrying on that affair with the greatest assiduity. But the said Sixtus V, our predecessor, being taken off by an untimely death, the salutary design, formed by him, dropped, and was without any effect. And when Pope Gregory XIV, of happy memory, was raised to the supreme apostolic dignity, he, by his letters "sub plumbo" of the 4th of the Calends of July, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1591, approved anew, in the most ample manner, the institute of the society; and ordered, that whatever privileges had been granted the society by his predecessors, should be considered as ratified and confirmed; and that one in the most particular manner, by which it was provided that the members of the society might be expelled therefrom, and sent away without any form of law, that is, without any previous inquest taken, without any writings drawn up, without observing any order of judgment, without making use of any formality of words, even such as are substantial, considering only the truth of the fact, the fault committed, or solely a reasonable motive for so proceeding, attending to persons or other circumstances. He moreover enjoined a profound silence; and forbade

pontificibus pro tempore existentibus, vel immunitatē, vel per Apostolicā sedis legatos, seu nuncios significare posset, atque proponere.

Tantum vero abest, ut hæc omnia satis fuerint compescendis adversus societatem clamoribus, et querelis, quin potius magis, magisque universum fere orbem pervaserunt molestissimæ contentiones de societatis doctrinā, quam fidei veluti orthodoxæ, bonisque moribus repugnantem quamplurimi traduxerunt; domesticæ etiam externæque effluerunt dissensiones, et frequentiores factæ sunt in eam, de nimia potissimum terrenorum bonorum cupiditate, accusationes; ex quibus omnibus suam hauserunt originem tum perturbationes illæ, omnibus satis cognitæ, quæ sedem apostolicam ingenti mœrore affecerunt, ac molestiā; tum capta à principibus nonnullis in societatem concilia. Quo factum est, ut eadem societas novam instituti sui, ac privilegiorum confirmationem à felicis rec. Paulō Papa V, prædecessore nostro impetratura, coacta fuerit ob eo petere, ut rata habere vellet, suæque auctoritate confirmare decreta quædam in quintâ generali congregatione edita, atque ad verbum exscripta in suis sub plumbo, pridie Nonas Septembris An. Incarn. Dom. 1606 desuper expeditis litteris; quibus in decretis discretissime legitur, tam internas sociorum similitudines, ac turbas, quam exterorum in societatem querelas ac postulationes, socios in comitiis congregatos impulsisse ad sequens condendum decretum. "Quoniam societas nostra, quæ ad fidei propagationem, et animarum lucra à Domino excitata est, sicuti per propria instituti ministeria, quæ spiritualia arma sunt, cum ecclesiæ utilitate, ac proximorum ædificatione sub crucis vexillo finem feliciter consequi potest, quem intendit; ita et hæc bona impediret, et se maximis periculis exponeret, si ea tractaret, quæ sæcularia sunt, et ad res politicas, atque ad statûs gubernationem pertinent; idcirco sapientissimè à nostris majoribus statutum est, ut milites Deo, aliis quæ à nostrâ professione abhorrent, non implicemur. Cum autem his temporibus valde periculosus, pluribus locis, et apud varios principes (quorum tamen amorem et charitatem S. memoriæ Pater Ignatius conservandam ad divinum obsequium pertinere putavit) aliquorum fortasse culpâ, vel indiscreto zelo religio nostra male audiat; et alioquin bonus Christi odor necessarius sit ad fructificandum, censuit congregatio ab omni specie mali abstinendum esse; querelis, quoad fieri poterit, etiam ex falsis suspicionibus provenientibus, occur-

chiefly under pain of excommunication "latæ sententiæ," any one to presume to attack directly or indirectly the institute, constitutions, or decrees of the said society, or to procure any alteration in any manner therein. He, however, left a right for every one of signifying and proposing to himself alone, or to the Roman pontiffs for the time being, his successors, either immediately, or by the legates of the apostolic see, or its nuncios, whatever might be judged proper to add, diminish, or alter.

But so far was all this from being sufficient to allay the noise and complaints against the society, that, on the contrary, very disagreeable disputes increased almost over the whole world about the doctrine of the society, which very many represented as contrary to the orthodox faith and morals; and dissensions among themselves, and with others, grew still warmer; and accusations, particularly of too great a greediness of temporal possessions, became more frequent.—Hence sprung both those disturbances sufficiently known to all, which caused such grief to the apostolic see, and the resolutions taken by some particular princes against the society. The consequence of this was, that when the same society was going to obtain a new confirmation of its institute and privileges from Pope Paul V, of happy memory, our predecessor, it was forced to beg of him, that he would be pleased to ratify and confirm by his authority some regulations published in the fifth general congregation, and copied word for word in his letter "sub plumbo," published on that occasion, the day before the Nones of September, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1606, in which decrees it is expressly said, that the disputes and disturbances among the members themselves, and the complaints and appeals of others against the society, had forced the members thereof in a general assembly to enact the following decree:—"As our society, which was raised by the Lord for the propagation of the faith and the gaining of souls, may happily arrive, with advantage to the church, and the edification of our neighbor, as the end it proposed to itself, by the particular ministries of its institute, which are spiritual arms; so would it prevent these good effects, and expose itself to the greatest dangers, did it meddle with things of this world, or politics, or what concerns government. Therefore was it mostly wisely ordained by our forefathers, that as we militate to God, we should not entangle ourselves with things quite abhorrent to our profession. But as our order (perhaps through the fault of some individuals or from ambition and an indiscreet zeal) is in bad repute, in these very dangerous times, in many places, and with various princes, whose affection and love our Father Ignatius, of blessed memory, thought the service of God required we should preserve; and as in

rendum. Quare præsentì decreto graviter, et severe nostris omnibus interdicìt, ne in hujusmodi publicis negotiis, etiã invitati, aut allecti, ullâ ratione se immisceant, nec ullis precibus, aut suasionibus ab instituto deflectant. Et præterea quibus efficacioribus remediis omnino huic morbo, sicubi opus sit, medecina adhibeatur, patribus definitoribus accurate discernendum, et definiendum commendavit."

Maximo sanè animi nostri dolore observimus, tam prædicta, quam alia complura deinceps adhibita remedia nil fermè virtutis præ se tulisse et auctoritatis ad tot ac tantas evellendas, dissipandasque turbas, accusationes, et querimonias in sæpe dictam societatem, frustrâque ad id laborasse cæteros prædecessores nostros Urbanum VIII, Clementem IX, X, XI, et XII, Alexandrum VII, et VIII, Innocentium X, XI, XII, et XIII, et Benedictum XIV, qui optatissimam conati sunt ecclesiæ restituere tranquillitatem, plurimis saluberrimis editis constitutionibus circa sæcularia negotia, sive extra saras missiones, sive earum occasione, minime exercenda, quam circa dissidia gravissima, ac jurgia adversus locorum ordinarios, regulares ordines, loca pia, atque communitates cujusvis generis in Europâ, Asiâ, et Americâ, non sine ingenti animarum ruinâ, ac populorum admiratione à societate acriter excitata; tum etiã super interpretatione, et praxi Ethnicorum quorundam rituum aliquibus in locis passim adhibitâ, omissis iis quæ ab universali ecclesiâ sunt ritè probati; vel super earum sententiarum usu, et interpretatione, quas apostolica sedes tanquam scandalosas, optimæque morum disciplinæ manifeste noxias merito proscripsit; vel aliis demum super rebus maximi equidem momenti, et ad Christianorum dogmatum puritatem sartam tectam servandam apprime necessariis, et ex quibus nostrâ hâc non minus, quam superiori ætate, plurima diminarunt detrimenta, et incommoda; perturbationes nimirum, ac tumultus in nonnullis catholicis regionibus; ecclesiæ persecutiones in quibusdam Asiæ, et Europæ provinciis; ingens denique allatus est mæror prædecessoribus nostris, et in his piæ memoriæ Innocentio Papæ XI, qui necessitate compulsus eo devenit, ut societati interdixit novitios ad habitum admittere; tum Innocentio Papæ XIII, qui eandem pænã coactus fuit eidem comminari; ac tandem rec. memoriæ Benedicto Papæ XIV, qui visitationem domorum, collegiorumque in ditione charissimi in Christo filii nostri Lusitanæ et Algarbiorum Regis fidelissimi existentium censuit decernendam; quin ullum subinde vel sedi apostolicæ solamen, vel societati auxilium, vel

other respects, the good odor of Christ is necessary to produce fruit, the congregation hath judged that we ought to abstain from all appearance of evil, and stop, as far as may be, all complaints, though arising even from false suspicions. Wherefore by this present decree all our members are strictly forbidden to intermeddle, in any manner, in public affairs of this nature, though invited and solicited thereto, or through entreaties and persuasion to depart from the institute. Moreover, it is recommended to the fathers definitors, that they would pitch upon and point out, by whatever more efficacious means, if need were, an effectual remedy to this evil."

It was with the greatest grief of mind that we have observed neither the aforesaid remedies, nor many others since made use of, to have scarce any efficacy or force towards rooting up, and removing the so many, and such great disturbances, accusations and complaints against the so often mentioned society; and that the rest of our predecessors, Urban VIII, Clement IX, X, XI, and XII, Alexander VII, and VIII, Innocent X, XI, XII and XIII, and Benedict XIV, had labored thereat in vain, who all endeavored to restore to the church that so very much wished-for peace and tranquillity by the many salutary constitutions published respecting both worldly traffic, which they ought not to have followed, carried on in the sacred missions, or on occasion of them; as likewise respecting the grievous dissensions and disputes warmly raised by the society with the ordinaries, the regular orders, pious foundations, and communities of every kind in Europe, Asia, and America, not without the great ruin of souls, and the amazement of whole nations; as also respecting the interpretation and frequent use, in many places, of certain heathenish rites, while such as the universal church had justly approved, were laid aside: or respecting the use and interpretation of those opinions, which the apostolic see justly proscribed as scandalous, and evidently pernicious to sound morality; as also respecting other points of truly the greatest moment, and extremely necessary to the preservation of the purity and integrity of the Christian faith, and from which in this our age, as well as in the last, very many prejudices and inconveniences have flowed, namely, riots and tumults in some catholic countries, persecutions of the church in some provinces of Asia and Europe.—Lastly, great grief was occasioned hereby to our predecessors, and among the rest to Innocent XI, of pious memory, who, being forced to it by necessity, went so far, as to forbid the society to admit the novices to take the habit; as also to Innocent XIII, who was obliged to threaten the society with the same punishment; and lastly to Pope Benedict XIV, of venerable memory, who thought it necessary to appoint an apostoli-

Christianæ reip. bonum accesserit, ex novissimis apostolicis litteris à fecicis Rec. Clemente Papâ XIII, immediato prædecessore nostro extortis potius, ut verbo utamur à prædecessore nostro Greg. X, in supracitato Lugdunensi œcumenico concilio adhibito, quam impetratis, quibus Societatis Jesu institutum magnopere commendatur, ac rursus approbatur.

Post tot, tantasque procellas, ac tempestates acerbissimas, futurum optimus quisque sperabat, ut optatissima illa aliquando illucesceret dies, quæ tranquillitatem et pacem esset allatura. At Petri Cathedram gubernante eodem Clemente XIII, prædecessore, longe difficiliora, ac turbulentiora accesserunt tempora. Auctis enim quotide magis in prædictam societatem clamoribus, et querelis, quinimo periculosissimis alicubi exortis seditionibus, tumultibus, dissidiis, et scandalis, quæ Christianæ charitatis vinculo labefactato, ac penitus disrupto, fidelium animos ad partium studia, odia, et inimicitias vehementer inflammaverunt, eo discriminis, ac pericula res perducta visa est, ut ii ipsi, quorum avita pietas ac in societatem liberalitatis hæreditario quodam veluti jure à majoribus accepta omnium fere linguis magnopere commendatur, charissimi nempe in Christo filii nostri Reges Francorum, Hispaniarum, Lusitanæ ac utriusque Siciliæ, suis ex regnis, ditionibus, atque provinciis socios dimittere coacti omnino fuerint, et expellere; hoc unum putantes extremum tot malis superesse remedium, et penitus necessarium ad impediendum, quominus Christiani populi in ipso S. Matris Ecclesiæ sinu se invicem lacesserent, provocarent, lacerarent.

Ratum vero habentes prædicti charissimi in Christo filii nostri, remedium hoc firmum esse non posse, ac universo Christiano orbi reconciliando accomodatum, nisi societas ipsa prorsus exstingeretur, ac ex integro supprimeretur; sua idcirco apud præfatum Clementem Papam XIII, prædecessorem exposuerunt studia, ac voluntatem, et quæ valebant auctoritate, et precibus, conjunctis simul votis expostularunt, ut efficacissimâ eâ ratione perpetuæ suorum subditorum securitati, universæque Christi Ecclesiæ bono providentissime consulere. Qui tamen præter omnium expectationem contigit, ejusdem pontificis obitus, rei cursum, exitumque prorsus impedit. Hinc nobis in eâdem Petri Cathedrâ, divinâ disponente clementiâ, constitutis, eâdem statim oblata sunt preces, petitiones et vota, quibus sua quoque addiderunt studia, animique sententiam episcopi complures, alique viri dignitate, doctrinâ religione plurimum conspicui.

cal visitation of the houses and colleges in the dominions of our beloved son in Christ, the most faithful king of Portugal and Algarve. The late apostolic letters of Clement XIII, our immediate predecessor of happy memory, in which the institute of the Society of Jesus is greatly commended, and again approved, being rather extorted from him, than obtained, to use the words of Gregory X, our predecessor in the forementioned General Council of Lyons, were far from bringing any comfort to the apostolic see, help to the society, or good to Christendom.

After so many, and such great storms and bitter tempests, every good man hoped the time would come, in which that most desirable day would shine forth, that was to bring with it tranquillity and plenty of peace. But while the same Clement XIII, our predecessor, presided in the Chair of Peter, the times became more difficult and troublesome than before. For, as the cries and complaints against the aforesaid society daily increased; as moreover some very dangerous seditions, tumults, dissensions, and scandals arose in some places, which, weakening and entirely breaking the bond of Christian charity, inflamed the minds of the faithful with party zeal, hatred and enmity, things were brought to so critical and dangerous a situation, that those very princes, whose ancient affection for, and liberality towards the society, as descending to them by inheritance from their ancestors, was much commended by almost the tongues of all, I mean our most beloved sons in Christ, the kings of France, Spain, Portugal, and the Two Sicilies, were forced to send away and drive out of their kingdoms, territories, and provinces, the members thereof; looking on this as the last remedy to so many evils, and absolutely necessary to prevent the Christian people from falling on, exasperating and tearing to pieces each other in the very bosom of our holy mother the church.

But as our aforesaid most beloved sons in Christ were fully persuaded, that this remedy would not be permanent, nor adequate to the reconciliation of the Christian world, unless the society itself was to be totally extinguished, and entirely suppressed; they, therefore, made known their desires and pleasure to the aforesaid Clement XIII, our predecessor, and with all the authority they had, they demanded with entreaties and conjoint vows, that he would most providently consult the perpetual security of their respective subjects, and the good of the universal church of Christ by that most efficacious of all methods. However, the death of that pontif, which no one expected, put a stop to this business, and totally prevented its execution. Hence we were no sooner placed, by the appointment of divine merey, in the same chair of Peter, but the same entreaties, requests, and vows were laid before us, to which many bishops, and persons

Ut autem in re tam gravi, tantique momenti tutissimum caperemus consilium, diuturno nobis temporis spatio opus esse judicavimus, non modo ut diligenter inquirere, maturius expendere, et consultissimè deliberare possemus, verum etiam ut multis gemitibus, et continuis precibus, singulare à Patre luminum exposceremus auxilium, et præsidium; quâ etiam in re fidelium omnium precibus, pietatisque operibus nos sæpius apud Deum juvari curavimus. Perscrutari inter cætera volumus, quo innitatur fundamento pervagata illa apud plurimos opinio, religionem scilicet clericorum Societatis Jesu fuisse à Conc. Trid. solemnî quâdam ratione approbatam, et confirmatam; nihilque aliud de eâ actum comperimus in citato concilio, quam ut à generali illo exciperetur decreto, quo de reliquis regularibus ordinibus cautum fuit, ut finito tempore novitiatus, novitii, qui idonei inventi fuerint, ad profitendum admitantur, aut à monasterio ejiciantur. Quamobrem eadem S. synodus (sess. 25, c. 16 de Regular.) declaravit, se nolle aliquid innovare, aut prohibere, quin prædicta religio clericorum Societatis Jesu, juxta pium eorum institutum à S. sede apostolicâ approbatum, Domino et ejus ecclesiæ inservire possit.

Tot itaque ac tam necessariis adhibitis mediis, divini spiritûs, ut confidimus, adjuti præsentia et afflatu, nec non muneris nostri compulsi necessitate, quo et ad Christianæ reip. quietem, et tranquillitatem conciliandam, fovendam, roborandam, et ad illa omnia penitus de medio tollenda, quæ eidem detrimento vel minimo esse possunt, quantum vires finunt, actissime adigimur; cumque præterâ animadverterimus prædictam Societatem Jesu uberrimos illos, amplissimosque fructus et utilitates afferre amplius non posse, ad quos instituta fuit, à tot prædecessoribus nostris approbata, ac plurimis ornata privilegiis; imo fieri, aut vix, aut nullo modo posse, ut eâ incolumni manente, vera Pax, ac diuturna ecclesiæ restitatur; his propterea gravissimis adducti causis, aliisque pressurionibus, quas et prudentiæ leges, et optimum universalis ecclesiæ regimen nobis suppeditant, altâque mente repositas servamus, vestigiis inhærentes eorundem prædecessorum nostrorum, et præsertim memorati Greg. X, prædecessoris in Gen. Concilio Lugdunensi; cum et nunc de societate agatur, tum instituti sui, tum privilegiorum etiam suorum ratione, Mendicantium Ordinum numero ascriptâ; maturo consilio, EX CERTA SCIENTIA, ET PLENITUDINE POTESTATIS APOSTOLICÆ, SEPEDICTAM SOCIETATEM EXTINGUIMUS, ET SUPPRIMIMUS: tollimus, et abrogamus,

very conspicuous for their dignity, learning and religion, joined their wishes and real sentiments.

But in order to take the safest course in an affair of such weight, and great moment, we judged a length of time necessary, not only to enable us to make a diligent inquiry, maturely to weigh and determine with the greatest caution, but moreover that we might with many sighs and continual prayer, beg aid and assistance from the Father of lights; in which we also frequently took care to procure help from God by the prayers of all the faithful, and by acts of piety. We were, among other points, desirous of inquiring thoroughly, what grounds there were for an opinion that had prevailed amongst very many, namely, that the religious order of the Clerks of the Society of Jesus had, in some solemn manner, been approved and confirmed by the Council of Trent; and we found nothing treated with regard to that society in the said council, only this, that it was excepted out of that general decree, in which it was ordained, that in all other religious orders, when the time of the noviceship was expired, the novices that were found fit, should be admitted to their profession, or sent out of the monastery. Wherefore the same holy Synod (sess. 25, c. 16, de Regular.) "declared it had no intention to settle any thing new, or restrain the aforesaid order of Clerks of the Society of Jesus, from serving the Lord and his church, according to their pious institute approved by the apostolic see."

Having therefore employed so many, and such necessary means, assisted also, as we trust, by the presence and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, forced thereto moreover by the necessity of our office, by which we are obliged, as far as our strength allows, to conciliate, cherish, and strengthen the tranquillity of Christendom, and to remove entirely whatever may be the least prejudice thereto: and as we have, moreover, after attentive consideration, seen that the aforesaid Society of Jesus can no longer produce those most plentiful, and ample fruits, for which it was instituted at first, and approved of by so many of our predecessors, and endowed with very many privileges; nay, that any true or lasting peace can scarce, or even not possibly, be restored to the church while that society subsists; being influenced, therefore, by these weighty reasons, and urged by other motives, with which both the laws of prudence and the good government of the whole church furnish us, and which we keep deeply impressed on our minds, treading in the steps of the same predecessors of ours, and especially of the before-mentioned Gregory X, in the General Council of Lyons; and as the society in question, both by the nature of its institute and privileges, is annumerated to the Mendicant Orders; after mature deliberation, OUT OF OUR CERTAIN

omnia, et singula ejus officia, ministeria, et administrationes, domus, scholas, collegia, hospitium, Grancias, et loca quæcunque quavis in provinciâ, regno et ditone existentia, et modo quolibet ad eam pertinentia; ejus statuta, mores, consuetudines, decreta, constitutiones, etiam juramento, confirmatione apostolicâ aut aliâs roboratas; omnia item et singula privilegia, et indulta generalia vel specialia, quorum tenores præsentibus, ac si de verbo ad verbum essent inserta, ac etiamsi quibusvis formulis, clausulis irritantibus, et quibuscunque vinculis, et decretis sint concepta, proplenè, et sufficienter expressis haberi volumus. Ideoque declaramus cassam perpetuo manere, ac penitus extinctam omnem, et quamcunque auctoritatem præpositi generalis, provincialium, visitatorum, aliorumque quorumlibet dictæ societatis superiorum, tam in spiritualibus, quam in temporalibus; eandemque jurisdictionem, et auctoritatem in locorum ordinarios totaliter et omnimodo transferimus, juxta modum, casus, et personas; et iis sub conditionibus, quas infra explicabimus; prohibentes, quemadmodum per præsentis prohibemus, ne ullus amplius in dictam societatem excipiat, et ad habitum et novitium admittatur; qui vero hactenus fuerunt excepti, ad professionem votorum simplicium, vel solemnium, sub pænâ nullitatis admissionis, et professionis, aliisque arbitrio nostro pænis infligendis, nullo modo admitti possint, et valeant. Quinimo volumus, præcipimus, et mandamus, ut qui nunc tyrocinio actu vacant, statim illico, immediate, et cum effectu dimittantur; ac similiter vetamus, ne qui votorum simplicium professionem emisserunt, nulloque sacro ordine sunt usque adhuc initiati, possint ad majores ipsos ordines promoveri pretextu, aut titulo vel jam emissæ in societate professionis, vel privilegiorum contra Conc. Trid. decreta eidem societati collatorum.

Quoniam vero eò nostra tendunt studia, ut quemadmodum ecclesiæ utilitatibus, ac populorum tranquillitati consulere cupimus; ita singulis ejusdem religionis individuis, seu sociis, quorum singulares personas paternè in Domino diligimus, solamen aliquod, et auxilium afferre studeamus, ut ab omnibus, quibus hactenus vexati fuerunt contentionibus, dissidiis, et angoribus liberi, fructuosius vineam Domini possint excolere, et animarum salutem uberius prodere; ideo decernimus, et constituimus, ut socii professi votorum duntaxat simplicium, et sacris ordinibus nondum initiati, intra spatium temporis à locorum ordinariis definiendum, satis congruum, ad munus aliquod, vel officium, vel benevolum receptorem, non tamen uno anno longius à datâ præsentium nostrarum littera-

KNOWLEDGE AND PLENITUDE OF POWER, WE DO EXTINGUISH AND SUPPRESS THE OFTEN-MENTIONED SOCIETY: we take away and abrogate all and singular its offices, ministries and administrations, houses, schools, colleges, hospitals, lands, and whatever places, in whatever province, kingdom, or territories they be, and in whatever manner they belong to it; its statutes, rules, customs, decrees, constitutions, even though confirmed by oath, or by the apostolic see, or any other way; as also all and singular its privileges and indults, general or particular, the tenor of which we will have taken to be as fully and sufficiently expressed in these presents, as if they had been inserted word for word, in whatever form, irritating clauses, and with whatever sanctions, and decrees they may have been conceived. And we therefore declare all and whatever authority of the generals, provincials, visitors, and of all whatever other superiors of the said society, both in spirituals and temporals, to be forever annulled, and totally extinguished; and that same jurisdiction and authority we totally, and in every manner, transfer to the respective ordinaries, according to the form, cases and persons, and under those conditions we shall explain below: forbidding, as we by these present do forbid, any one hereafter being received into the said society, and admitted to the habit and noviceship; and that those who have heretofore been received, neither may, nor can be admitted to the profession of the simple or solemn vows, under pain of nullity of the admission and profession, and other penalties at our pleasure.—We moreover will, order, and command, that those who are now actually in their noviceship, be directly, on the spot, immediately and effectually dismissed; and we in like manner expressly forbid any who have made their simple vows, and have not as yet taken any of the holy orders, to be admitted to the higher orders under the title or pretence of a profession already made in the society, or of the privileges granted to the said society, contrary to the decrees of the Council of Trent.

And whereas our aim is, that while we consult the advantage of the church, and the quiet of nations, we should also endeavor to afford comfort and aid to each individual or member of that said order, every one of whom, in their individual capacity, we love with a paternal affection in the Lord; that being freed from all the contentions, disagreements and afflictions, with which they have hitherto been troubled, they may, with more fruit, cultivate the vineyard of the Lord, and contribute more abundantly to the salvation of souls; we therefore decree and ordain, that such of the companions who have only made their simple vows, and have not as yet taken holy orders, being now freed from every bond of their simple vows, do, without fail, quit the houses and colle-

rum inchoandum, domibus, et collegiis ejusdem societatis, omnium votorum simplicium vinculo soluti egredi omnino debeant, eam vivendi rationem suscepturi, quam singulorum vocationi, viribus, et conscientiæ magis aptam in Domino judicaverint; cum et juxta societatis privilegia, dimitti ab eâ ii poterant non aliâ de causâ præter eam, quam superiores prudentiæ, et circumstantiis magis conformem putarent, nullâ præmissâ citatione, nullis confectis actis, nulloque judiciali ordine servato.

Omnibus autem sociis ad sacros ordines promotis veniam facimus, ac potestatem, easdem domos, aut collegia societatis deferendi, vel ut ad aliquem ex regularibus ordinibus à sede apostolicâ approbatis se conserant, ubi probationis tempus à Conc. Trid. præscriptum debebunt explere, si votorum simplicium professionem in societate emisierint; si vero solemnium etiam votorum, per sex tantum integros menses in probatione stabunt, super quo benignè cum eis dispensamus: vel ut in sæculo maneant tanquam presbyteri, et Clerici sæculares, sub omni-modâ, ac totali obedientiâ, et subjectione ordinariorum, in quorum diocesi domicilium figant; decernentes insuper, ut his, qui hæc ratione in sæculo manebunt, congruè aliquod, donec provisi aliunde non fuerint, assignetur stipendium ex redditibus domûs, seu collegii, ubi morabantur, habito tamen respectu tum reddituum, tum onerum eidem annexorum.

Professi vero in sacris ordinibus constituti, qui vel timore ducti non satis honestæ sustentationis ex defectu vel inopiâ congruæ, vel quia loco carent ubi domicilium sibi comparent, vel ob provecam ætatem, infirmam valetudinem, aliamque justam, gravemque causam, domus societatis, seu collegia derelinquere opportunum minime existimaverint, ibidem manere poterunt; eâ tamen lege, ut nullam prædictæ domûs, seu collegii administrationem habeant, clericorum sæcularium veste tantummodo utantur, vivantque ordinario ejusdem loci plenissimè subjecti. Prohibemus autem omnino quominus in eorum, qui deficient, locum alios sufficiant; donum de novo juxta Conc. Lugdun. decreta, seu aliquem locum acquirant; domus insuper, res, et loca quæ nunc habent, alienare valeant; quin imo in unam tantum domum, seu plures, habitâ ratione sociorum, qui remanebunt, poterunt congregari, ita, ut domus, quæ vacuæ relinquuntur, possint in pios usus converti, juxta id quod sacris canonibus, voluntati fundatorum, divini cultûs incremento, animarum salutis, ac publicæ utilitati videbitur suis loco, et tempore rectè ritèque accommodatum. Interim verò vir aliquis ex clero sæculari pro-

ges of the said society, in order to embrace that way of life, which each of them shall judge in the Lord most agreeable to his calling, strength and conscience, and that within a space of time to be prescribed by the ordinaries, sufficient to find some employment or office, or some kind friend to take him into his house, provided this space of time be not longer than a year to be reckoned from the date hereof: since, according to the privileges of the society, these might formerly have been dismissed, without any other cause than what the superiors thought agreeable to prudence and circumstances, without any previous citation, without any writings drawn, or any form of law observed.

We allow all the companions, who have been promoted to holy orders, and we empower them to quit the same houses or colleges of the society, either in order to enter some one of the regular orders approved by the apostolic see, wherein they must fulfil the time of noviceship prescribed by the Council of Trent, if they have made only their simple vows in the society, but if they have made their solemn vows, they shall stay only six complete months in the noviciate, in which point we kindly dispense with them; or they may remain in the world like priests, or secular clerks, under an entire obedience, in every respect, to the ordinaries of the diocesses where they shall settle; decreeing, moreover, that some competent stipend should be allowed to those who thus stay in the world till they are otherwise provided, from the revenues of the house or college where they stayed, regard being had both to the revenues of the house, and the expenses annexed to the same.

As to those of the professed, now in holy orders, who either through fear of not being able to subsist decently for want, or through the shortness of their allowance, or because they have not a place to settle in, or by reason of old age, want of health, or any other just and weighty cause, do not think it convenient to quit the houses or colleges of the society, they may remain therein; but on this condition, that they have nothing to do with the management of the aforesaid house or college, wear no other dress than that of the secular clergy, and that they live entirely subject to the ordinary of the place: but we strictly forbid the substituting of others in the place of those who die; the acquiring anew any house or place, agreeably to the decrees of the Council of Lyons; the alienating, moreover, of the houses, effects, or funds, which they actually possess. They may, moreover, be gathered together in one or more houses, according to the number of the companions that shall remain, so that the houses that become vacant, may be converted to such pious uses as, according to circumstances of time and place, shall appear most agreeable to the sacred canons, the will of the founders, the promotion of

dentia, probisque moribus præditus designabitur, qui dictarum domorum præsit regimini, deleto penitus, et suppresso nomine societatis.

Declaramus, individuos etiam prædictæ societatis ex omnibus provinciis, à quibus jam reperiuntur expulsi, comprehensos esse in hac generali societatis suppressione; etiamsi ad majores ordines sint, et existant promoti; ac proinde volumus quod supra dicti expulsi, nisi ad alium regularem ordinem transierint, ad statum clericorum, et presbyterorum sæcularium ipso facto redigantur, et locorum ordinariis totaliter subjiciantur.

Locorum ordinarii, si eam quâ opus est,prehenderint virtutem, doctrinam, morumque integritatem in iis, qui è regularis societatis instituto ad presbyterorum sæcularium statum in vim præsentium nostrarum litterarum transierint, poterunt eis, pro suo arbitrio, facultatem largiri, aut denegare, excipiendi sacramentales confessiones Christi fidelium, aut publicas ad populum habendi sacras conciones, sine quâ licentiâ in scriptis nemo illorum iis fungi muneribus audebit. Hanc tamen facultatem iidem episcopi, vel locorum ordinarii nunquam quoad extraneos iis concedent, qui in collegiis, aut domibus antea ad societatem pertinentibus vitam ducent, quibus perinde perpetuo interdicimus sacramentum pœnitentiæ extraneis administrare, vel prædicare, quemadmodum ipse etiam Greg. X, prædecessor in citato generali concilio simili modo prohibuit. Quâ de re ipsorum episcoporum oneramus conscientiam, quos memores cupimus severissimæ illius rationis, quam de ovibus eorum curæ commissis Deo sunt reddituri, et durissimi etiam illius iudicii, quod iis, qui præsent, supremus vivorum et mortuorum iudex minatur.

Volumus præterea, quod si quis eorum, qui societatis institutum profitebantur, munus exerceat erudiendi in litteris juventutem, aut magistrum agat in aliquo collegio aut scholâ (remotis penitus omnibus à regimine, administratione, et gubernio) iis tantum in docendi munere locus fiat perseverandi, et potestas, qui ad benè de suis laboribus sperandum signum aliquod præ se ferant, et dummodo ab illis alienos se præbeant disputationibus, et doctrinæ capitibus, quæ suâ vel laxitate, vel inanitate gravissimas contentiones, et incommoda parere solent, et procreare; nec ullo unquam tempore ad hujusmodi docendi munus ii admittantur, vel in eo, si nunc actu versantur, suam sinantur præstare operam, qui scholarum quietem, ac publicam tranquillitatem non sunt pro viribus conservaturi.

the divine worship, the salvation of souls, and the public good. In the mean time a person of the secular clergy, a man of prudence and a good life, shall preside over the government of the said houses, the very name of the society being entirely abolished and suppressed.

We declare, moreover, the individuals of the aforesaid society, in all those provinces whence they are found to be already expelled, included in this general suppression of the Society; and, therefore, our will is, that the aforesaid expelled members, although they are and be promoted to the higher orders, unless they enter some other religious order, be *ipso facto* reduced to the state of secular priests and clerks, under a total subjection to their respective ordinaries.

If the ordinaries shall find the necessary virtue, learning and purity of morals, in those that shall, by virtue of these our present letters, pass over from the regular institute of the Society of Jesus to the state of secular priests, they may either grant or refuse them, according to their own judgment, faculty to hear the confessions of the faithful in the sacrament of penance, or preach in public to the people, without which leave, in writing, none of them shall presume to perform the said functions. But the bishops or ordinaries shall at no time grant this faculty, with regard to externs, to those who shall live in the colleges and houses formerly belonging to the society, whom we therefore lay under a perpetual interdict of administering the sacrament of penance, or preaching to externs, as our predecessor, Gregory X, also forbade it in like manner in the forecited Council of Lyons. And with regard to this point, we charge the consciences of the bishops themselves, whom we desire to remember the exact account which they are to give to God of the sheep committed to their care; and that most tremendous judgment with which the supreme judge of the living and the dead threatens those in authority.

Our will is, moreover, that if any of those who heretofore professed the institute of the society, should follow the employment of teaching youth, or be a master in any college or school, all of them being excluded from any share in the direction, administration, or government thereof, those only be allowed and permitted to continue in the employment of teaching, who show some signs of good to be hoped from their labors, and provided they manifest an aversion to those disputes and points of doctrine, which are apt to breed and cause very great disturbances and inconveniences, either on account of their looseness in morals, or their being frivolous and to no purpose. Nor shall any, at any time, be admitted to the employment of teaching, or permitted to continue their labor therein, if they be actually engaged in it, who shall not use all their endeavors to

Quod vero ad sacras attinet missiones, quarum etiam ratione intelligenda volumus quæcunque de societatis suppressione disposuimus, nobis reservamus ea media constituere, quibus et infidelium conversio, et dissidiorum sedatio facilius, et firmius obtineri possit, et comparari.

Cassatis autem, et penitus abrogatis, ut supra, privilegiis quibuscunque, et statutis sæpe dictæ societatis, declaramus ejus socios, ubi è domibus, et collegiis societatis egressi, et ad statum clericorum sæcularium redacti fuerint, habiles esse, et idoneos ad obtinenda, juxta SS. canonum, et constitutionum apostolicarum decreta, beneficia quæcunque, tam sine curâ, quam cum curâ officia, dignitates, personatus, et id genus alia, ad quæ omnis eis in societate manentibus aditus fuerat penitus interclusus à fel. Record. Gregorio Papa XIII, per suas in simili formâ brevis die 10 Sept. 1584 expeditas litteras, quarum initium est: *Satis superque*. Item iisdem permitimus, quod pariter vetitum eis erat, ut eleemosynam pro missæ celebratione valeant percipere; possintque iis omnibus frui gratis, et favoribus, quibus tanquam clerici regularis Societatis Jesu perpetuo caruissent. Derogamus pariter omnibus, et singulis facultatibus, quibus à præposito generali, aliisque superioribus, vi privilegiorum à summis pontificibus obtentorum, donati fuerint, legendi videlicet hæreticorum libros, et alios ab apostolicâ sede proscriptos, et damnatos; non servandi jejuniorum dies, aut esurialibus cibis in iis non utendi; anteponendi, postponendique horarum canonicarum recitationem, aliisque id genus, quibus in posterum eos uti posse severissimè prohibemus; cum mens nobis animusque sit, ut iidem tanquam sæculares presbiteri, ad juris communis tramites, suam accommodent vivendi rationem.

Vetamus, ne postquam præsentis nostræ litteræ promulgatæ fuerint, ac notæ redditæ, ullus audeat earum executionem suspendere, etiam colore, titulo, prætextu cujusvis petitionis, appellationis, recursûs declarationis, aut consultationis dubiorum, quæ forte oriri possent, alioque quovis prætextu præviso, vel non præviso. Volumus etiam ex nunc et immediatè suppressionem, et cassationem universæ prædictæ societatis et omnium ejus officiorum suum effectum sortiri, formâ, et modo à nobis supra expressis, sub penâ majoris excommunicationis ipso facto incurrendæ, nobis nostrisque successoribus Romanis pontificibus pro tempore reservatæ, adversus quemcunque, qui nostris hisce litteris adimplendis impedimentum, obicem, aut moram apponere præsumperit.

Mandamus insuper, ac in virtute sanctæ

preserve the peace of the schools, and the public tranquillity.

As to what regards the sacred missions, with respect to which our will is, that whatever we have ordered concerning the suppression of the society, should be understood also of them, we reserve to ourselves the appointing such means, as may, with more ease and strength, advance and procure the conversion of infidels, and the allaying of dissensions.

All privileges whatever, and statutes of the often-mentioned society, being now annulled and totally abolished, as above, we declare the members thereof, as soon as they shall have left the houses and colleges of the society, and shall be reduced to the state of secular clerks, to be capable and qualified for obtaining, according to the decrees of the sacred canons, and apostolic constitutions, any benefices whatever, whether sinecures or cures, offices, dignities, parsonages, and the like, from all which they were absolutely excluded, while they remained in the society, by Pope Gregory XIII, of happy memory, in his letters in the like form of a brief of the 10th of September, 1584, which begin with these words: *Satis superque*. We likewise allow them to receive alms for saying mass, which was also forbidden them before; and to enjoy all those graces and favors, which they never could have enjoyed as regular clerks of the Society of Jesus. At the same time we derogate from all and singular the faculties granted to them, either by their general or other superiors, in virtue of the privileges obtained from the sovereign pontiffs, such as reading heretical books, or others proscribed and condemned by the apostolic see; or not observing the stated fast-days, or using such as are not fasting-day meats on those days; or anticipating or postponing the recital of the canonical hours, and the like, of which we strictly forbid them ever to make use again; as our intention and will is that, like secular priests, they regulate their method of life by the common law.

After these our present letters shall be promulgated and made known, we forbid any one presuming to suspend the execution thereof, even under color, title or pretext of any petition, appeal, recourse, declaration or consultation of doubts, which, perhaps, may arise, or any other pretext foreseen or unforeseen. For our will is, that from now, and immediately, the suppression and abolition of the whole aforesaid society, and of all its offices or employments, should take place, under pain of the greater excommunication incurred *ipso facto*, reserved to us and our successors, Roman pontiffs for the time being, against any one whomsoever, who shall presume to put any let, hindrance or delay to the execution of these our letters.

We order, moreover, and command in

obediendiæ præcipimus omnibus, et singulis personis ecclesiasticis, regularibus, sæcularibus cujuscunque gradûs, dignitatis, qualitatis, et conditionis, et iis signanter, qui usque adhuc societati fuerunt adscripti, et inter socios habitî, ne defendere audeant, impugnare, scribere, vel etiam loqui de hujusmodi suppressione, deque ejus causis, et motivis, quemadmodum nec de societatis, instituto, regulis, constitutionibus, regiminis formâ, aliâve de re, quæ ad hujusmodi pertinet argumentum, absque expressâ Romani pontificis licentiâ; ac simili modo sub pænâ excommunicationis nobis, ac nostris pro tempore successoribus reservatæ, prohibemus omnibus, et singulis, ne hujus suppressionis occasione ullum audeant, multoque minus eos, qui socii fuerunt, injuriis, jurgiis, contumeliis, aliave contemptûs genere, voce, aut scripto, clam aut palam afficere, vel lacessere. Hortamur omnes Christianos principes, ut eâ, quâ pollent, vi, auctoritate, et potentiâ, quam pro S. Rom. Ecclesiæ defensione, et patrociniò à Deo acceperunt, tum etiam eo, quo in hanc apostolicam sedem ducuntur obsequio, et cultu, suam præstent operam, ac studia, ut hæ nostræ litteræ suum plenissimè consequantur effectum; quinimo singulis in iisdem litteris contentis inhærentes similia constituent, et promulgent decreta, per quæ omnino cavent, ne, dum hæc nostra voluntas executioni tradetur, ulla inter fideles excitentur jurgia, contentiones, et dissidia.

Hortamur denique Christianos omnes, ac per Domini nostri Jesu Christi viscera obsecramus, ut memores sint omnes eundem habere magistrum, qui in cælis est; eundem omnes reparatorem, à quo empti sumus pretio magno; eodem omnes lavacro aquæ in verbo vitæ rageneratos esse, et filios Dei, cohæredes autem Christi constitutos; eodem Catholicæ doctrinæ, verbiq; divini pabulo nutritos; omnes demum unum corpus esse in Christo, singulos autem alterum alterius membra; atque idcirco necesse omnino esse, ut omnes communi charitatis vinculo simul colligati, cum omnibus hominibus pacem habeant, ac nemini debeant quicquam, nisi ut invicem diligant; nam qui diligit proximum, legem implevit; summo prosequentes odio offensiones, simulates, jurgia, insidias, aliæque hujusmodi ab antiquo humani generis hoste excogitata, inventa et excitata ad Ecclesiam Dei perturbandam, impediendamque æternam fidelium felicitatem sub fallacissimo scholarum, opinionum, vel etiam Christianæ perfectionis titulo, ac prætextu. Omnes tandem totis viribus contendant veram, germanamque sibi sapientiam comparare, de quâ scriptum est per S. Jacobum (cap. 3, Ep. Canon. vers. 13.)—"Quis sapiens et disciplinatus inter vos? Ostendat ex bonâ conversatione operationem suam in mansuetudine sapientiæ. Quod si zelum amarum habetis, et contentiones sint in cordibus vestris, nolite gloriari, et mendaces esse

virtute of holy obedience, all and singular ecclesiastical persons, regular or secular, of whatever degree, dignity, quality or condition, and those in particular, who have heretofore belonged to the society, or been reputed members thereof, not to presume to defend, impugn, write or even speak of this suppression, its causes and motives, or any thing concerning the institute, rules, constitutions, or form of government of the society, or of any thing relating to this subject, without the express leave of the Roman pontiff. And in like manner we forbid, under pain of excommunication reserved to ourselves, and the Roman pontiffs our successors, for the time being, all and each one, on occasion of this suppression to affront or insult any person, much less those who have been members of this society, by any ill usage, abuse, reproaches, or any other kind of contempt, by word of mouth, or in writing, in private, or in public.

We exhort all Christian princes to use their earnest endeavors for the full and effectual execution of these our present letters, with all that might, power, and authority, which they have received from God for the defence and protection of the holy Roman church, and for the respect they bear to the apostolic see; as also to enact and publish, in conformity to whatever is contained in these letters, such decrees, as may entirely prevent any quarrels, contentions and disputes among the faithful, while this our will is put in execution. Lastly, we exhort all Christians, and beseech them by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, to remember, that all have the same master, who is in heaven; all the same Redeemer, who has paid a great price for us; that all have been born again by the laver of water in the word of life, and appointed sons of God, and co-heirs with Christ; all fed with the same food of the catholic doctrine and the divine word; lastly, that all are one body in Christ, and each members one of another; and that hence it necessarily follows, that all, being united by the common band of charity, should be at peace with all men, and to owe no one any thing, but to love one another: for he that loveth his neighbor, hath fulfilled the law; pursuing with the greatest hatred whatever gives offence, all disagreements, quarrels, treachery, and other things of the like nature, contrived and invented by the

adversus veritatem. Non est enim ista sapientia desursum descendens; sed terrena, animalis, diabolica. Ubi enim zelus, et contentio, ibi inconstantia, et omne opus pravum. Quæ autem de sursum est sapientia, primum quidem pudica est, deinde pacifica, modesta, suavis, bonis consentiens, plena misericordiæ, et fructibus bonis, non judicans, sine æmulatione. Fructus autem justitiæ in pace seminatur facientibus pacem."

Præsentibus quoque litteris etiam ex eo quod superiores, et alii religiosi prædictæ societatis, et cæteri quicunque in præmissis interesse habentes, seu habere quomodolibet prætendentes, illis non consenserint, nec ad ea vocati, et auditi fuerint, nullo unquam tempore de subreptionis, obreptionis, nullitatis aut invaliditatis vitio, seu intentionis nostræ, aut alio quovis defectu, etiam quantumvis magno, inexcogitato, et substantiali, sive etiam ex eo quod in præmissis, seu eorum aliquo solemnitates, et quævis alia servanda, et adimplenda servata non fuerint; aut ex quocunque alio capite à jure, vel consuetudine aliquâ resultantem, etiam in corpore juris clauso, seu etiam enormis, enormissimæ, et totalis læsionis, et quovis alio prætextu, occasione, vel causâ, etiam quantumvis iustâ rationabili, et privilegiatâ, etiam tali, quâ ad effectum validitatis præmissorum necessario exprimenda foret, notari, impugnari, invalidari, retractari, in jus, vel controversiam, revocari, aut ad terminos juris reduci, vel adversus illas restitutionis in integrum, aperiitionis oris, reductionis ad viam, et terminos juris, aut alii quodcunque juris, facti, gratiæ, vel justitiæ remedium impetrari, seu quomodolibet concessio, aut impetrato quempiam uti, seu se juvari in iudicio, vel extra illud posse; sed easdem præsentibus semper, perpetuoque validas, firmas, et efficaces existere, et fore, suosque plenarios, et integros effectus sortiri, et obtinere, ac per omnes, et singulos, ad quos spectat, et quomodolibet spectabit in futurum, inviolabiliter observari.

Sicque, et non aliter in præmissis omnibus, et singulis per quoscunque iudices ordinarios, et delegatos, etiam causarum palatii apostolici auditores, ac S. R. E. Cardinales, etiam de latere legatos, et sedes apostolicæ nuncios, et alios quâvis auctoritate, et potestate fun-

old enemy of mankind, and raised up by him to disturb the catholic church, and hinder the eternal salvation of the faithful, under that most fallacious title and pretence of schools and opinions, or even Christian perfection. Let all then strive, with their whole might, to acquire that true and sincere wisdom, of which St. James writes thus in his Canonical Epistle, ch. iii, 13.—"Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge among you? Let him show by his good conversation his work in the meekness of wisdom. But if you have bitter zeal, and there be contentions in your hearts, glory not and be not liars against the truth. For this is not wisdom descending from above: but earthly, sensual, devilish. For where envying and contention are, there is inconstancy and every evil work. But the wisdom that is from above, first indeed is chaste, then peaceable, modest, easy to be persuaded, consenting to good, full of mercy and good fruits, without judging, without envy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace to them that make peace."

We moreover decree, that these our present letters shall at no time ever be found fault with, impugned, invalidated, examined over again, called in question or in doubt, or reduced to the terms of law; by reason that the superiors and other religious of the often-mentioned society, or others whosoever having, or pretending to have any interest in the premises, did not consent thereto, nor were called thereunto or heard; nor for any vice of subreption, obreption, nullity, or for defect of our intention, or any other defect, however great, unthought of, and substantial; or because that in the premises, or any of them, the solemnities or whatever other things to be observed and done, were not observed; or on any other head resulting from law, or any custom, although included in the body of the law, or even of enormous, most enormous or total lesion, or any other pretext, occasion or cause, however just, reasonable, and privileged, even such as should be necessarily expressed for the validity of the effect of the premises; nor shall ever any remedy of restitution in full, opening the mouth, bringing back to the method or terms of law, or any other remedy of right, fact, grace, or justice be obtained against these; or however granted, no one shall make use or avail himself thereof in judgment or out of judgment; but that these presents are and ever shall be valid, firm and effectual, and have and obtain their full and entire effect, and be inviolably observed by all and each whom they regard now, or any way shall regard hereafter.

And thus and not otherwise, in all and each of the premises, do we appoint judgment and sentence to be given by whatever judges, ordinaries or delegates, even the auditors of the causes of the apostolic palace, and the cardinals of the holy Roman church,

gentes, et functuros, in quâvis causâ et instantiâ, sublata eis, et eorum cuilibet, quâvis aliter judicandi, seu interpretandi facultate, et auctoritate, judicari, ac definiri debere, ac irritum, et inane, si secus super his à quocumque quâvis auctoritate, scienter, vel ignoranter, contigereit attentari, decernimus.

Non obstantibus constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, etiam in Conciliis Generalibus editis, et quatenus opus sit, regulâ nostrâ de non tollendo jure quæsito, nec non sæpe dictæ societatis, illiusque domorum, collegiorum ac ecclesiarum, etiam juramento, confirmatione apostolicâ, vel quâvis firmitate aliâ roberatis, statutis, et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis, et litteris apostolicis eidem societati, illiusque superioribus, religiosis, et personis quibuscumque, sub quibusvis tenoribus, et formis, ac cum quibusvis etiam derogatoriis derogatoriis, aliisque decretis, etiam irritantibus, etiam motu simili etiam, consistorialiter, ac alias quomodolibet concessis, confirmatis, et innovatis. Quibus omnibus, et singulis, etiamsi pro illorum sufficienti derogatione de illis, eorumque totis tenoribus specialis, expressa, et individua, ac de verbo ad verbum, non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes, mentio, seu quævis alia expressio habenda, aut aliqua alia exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret, illorum omnium, et singulorum tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum, nihil penitus omisso, et formâ in illis traditâ observatâ exprimerentur, et insererentur, præsentibus pro plene, et sufficienter expressis, et insertis habentes, illis aliâs in suo robore permansuris, ad præmissorum effectum specialiter, et expresse derogamus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem, ut præsentium litterarum transumptis, etiam impressis, manu alicujus notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo alicujus personæ in dignitate ecclesiasticâ constitutæ munitis, eadem prorsus fides in judicio, et extra adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus ipsis adhiberetur, si forent exhibitæ vel ostensæ.

Datum Romæ apud S. Mariam Majorem sub Annulo Piscatoris die 21 Julii 1773, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

A. Card. NIGRONUS.

Romæ MDCCLXXIII.

Ex Typographiâ Rev. Cameræ Apostolicæ.

even legates à *Latere*, and nuncios of the apostolic see, and others with whatever authority now invested, or to be invested hereafter, in whatever cause or instance, taking from them and every of them whatever power and authority of judging or interpreting otherwise; and if any thing is otherwise attempted by any one, by whatever authority, wittingly or through ignorance, shall be null and void.

And this notwithstanding any apostolical constitutions and ordinances, published even in general councils, and as far as need be, our own rule *de non tollendo jure quæsito*; as also the statutes and customs of the often-mentioned society, its houses, colleges, and churches, even strengthened by oath, apostolical confirmation, or any other means of permanency, as also privileges, indults and apostolic letters, granted, confirmed, and renewed to the said society, and its superiors, religious and individuals, under whatever tenor and form, and with whatever derogatories of derogatories, and even annulling decrees, from like motive, even in a consistory or any other manner. From all and each of which, and whatever is contrary hereto, we specially and expressly derogate to the effect of these premises, they, in other effects, being to remain in force, although for their sufficient derogation, special, express and particular mention thereof, and of their tenor ought to have been made word for word, and not by general clauses importing the same, whatever other manner of expressing them, or peculiar form ought to have been observed, looking on the tenor of all and each thereof as fully and sufficiently expressed, as if they had been inserted word for word, without any omission, or expressed in the form usually observed therein. Our will also is, that the same credit in judgment and out of judgment, be given to the copies of these presents, even printed, signed by any public notary, and ratified by the seal of any person in ecclesiastical dignity, which would be given to these presents, if they were presented or shown.

Given at Rome, at S. Mary Major, under the Fisherman's Ring, the 21st day of July, 1773, the fifth year of our pontificate.

A. Card. NIGRONI.

Rome, 1773.

From the printing office of the Rev. Apostolic Chamber.

PIUS VI., THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHTH BISHOP OF ROME.

GEORGE III, *King of England*.—LOUIS XVI, *and the Revolution in France*.—*Independence and Nationality of the United States of America*.—WASHINGTON, *President*.

[Year of Christ, 1775.] As soon as the funeral obsequies of Ganganelli had terminated, the cardinals entered the conclave to appoint his successor. Similar to the last two elections, two great parties were instantly arrayed, that of the monarchs, and that of the Zelanti, or prelates sold to the Jesuits. At the head of the latter faction were found the Cardinals Buffalini, Castelli, and John Baptist Rezzonico; the other cabal was directed by the ministers of the courts of France and Spain, Cardinal Bernis, and Morrino, count of Florida Blanca. The Zelanti proposed as their candidate for the papacy, the imperious Mark Antony Colonna, who was fiercely repelled by Bernis. The French ambassadors presented Negroni, as belonging to neither faction, and as one who had been elevated from a low condition; and that he offered all the guaranty of wisdom and probity which were desirable in a pontiff. But the Zelanti loudly declared against him: "We will not have any more beggars"—they said to Cardinal Bernis—"and this time, we know how to hinder the election of a mendicant friar!" Thus they designated by their outrageous epithets, Clement XIV.

The faction for the crowns successively nominated Palavicini, who was repelled for his tolerance; and Visconti, who was rejected for his sternness. Then the partisans of the Jesuits presented Castelli, who was opposed on account of his profligacy; and Boschi, who was pronounced too fanatical. The conclave consumed five months in plotting or baffling the intrigues, which the various competitors contrived, to obtain the tiara.—Sometimes the contending cardinals did not restrict themselves to epigrams, reproaches, and outrages to vanquish their adversaries; they also used brutal force, and ignoble fighting. Matters at last proceeded so far, that a censor composed a satirical piece entitled "the Conclave," in which the prominent cardinals were placed on the scene in the most grotesque and truthful display, and with severe and sensible effect.

Without doubt, according to the course of those elections, the vacancy in the pontificate would have been indefinitely prolonged, if Florida Blanca, the minister of Spain, had not thought of gaining to his party, the mistresses of the factions opposed to the monarchs, and to make their idol speak by the mouth of the most beautiful Roman courtesans. French and Spanish gold, therefore,

were lavished on the *queens* of the conclave, who, in return, promised by their secret wiles, to influence their lovers in purple to support the cardinal who was named to them.

Bernis, who was instructed in this external witchery exercised over the dissolute cardinals, proposed for pope, John Angelo Braschi, one of the Zelanti, who had become a partisan of France. The other cardinals, who were secretly influenced by the Roman ladies, were favorable to his elevation, and he was proclaimed pope by the title of Pius VI, on February 14, 1775.

Cardinal Bernis instantly announced his promotion to the French court by the following note—"Braschi is raised to the chair of Peter. It is believed that he will worthily occupy it; but I cannot answer for events which may result from certain circumstances impossible to foresee; nor for the variations which a too great elevation produces on the character, mind, and habits of the majority of men. God alone knows the heart, and we can judge only by appearances. The reign of the new pontiff would be known, if, before his election, I had seen his face or his mask."

Nevertheless, it was foreseen what kind of a pope Pius VI would be, by the explanation that he gave of the name which he chose when he accepted the tiara. "Pius V is the last pontiff canonized by the church," he said: "I will follow his course!" Alas! the execrable Braschi too much resembled the sanguinary Dominican, who prompted the massacre of Bartholomew. Like him, insatiable of domination, chilly, cruel, implacable, arrogant, there only wanted the political genius of the ferocious Pius V to complete the resemblance.

During the course of his pontifical career, Braschi was displayed as both enterprising and irresolute, ambitious and cowardly, selfish and prodigal, suspicious and improvident; false in heart and deceitful in mind: with such a character, he became the sport of the courtiers who surrounded him. The pope abandoned all the affairs of government to his favorites, and content to be enthroned in the Vatican, to exhibit the elegant proportions of his imposing stature with such dramatic affectation, that strangers, who assisted at the mass-ceremonial when the pope officiated, asked themselves whether they saw a pontiff actor, or an acting pope.

Pius VI was nearly fifty-eight years old when he attained the papal throne; and was of a noble but not opulent family in the territory of Cesena, where he was born, December 27, 1717: Cardinal Rosso, the lover of Braschi's mother, had been his first protector, and opened his way to high ecclesiastical dignity in procuring for him the appointment of private secretary to Benedict XIV. Under the following reign, he exchanged that post for the office of auditor, and next for treasurer of the chamber, which was one of the most important stations in the Roman government.

Under Clement XIV, grave accusations of extortion and peculation against him induced him to retire from that employment; but as Ganganelli was an enemy to scandal, he was saved the shame of a public dismissal by the grant of a cardinal's hat. Braschi lived in a species of disgrace until the death of his predecessor, making common cause with the Jesuits, concealing them in his palace, and even conspiring with them; so that it is believed he was not a stranger to the crime which terminated the life of Clement XIV.

His manners were not more irreproachable than his administration. Gorani, author of the *Secret Memoirs of Italy*, a very curious and most important historical work, formally accuses him of adultery, sodomy, and incest; and all contemporary writers agree with him, except the stipendiary writers of the Jesuit party, that the pope lived as a Sybarite, fulfilling none of the pontifical functions, restricting himself to the celebration of mass in his oratory, or to the hourly enthronement of the solemn public audience, and passing the rest of his time in inebriety with the mistresses and minions of his own household!

On his advancement to the papal chair, the new pope endeavored to obliterate the remembrance of his prior extortions; and he used all practicable means to captivate the affection of the Romans. He distributed money to the poor, promised to diminish the taxes, and announced that he would effect great reforms in the priesthood. In truth, he deprived a large number of prelates and ecclesiastics, convicted of misdemeanors and peculation in their offices; but that was done to give their places to his relatives and creatures. He diminished the salaries of the great dignitaries of the hierarchy, only to augment his own peculiar treasures.

The people of Rome, ordinarily so easy to deceive, were not, however, the dupes of his pontifical juggling, and retained the same hatred for Pius VI, as for Cardinal Braschi. The pope, for want of the popular support, wished to derive aid from the cardinals, by flattering both the monarchical party and the Zelanti; which rendered his position extremely difficult throughout his whole pontificate, and often forced him to adopt contradictory measures, either at the

instigation of the courts of France and Spain, or when he was threatened with death by the Jesuits.

At one period the pope appeared to unite with the Zelanti, and seemed disposed to repair the disasters of the company of Ignatius; at another he was changed, and declared that he would maintain the determinations respecting them by Clement XIV, until the conclusion of the process which was instituted against them. The pretext of the change was the fear of drawing upon Rome the wrath of the French and Spanish monarchs; but his real motive was the desire to preserve the wealth which had been confiscated for the advantage of the court of Rome.

For reparation, he permitted the Jesuits to publish pamphlets reviling Clement XIV, and placed himself in opposition to the king of Spain on the subject of the canonization of John Palafox, a Mexican prelate, and a most decided enemy of the Jesuits. The more Florida Blanca urged the court of Rome to place Palafox among the idolized saints, the more the pope appeared hostile to that promotion, and sought to reduce the merits of the Spanish prelate. Thence resulted a strife from self-love, and the quarrel at last became so hot with rage, that Charles III menaced Pius VI with his vengeance, before he could obtain admission into heaven for his prelate *Saint Palafox*.

That little satisfaction to the Jesuits gave them patience, and engaged them to maintain the cause of the pope, and to aid him in combating the ideas of the reformers who attacked all governments, and particularly in Germany, where Joseph II reigned, one of the most terrific adversaries of the supremacy of the pope.

By the reciprocity of good proceedings, Pius VI highly honored Lorenzo Ricci, general of the Jesuits, who had died in the dungeon of the castle of Angelo; and by a novel contradiction, while sustaining the abrogation of that order, he authorized the Jesuits to extend themselves in Prussia, and in Russia; form schools, colleges, and monasteries; and he also named for the collegial canonicate at Liege, a member of the society named Apton, who had the direction of the famous college in that city. Only not to expose his contempt for the representations of the kings of France and Spain too openly, he forbade the disciples of Ignatius Loyola from wearing the habit of their order, which often operated as a convenient disguise.

That virtual concealed restoration of the order excited the discontent of the Bourbon princes, and became the subject of their complaints, which were addressed to the pontiff by Cardinal Bernis and Florida Blanca, in the name of Louis XVI, the new king of France, and of Charles III. The pope denied all participation in what had been done, and sent to the two sovereigns,

as a proof of his sincerity, a brief in which he declared null, improper, and unlawful, all the encroachments of the society in Prussia and Russia. The two monarchs, occupied with weightier affairs, were contented with that protestation, and left the Jesuits to proclaim their approaching reestablishment, who deemed as trophies, the rescripts which the pope had granted them, and the authority which he had given, that all things in respect to the Jesuits should remain as they were, in those places where the bull of Clement XIV had not been published.

The disciples of Ignatius Loyola profited by that species of tolerance to seek another settlement in France. They rallied the priests of their party, and excited new persecutions against the philosophers. They contrived to secure, by an ecclesiastical assembly under their power, the condemnation of a remarkable series of books against fanaticism; among others, *Antiquity Unveiled* by its Usages; the *Sermon of the Fifty*; *Critical Examination of the Ancient and Modern Apologists for Religion*; *Letter of Thrasybulus to Leucippus*; the *Social System*; *Questions on the Encyclopedia*; *Man*; *Critical History of the Life of Jesus Christ*; *Good Sense*; *Philosophical and Political History of the establishments of the Europeans in the Two Indies*; *Profession of Faith by the Theists*; *Dialogue of Echemere*; *Canonization of Saint Cucufin*; *Instructions to Brother Pediculus*; *Questions of Zapata*; *Cry of Nations*; and many other similar productions.

The nobility, who were equally satirized with the Roman priesthood in the works of the philosophers, joined the priests and put in motion all the resources of Machiavelianism and of corruption, to sustain the condemnation of those works by the new parliaments, whom Louis XVI had recalled from exile.

The conflict became more animated and violent than before, between the philosophers on the one part, and the *black gowns*, seconded by the court liveries on the other side. All means were judged good, by the brazen faced aristocrats and by their associated ecclesiastics, to secure their triumph over the defenders of the rights of man. A natural and an admonitory alliance! They also sought to excite troubles in the kingdom, by monopolizing the grain and famishing the people. In fine, they endeavored to pervert the heart of the young queen, encircled her with every species of fascination, debased her into the pit of corruption, and made her the instrument of their hatred.—The weak Louis XVI, ruled by Marie Antoinette, obeyed the impulses of the priesthood and the nobility, and hoped to arrest the progress of civilization. For a short period it might have been supposed that their sacrilegious wishes would be realized. Two honest ministers, *Malessherbes* and

Turgot, were forced to withdraw from the government. *Lettres de Cachet* were issued against many literary characters. All presaged a religious reaction. The papal nuncio was so sure of the triumph of the ecclesiastics, and of the return to the traditions of Italian ultramontanism, that he wrote to the pope that France was still worthy of the name of *eldest son of the church*, which the popes had given it, and that speedily all the philosophers would be crushed, burned, or in the Bastile.

That intelligence naturally was received at Rome with transports of joy. The pontif was the more rejoiced, because that mode of *conversion* exactly suited his views, and he wished to put vigorously into operation, as the police of his states, the ancient decrees of his predecessors against all heretics, particularly against the Jews; which code had fallen into disuse, on account of the absurdity and cruelty of its enactments. Pius VI, instead of softening, made them more rigorous. He assigned to the poor Israelites an infected quarter of Rome, called *Ghetto*; prohibited them, under penalty of death, from passing a night out of their prison; enjoined upon them, under pain of the galleys, not to approach the nunnery of *Annunciata*, and not to appear near the mass-houses, the monasteries, or the hospitals of Rome. He interdicted them from all trade with Christians, and even to have in their families Romanist servants, unless they wished to incur the severest corporal punishments.—The greater part of those measures now are in full and vigorous sway at Rome, Naples, Turin, Milan, Modena, and in all the Italian cities, which are subject to the reigning despots! Every city has its *Ghetto*. A Jew cannot occupy without its precincts one foot of land. Only this amendment exists, they who strive to quit the *Ghetto*, instead of death, are punished by the galleys, a fine, or imprisonment!

Pius VI also enjoined that the Jews should wear only yellow garments, and must not celebrate any ceremony except that of the interment of their fellow Israelites.

Those rigors constrained a multitude of these unfortunate persons to fly from the papal dominions—which the pope desired, as long as the property of the emigrants appertained by right to the pope. As to those who continued to dwell at Rome, Pius added enormous taxes, independently of the wretched treatment which he heaped upon them.

All the wealth which the pontif drew from the Jews, was swallowed up with that of the Romanists, in the extravagant folly which he supposed would but illustrate his reign. Among other profusion, he unreasonably augmented the museum of antiques begun by his predecessor. He undertook extensive excavations in the environs of *Otricolo*, which produced no other discovery

than shafts of columns, tripods, and some Mosaic pieces. He added to the cathedral a sacristy, where he heaped up without either order or taste, a mass of sculpture and painting, which cost enormous sums. He demolished and rebuilt in gigantic proportions the miserable abbey of Subiaco, of which he had been the superior, while he filled the office of treasurer to the papal chamber. The only works which he caused to be executed for real utility were the separations of the roads which conducted to Rome. Yet he executed that design by vexatious means, which increased the public misery. He was so base, after having coerced the people to contribute the expenses by extraordinary taxations, that he made them execute the work as statute labor.

In requital, the pope squandered millions of dollars for the reëmbellishment of the Quirinal palace, and for the draining of the Pontine marshes; doubtless a glorious undertaking, if it had not been done from cupidity, to augment the wealth of his bastard. Those Pontine marshes for many centuries had submerged a wide extent of land, and scattered around pestilential exhalations, which, happily for the inhabitants of Rome, were stopped by the forests of Cisterna and Sermonetta.

The Pontine marshes began at the bridge of Astura, where Cicero had been decapitated, and where the unfortunate Conradin, thirteen centuries after, fell into the hands of his cruel conqueror, the duke of Anjou, brother of Louis IX. of France. They extended along the coast to Terracino, on the confines of the Neapolitan kingdom, and in some districts stretched to a distance into the land. Historical traditions represent that plain as the most fertile in Italy. Ancient authors enumerated twenty-three cities or towns of the warlike Volsci, who inhabited the district subsequently overflowed by the water.

Three hundred years before the common era, through the ravages of war, the Volscian cities had entirely disappeared; and their country was transformed into marshes, when the censor, Appius Claudius, called the Blind, endeavored to restore that district, and made the "way" which has immortalized his name. A century and a half afterwards, the consul, Cornelius Cethegus, resumed the labors which had been interrupted; but was obliged to suspend the draining. Julius Cesar found the country abandoned to new devastations, and designed to undertake the arduous work of restoring its ancient fertility. Augustus, the heir of his projects, dug out an immense channel destined to receive the stagnant waters and to open a course for their outlet. Trajan equally was engaged with the Pontine marshes; but their successors lost sight of that great object. Afterwards, when emperors disappeared to give place to popes, the draining was totally abandoned;

and that country, once so flourishing, was altogether submerged in water and desolation.

Some pontiffs, less indolent than the majority, Boniface III, Martin V, Leo X, and Sixtus V, attempted some repairs, but they were abandoned, almost as soon as they were commenced. At length, Pius VI, on his elevation to the papal throne, cast his eyes upon the Pontine marshes, and resolutely set to work to reconquer under the water, the ancient country of the Volsci, thereby to form an estate for his bastard. He established a bank called the "*Mont des Marais*," to receive the funds devoted to that undertaking; which in a few months, by voluntary subscriptions, amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand Roman crowns. Then he had the plans of Bologuini, and the engineer Sani, drawn up, to sound the places which offered the principal facilities for the work. They began by repairing an ancient aqueduct which furnished water for the city of Terracino; then they cleared the famous Appian Way, hidden under layers of mud for so many centuries, all constructed with stones of lava, and furrowed with deep paths which the Roman vehicles had dug out, and perhaps the triumphal cars of the ancient consuls of the republic. Thousands of hands were employed to dig a large canal which should empty into the lake Foyliano, and thus dried up many leagues of land which were immediately rendered fit for culture.

That first success encouraged the pope to persevere in his undertaking, and even decided him to erect a city in the midst of the marshes, which a large canal might traverse in its lowest part leading to the sea. The work was already commenced and enormous sums expended, when an engineer measured the levels, and discovered that the soil was lower than the sea. Consequently Pius was obliged to renounce his scheme. He then cut away the declivity of hills, and squandered in new projects all the money in the papal treasury, which had been obtained by voluntary taxation, forced imposts, and even the treasures of Loretto. That, however, which was the most odious part of this operation is, that the pope, to replace the void which the mortality of his workmen had made, took away by force, workmen from the neighboring country, and decimated the population. At last, he became so disliked, that the Romans designated him only by the name of "*Secatore*," alluding to his passion for drying up the marshes, and to his ingenious tricks to drain the purses of the people.

All persons inquired, what great interest is it that engages the pope to pursue his stupid war against nature, when at one fourth of the expense and without endangering the lives of the workmen, he could clear the uncultivated lands of the papal domain, which were five times more precious. The cause of that preference was very simple; the uncleared lands belonged to cities or individuals,

and the pope could not dispose of them at his will. On the contrary, the Pontine marshes, having not any owners, the pope would have the disposal of them, and might give them to his relatives or children!

In the *delightful* ages of nepotism, the popes enriched their relatives with the tribute which from all parts of Europe flowed into the Roman exchequer; but after superstition among the nations decreased, they were obliged to plunder the Roman people, and to augment the imposts to satisfy the greediness of their family connections.

Pius naturally followed that way on behalf of the two bastards whom his sister had given him. For the youngest, named Romuald, he purchased the estate of the duke of Lautz, conferred upon him the title of count, gave him a magnificent equipage, and apartments in the interior of the palace. Then to remove every pretext for public malignity, which gave to the handsome nephew the names of "Ganymede" and "Darling," the pope sent him to France, as nuncio from the pope.

During the absence of the young Romuald, the pope acted as if he had been a most cherished mistress. He employed himself in decorating, for his son, a magnificent palace by the first artists, painters and sculptors. With splendid furniture, he adorned it, and with rich hangings, and most precious objects of antiquity and works of art. He devoted so much attention to render that palace worthy of the object of his scandalous amour, that he became seriously sick, and risked his life.

The nuncio, informed of the dangerous state in which his uncle was, hastily returned to Rome, under the pretext of giving him consolation, but in reality not to give any other person the opportunity to plunder the papal treasury. The convalescence of Pius frustrated the nephew's hopes as it regarded the pillage of the public chest, but aided his fortune, for he was created pontifical protonotary; a title which gave him the right to wear the purple robe, and to be called, "*my lord*;" after which, he was appointed major domo, with many important benefices.

The pope was not contented with these benefits to his family. When he had rendered certain the riches of his beloved bastard, he thought of establishing his eldest son. To him, also, was given the title of count, with equipage, horses, and palaces. He was authorized to draw from the public treasury, to make speculations of the most revolting cupidity, to monopolize grain, oil, and all the provisions of absolute necessity, the price of which he raised, and which he sold again at scandalous profits.

Count Louis also became the pope's pet, and divided his infamous caresses between his own mother, his brother, and a young woman named Donna Constanza, of surpassing beauty, the fruit of an adulterous

connection between Pius VI, when cardinal, with the Countess Falconieri. Sacrilegious abomination! The pope exceeded the dissoluteness of the execrable Roderic Borgia; for he gave the world an example of a pope living in incest with his sister and his daughter, uniting in marriage his daughter to his son-in-law, his son to his daughter-in-law, and his minion to his mistress!

To remember that event, the pope loaded his nephew with new favors. Independent of the new title of the Duke de Braschi, which he had previously conferred upon him, he gave him a precious casket which contained ten thousand doubloons, rosaries, diamonds of inestimable price, a collection of medals enriched with jewels, lands, domains, palaces, some of the great possessions which the Jesuits possessed at Tivoli, and the magnificent silver-plate which had been confiscated from those monks. The new couple received, besides, from the cardinals, the Roman princes, the nobles, the prelates, the farmers of the treasury, and public officers of every class, considerable presents, in such abundance that they filled several apartments in the Vatican.

By the vain joy which the pope exhibited when looking at those presents, it seemed, that he had resolved to put all the popedom under contribution to aggrandize his bastards. He was not satisfied with Roman offerings only; he was anxious also to interest the papal monarchs on behalf of the duke and duchess of Braschi. He took advantage of the "*accouchement*" of the princess of Asturias and the queen of France, and sent, in the name of his cherished niece, infant's clothing, blessed by the pope, destined for the embryo which in future should rule Spain, and also to the son of Louis XVI.—His hopes were not deceived. The courts of Madrid and Versailles enacted great folly to acknowledge the gallantry of the pope's proceeding, and showered upon the pontiff's incestuous bastards, thanks, pensions, gold, jewels, and every species of ornament.

However, all the sovereigns did not exhibit the same taste as Louis XVI and the prince of Asturias. The Emperor Joseph II avowed that he was disgusted with the debauchery of the pontifical family; and in his indignation he declared, that he was resolved to terminate all relation with the court of Rome, and to overthrow ultramontanism in his states. He began by permitting his subjects in Germany and Italy to speak and write upon all religious topics. He prohibited the publication of bulls, briefs, decrees or any other acts emanating from the Roman court, throughout his dominions. He subjected the monastic orders to the jurisdiction of the ordinary prelates, and interdicted all their correspondence with their foreign superiors. He suspended the reception of novices in the convents. He secularized a great number of friars and monks; declared

the colleges of the missions and the seminaries withdrawn from all dependence on the court of Rome, disposed of the bishoprics, benefices, and abbeys, made the prelates take an oath of fidelity, restrained the franchises of the asylums, and regulated the external discipline of the parishes. At length he began to punish the refractory. He deprived Cardinal Migazzi, archbishop of Vienna, of his revenues, because he was the open enemy of all reforms. He drove from their sees, parishes, and colleges, the prelates, the priests, and the Jesuits, who persecuted the Abbé Ploner, director of the seminary of Brixen in Moravia, under the pretext that he was a Jansenist. He suppressed and effaced from the missals the constitution *Unigenitus*, and the bull *In Cæna Domini*; and at last, he abolished the odious tribunals of the Inquisition, and prohibited his subjects from recurring to Rome for dispensations.

Those reforms excited the pope's wrath in the highest degree, and decided him to address his remonstrances to Joseph II, through Garampi, the papal nuncio at Vienna. But the emperor remained unaffected, and charged his minister Kaunitz, to signify to the court of Rome, that he would not be reprimanded respecting the government of his provinces, as he did not interfere with the dogmas of popery; and the furious letters of the pope would only tend to a rupture with Rome, and the nomination of a patriarch for Austria.

That menace was like a thunderbolt to Pius VI. It mortified his pride, and elicited a determination which astonished all Europe. The pope imagined that no other mode existed to reclaim Joseph II than to visit him; and Pius immediately addressed to the emperor a brief, advising him of his determination.

The pontif, under the pretext of worthily representing the Roman court, was desirous that his journey should resemble a triumphal march, and on his route he displayed a pompous ostentation. He departed from Rome by the gate of Popolo; and was accompanied by the principal aristocracy to the city of Otricoli, where he parted with his nephews.—They returned the same evening to Rome to assist at the illumination of the basilisk, and at the fire-works which were exhibited at the castle of Angelo to their honor.

Pius, who ardently desired to appear before the emperor's court in all the show of majesty, took care to carry with him the triple crown, and the ceremonial crosier, with his most magnificent decorations. He had made large provision of caps to gain over the prelates, and of medals to seduce the ecclesiastics. Those medals on one side had the images of Peter and Paul, and on the other his own; which made the prelates say, that it was not the personages represented that rendered the medals precious, but the metal of which they were made. The pope was delighted in receiving every where the

most childlike honors, and in distributing relics, chaplets, and scapulars, with the people kissing his sandal, and in scattering his indulgences.

The journey of Pius was a long comedy, combined with burlesque scenes. At Tolentino, he went to adore the bones of *Saint Nicholas*. At Loretto, he besought the Virgin's pardon respecting the money pilfered on account of the Pontine marshes. At Cesena, his native city, he appeared at a great dinner with all his relatives, and became unmeasurably intoxicated. At Imola, he similarly feasted the ambassadors of Parma and Sardinia, and exhibited similar scandalous inebriety. At length, he entered the Venetian state, mounted his bucentaur,¹ which was waiting his departure from Ferrara, and rode down to the island of Chiozza, where he was complimented by the Venetian prelates, and by the doge and senate, whom the two public procurators represented. Nevertheless, he would not visit the queen city of the Adriatic; but leaving Venice on his right, he arrived at the lagunes, and embarked at Malagherra. From that city he went to Treviso, crossed the Piave on a bridge built expressly for him, stopped but a short time at Udina, the last city of the republic, and then entered the Austrian territory.

At Goritz, he was met by his nuncio Garampi, Count Cobrutzel, vice-chancellor of the emperor, a squadron of the royal guard, and many nobles, who had arrived to conduct him to Vienna. At Laybach, in Carniola, the archduchess Marie Anne, sister of Joseph II, met him, and to the great edification of the multitude, kissed his feet. At Gratz, he marched during an entire hour, between two rows of spectators, who in spite of the guards, broke the line of march to touch the pontifical vestments. At Neunkirchen, he found the emperor, and his brother the archduke Maximilian, who awaited his arrival amid a brilliant escort of nobles and ladies. The pontif descended from his carriage, as soon as he perceived the two princes; and the emperor and pope embraced each other three times with the appearance of cordiality and interest: at length they returned to their carriages, and entered Vienna amid the ringing of bells and the roar of cannon, escorted by an innumerable crowd who filled the streets, and covered the tops of the houses, while the air resounded with their fanatical acclamations. Pius VI, inflated with joy and vanity, ceased not to rise up in his coach, to extend his hands, and to mutter over the stupid crowd his pretended benedictions.

It would be difficult to form an idea of the sensation which that pontifical farce produced, if the historians who beheld the scene had not preserved the narrative of it.

In one of his letters to his friends, a Lutheran thus expressed himself—"You can-

¹ The splendid state barge of Venice.

not imagine the effect which the presence of the pope in Vienna has produced; above all, when he shows himself to the people. I have seen more than fifty thousand men joining to salute the papal chief by their frenzied shouts when he appears with his triple crown on his head, clothed in his official ornaments, surrounded with his cardinals, prelates, and the priestly dignitaries.—The artful comedian bends towards the earth, then lifts up his arms towards heaven in a theatrical attitude, and seems profoundly persuaded that he sends there the wishes of an entire nation. Represent to yourself this ceremony performed by an old man of a majestic height, and of a noble and handsome figure, and the immense crowd precipitated at his feet in superstitious enthusiasm at the moment when the pontif announces his benediction. Judge how these scenes must forcibly influence weak minds, who are disposed to be seduced by exterior acts."

Thus they affected the people of Vienna; so that during a month, the passage of the Danube was constantly obstructed by the fleet of boats on the river, and which brought to the capital of the empire myriads of visitors. The people hurried in crowds of twenty or thirty thousand persons, filled the streets which bounded on the imperial palace where the pope resided; and five times daily the pope was obliged to appear in the balcony to grant to the impatient multitude the cheap benefit of his blessing. What idolatrous simpletons!

The fanatical worship which the Austrians gave to Pius VI, was presented not only to his person, but to his vestments, and even to his sandals. Every body knows the veneration which the Romanists have for the pope's slipper. It was the only time—or never—to make it act its part. The pope's slipper, therefore, was carefully placed on a cushion in the audience-chamber, and an incredible number of devotees and simpletons of all classes went to kiss it, to the utter disgrace of the human species! They even did more—it was carried about as a relic into the baronial mansions of Vienna, and the princes thought it a religious duty to worship the slipper of an incestuous sodomitical priest.

Joseph II took good care of the enthusiasm of his people for Pius VI, and thought it preferable to dismiss him. He appeared to make some concessions; and permitted his subjects to apply to Rome for matrimonial dispensations in the first and second degree. He also consented that a change should not take place in the nomination of the vacant sees of Lombardy. He tolerated the historical teaching of the questions included in the bull *Unigenitus*—and only forbade all disputes upon the dogmas which it imposed or condemned.

Before they separated, the emperor and the pope manifested mutual signs of affec-

tion. Joseph presented to Pius VI a pectoral enriched with diamonds, valued at two hundred thousand florins. He also gave him a diploma, by the vice-chancellor of the empire, which raised his bastard Louis Braschi Onesti to the dignity of a prince of the empire, and exempted him from the fees payable in similar cases, and which were estimated at ninety thousand florins. He remembered the cardinals and the prelates, who composed the suit of the pontif, ennobled them all, and gave them rich presents. On the day of their departure, he accompanied them to Mariabrun, about a league from Vienna, and parted from them apparently with the sincerest cordiality. But it was all a show! Scarcely had the pope quitted the Austrian territories, than the emperor resumed his projects of reform, annulled his decrees respecting the sees of Lombardy, himself named a prelate for the archbishopric of Milan; suppressed the mendicant orders who infested his dominions, seized their revenues; restrained the privileges of the papal nuncios; sanctioned anew his tolerating edicts, and took under his immediate protection the writers hostile to the court of Rome. So that on his return to the Vatican, the pope had the mortification to learn that his presence had not converted the emperor, and that his journey had produced no other result than to add ten millions to the debt of the papal treasury.

Joseph II, devoted more than ever to religious reform, wished to overthrow by one act, the obstacles which were opposed to his designs, and hastened to Italy, with the design to try a last effort to make the court of Rome concede to the utmost, or openly to declare his rupture with the papal court.—He was received at Rome, as Pius had been at Vienna; but instead of breaking his lance, as he intended, he was circumvented by Cardinal Bernis, ambassador of France, and by Azara, minister of Spain, and he consented to conclude with the Roman court a species of concordat.

Pius disquieted himself no more concerning the Germanic reforms, but cast himself into all the dissoluteness of the most vulgar debauchery. Every night the Vatican became the theatre of disgusting saturnalia, in which the pope, his daughter, and the two brothers joined, similar to the orgies of Borgias. Every morning, Rome learned, through the indiscreet communications of the officers of the palace, who had been the favorites of the pope during the night, whether his bastards, his pages, or his rogues in the kitchen.

The pope no longer fulfilled any of his pontifical functions. He passed whole mornings at his toilette; painted his cheeks and lips; perfumed his hands and breast; fomented himself with precious essences, like the most artful courtesan, and adorned himself with laces. Gorani states, that he be-

came so angry with his chamberlains when he was not dressed to his fancy, that he would strike them with his fist, and that he knocked a tailor down, who had carried him a garment not well made. Pius VI was extremely arrogant and rough, which character he retained to the last. At length his turpitude rendered him an object of so much hatred and contempt to the Romans, that, at the superstitious ceremonies when he appeared, the people only answered his pretended benedictions by hooting at him. Yet the devotees of Oxford honor him as, at least, the true bishop of the apostolical succession at Rome!

A curious incident in reference to an inheritance extorted by the pope, caused great scandal throughout all Italy. Amanzio Lepri, a Milanese, and son of an ancient officer of the customs, was the possessor of a considerable fortune, which he dispensed for charitable purposes. The pope, knowing that he was very weak in mind, resolved to make use of his superstitions to deprive him of his wealth. He sent to him an old Jesuit, who knew how to impress him with doubts concerning the legitimate possession of his wealth, until Lepri became convinced that he ought to embrace the life of a monk, and to present his immense patrimony to the pope's favorite bastard son. Pius feigned not to be willing that the duke of Braschi should accept the gift. Then he apparently permitted himself to be overcome by the entreaties of Amanzio Lepri; but only on the condition that he should reserve to himself an income of five hundred crowns per month. The sister-in-law of the deceived fanatic, the Marchioness Victoire Lepri, protested against that arrangement which so deeply injured her young daughter Marianne, the niece and pupil of Amanzio, and deprived her of her inheritance, and opposed the donation before the tribunal of the auditor of the chamber. He, who was a mere tool of the pope, rejected her demands, and as the reward of his baseness received a cardinal's hat. Victoire Lepri was not repulsed, but called the case before the tribunal of Rota. That is the only jurisdiction at Rome which preserves any independence and equity in public estimation. To its organization it owes its independence, being composed of twelve auditors or judges, of whom three are Romans, and of the others, one is of Bologna, one of Ferrara, one of Venice, one of Milan, one a German, two Frenchmen, and two Spaniards. Five of those doctors were in the pay of the pope, the others were paid by the states to which they belonged. The form of their judgment was simple, and left little room for chicanery. Every thing concurred to render them respectable. Pius VI, dreading their condemnation, offered to give the marchioness two hundred thousand crowns, on the condition that she should withdraw her suit, and proposed even to

marry her daughter Marianne to his nephew Romuald Onesti.

The family of Lepri refused to agree with the pope, and persisted in the resolution that the tribunal of Rota should decide the case. The judges rendered a decree favorable to the dispossessed pupil, and annulled the act of donation. The pope not defeated, extorted a will in due form from the imbecile Amanzio, in favor of his nephew, the Duke Braschi; then, when he had secured that important document, he caused him to be poisoned, that he might not be induced to change his arrangement. On the morrow, Pius convoked the tribunal of Rota, and presented the testament, that his bastard might be put into possession of the defunct man's property; but what was his rage and astonishment, when at the moment that the judges were about to pronounce upon the validity of the right of the duke of Braschi, he saw the young Marianne herself, conducted by her mother, enter the enclosure of the tribunal, and display another will, posterior to that which the pope produced, and in which Amanzio declared that he appointed her his sole heir, that he annulled the donation made to the pontif's nephew, and also a will which had been obtained from him by violence, and that he left the duty to his family to avenge his death.

The tribunal of Rota pronounced a second judgment favorable to Marianne Lepri, and rejected the demand of the duke of Braschi. The obstinate pontif did not abandon his design, he refused to obey the orders of the magistrates, decided by his sole authority that the cause should be examined anew; and in the interval employed his menaces and promises, so that the judges carried him the definite decree upon a plate of gold, which confirmed the donation of the murdered Amanzio to the infamous duke of Braschi, and also condemned his legitimate heirs to pay the expenses of the suit. That odious robbery and murder, raised the general indignation of Romans and strangers.—The courts of Naples, Spain, France, Germany, the republic of Venice, the states of Modena, and the duchy of Tuscany, branded the conduct of the pope in their gazettes with the blackest ignominy.

Joseph II took occasion from it no longer to be on any terms of amity with the court of Rome. He utterly abolished the nunciatures as contrary to the ordinary prelatorial jurisdiction. He passed a decree concerning the nuncios, reducing them to the level of common ambassadors; and then he assembled the famous congress of Ems. The prelates who composed that assembly adopted twenty-three very important articles which were in directly formal opposition to the ultramontane principles of the court of Rome: and which, among other things, proclaimed the independence of the monks and nuns of every foreigner; and the abso-

lute authority of the prelates in their own dioceses for all exemptions and dispensations; the necessity of the acceptance of Roman bulls by the competent authority to render them obligatory within the empire; the abolition of the oath of vassalage prescribed to prelates by Gregory VII; the exclusive acknowledgment, as a true public right, of the German people of the decrees of the council of Basle; and the abolition of the concordat concluded with Rome at Aschaffenburg. Finally, to give the last finishing blow to the papal supremacy, Joseph demanded of Pius VI, by the congress of Ems, the convocation of an œcumenical council, which the popes had been promising for two hundred years. He founded that claim upon the necessity which the people felt to abolish a multitude of superstitious usages, which compromised religion; and at the same time to revise the lying constitutions which served as a pretext for the encroachments of the court of Rome.

The troubles which then existed in the Netherlands distracted the emperor's attention, and obliged him to defer the execution of his designs. Nevertheless, his example produced good results. The taste for reform had increased in Italy. The republics of Venice and Genoa, the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Modena, all labored seriously to debase the Roman court. The grand duke of Tuscany, Leopold, brother of Joseph II, distinguished himself in those assaults on the papacy. Like the emperor, he called a council at Pistoia under the presidency of the prelate of that city, the famous Scipio Ricci, nephew of the general of the Jesuits, who had the misfortune, in the eyes of the pontif, not to hold the sentiments of the disciples of Ignatius Loyola. The pope hastened to condemn the decisions adopted by that assembly, and forbade the duke of Tuscany to regard them.— Leopold, far from being intimidated by the papal censures, immediately convoked the prelates of his dominions at Florence, to adopt four new articles concerning the reformation of the Breviary and the Missal, the translation of the ritual into the vernacular tongue; the precedence of the parish priests to the monks, and the declaration that the episcopal office was of divine right. But Pius had intrigued so well, and so well had applied the resources of pontifical corruption, that the majority of the prelates declared against the design of the grand duke.

The papal minions not satisfied with that first success, strove to render their victory complete by crushing both the prince and Scipio Ricci. They despatched agitators to the city of Pistoia, raised the fanatics of the district by accusing the prelate of a wish to destroy their superstitions, and gave for proof that five years before, he had taken away a miraculous relic from the basilic of Prato.—

The intrepid Ricci confronted the storm, and not less pursued the execution of his generous projects of reform. He gave his attention more particularly to the convents, the disorders of which were the object of unprecedented reproach; and he proved that the scandalous disorders in the Dominican monasteries and convents, had attained the highest degree of iniquity.

The declarations of the nuns testified that in the convents of Sainte Lurie, and of Catharine of Pistoia, the Dominican nuns received their confessors into the interior, and abandoned themselves to those monks, and even on the steps of the altar, practised the most unbridled licentiousness. Other nuns avowed that the spite and jealousy, through the inconstancy of the monks, kindled among them the most serious collisions; that they quarrelled for the embrace of the provincial and the prior; that they deprived themselves of their money and other property to supply their confessors; that many of the Dominican priests had five or six mistresses, who formed a species of seraglio; that at each promotion of a provincial in the monastery, the newly elected monk hastened to the convent to choose a favorite; that he would then arrange in two files all the nuns, entirely naked; that he examined them from head to foot, and finished his inspection by placing his hat upon the head of the nun which seemed to him the most beautiful, and whom he instantly took as his mistress. Scipio Ricci also discovered that those abominations were not the only disorders to which the Dominicans were given up; he learned the certainty that the nuns engaged in more horrible saturnalia among themselves, and that they professed the most wicked and irreligious libertinism. The prelate of Pistoia put an end to that iniquity, by placing those houses of prostitution under an inflexible watch, and by excluding the monks from their employ as confessors.

It was useless for the pope to interfere and fulminate his bulls against the reformers; for the grand duke Leopold maintained all Scipio Ricci's rules, and definitively suppressed the Inquisition in all the extent of his states.

Ferdinand IV, king of the Two Sicilies, had equally abolished the terrific tribunals of the Inquisition, and was prepared to walk in the steps of the reforming potentates. He ordered the suppression of sixty-eight convents in Sicily; and ordained that the other monasteries, in future, should make not any novel acquisition, and he placed them all under the domination of prelates. He also prohibited the ecclesiastics from obeying the rules of the Roman chancery, revoked from the pope the right to confer vacant benefices, and refused to pay any longer the shameful tribute which his predecessors had sent to Rome for homage. Pius VI protested against

the attempts of that sovereign as rebellion menaced him with his anathemas, and informed him by his nuncio, that he would not suffer a petty king to treat him as if he were a country curate. The Sicilian king, in reply, drove the legate out of his dominions, and made preparations to chastise the insolent pontif, and to resume the possession of the duchies of Castro, and Ronciglione within the limits of the Roman territory, but to which the kings of Naples ever had claimed a title.

The grave events which then were occurring in France, suspended the effects of Ferdinand's displeasure; and forced him to turn all his attention to the important spectacle of a nation at war with royalty.

Louis XVI, yielding to the dangerous counsels of his courtiers, committed an erroneous fault by recalling all the ecclesiastics banished on account of their fanaticism, in taking the part of the Jesuits, in declaring himself the enemy of the philosophers, and in persecuting, to the utmost, men who were the ornament of their country. From that moment the disputes, temporarily dormant, resumed all their energy, and the monarchy again was the butt for the attacks of its most formidable adversaries. It was not a faction which absolutism had to combat, it was the whole nation, which arose to regain their forgotten rights, and who demanded of royalty a fearful account of the disasters which it had produced for fourteen centuries.

The death of Rousseau and Voltaire, to whose corpses the fanatical priests, at the instigation of the Jesuits, had refused the usual interment, filled the nobility and the monks with joy. All supposed that the party, deprived of their chiefs, could easily be crushed, and they began their operations. The prelates addressed the parliament to obtain the vigorous exaction of an antiquated decree, that the printers and distributors of books hostile to popery should be put to death. "We must punish, by the sword of the executioner," said the fiery prelates, "the crimes of the press. The philosophers who write against the priests are more culpable than regicides, for they attack God and not man. We demand for them the same punishment, and that their right hand shall be burned." Louis XVI united in that odious persecution against the writers. He threatened the republic of Geneva with his vengeance if they continued to print anti-papistical books. At Paris, and in the provinces he exercised great severity on the booksellers and printers, because he could not punish the authors, who had absconded.

But nothing could arrest the flight of the philosophical doctrines. The phalanx, instead of diminishing, daily increased in numbers and enterprise. Beaumarchais, Diderot, D'Alembert, Condorcet, Bailly, Thomas, Vicq d'Azir, Marmontel, Champfort, and a multitude of other writers, continued their

work for the renovation of the popular condition, and for their intellectual emancipation. They devoted all their time and all their wealth to write and disseminate works in which they taught the maxims of independence. They brought into execration ultramontaniam and absolutism. They habituated the people to regard insurrection as a most imperious duty, and excited the nation against the two orders of nobles and priests.

In all parts were formed secret societies, expressly to achieve the triumph of liberty, and the overthrow of despotism. In each province the press clandestinely printed myriads of works on popery, the state legislation, the finances; and spread light among all classes. Every where were developed a profound disgust with past ages, and an incredible ardor for reform. The fever of revolution also seized the privileged bodies.—Magistrates, members of the university, nobles of the court, and ministers became partisans of the new doctrines. It was fashionable, even in high society, to decry the institutions of a decrepit hierarchy and worm-eaten royalty.

Pius VI felt great alarm at the agitation which was manifesting in France, and foresaw that the moment was not far distant, when the eldest son of the church would be forced from his mother's tutorship. Nevertheless, the court ceased not to maintain the best relations with the pontif; and the feeble Louis XVI offered considerable sums to the Roman chancery for the canonization of the daughter of Louis XI, Jeanne Bossue, whom Louis XII had so scandalously divorced for Anne of Brittany. But before that ridiculous affair was decided, their harmony was broken by the suit respecting the necklace of pearls, in which the honor of the French queen and of an ecclesiastical prince was gravely impeached. The arrest of the chief criminal, Cardinal Rohan, caused a great sensation in the Roman conclave. The pope instantly addressed the ambassador of France, and signified to him that he should call for the observance of the canonical rules in favor of the accused, if the process was continued.

Louis would hear nothing, and declared that judgment should be passed on the prince of Rohan, in spite of the pope, the cardinals, and all foreign courts, to avenge the queen's honor. Rohan then resolved to defy the danger, and demanded of the parliament the investigation of the cause. The crafty prelate had foreseen that Marie Antoinette would recede from the scandal of the public debates, and would procure their silence, by which he should be acquitted. But the conclave who knew not Rohan's motives for that determination, approved not of his step, and protested against his voluntary abandonment of his rights, by declaring that the Roman court alone could judge a prince of the hierarchy.

All Europe were interested in the suit.—

The king of Spain sent letters to France to persuade Louis XVI to hush up the affair. The German emperor recalled Cardinal Rohan as a prince of the empire. The elector of Mentz also pretended that he was entitled to investigate the accusation, because the accused was prelate of Strasburg, and his suffragan. The diet of Ratisbon also claimed jurisdiction of the cause as belonging to a state of the empire.

In this emergency, Pius VI perceiving the impossibility of changing the temper of Louis XVI, who appeared to take it as a serious concern for his honor as a husband, wished to save, at least, the dignity of the body of cardinals. Therefore, to evade the result that a prince of the popedom should be declared, by a secular tribunal, a calumniator, swindler, thief, and forger, he pronounced the suspension of Cardinal Rohan, grand almoner of France, and granted him a delay of six months to appear and justify himself before his peers, concerning the accusations against him.

The parliament of Paris alleged that the pope's brief was against the liberties of the Gallican hierarchy, and refusing any respect to it, prolonged their inquest. Happily for the grand almoner, Marie Antoinette secretly interposed in the affair, gained over the most influential councillors, and excluded him from the process. Rohan was instantly reinstated in his titles and dignities; which fact made the Parisians declare, in allusion to the pretended jest attributed to Francois I, that the cardinal had lost nothing except his honor.

Concord then was reestablished between the two courts, their relations subsisted as before the affair, and Louis XVI trusted in Pius VI, that he would arrest the progress of civilization in France, and restore to the country the former ages of vassalage. But it was not in the king's power to accomplish that sacrilegious work. Men and things, laws and constitutions, all were carried away by a resistless force during the revolutionary tornado; and, as if events did not sufficiently expedite their abasement, the nobles and the priests affected additional pride and arrogance. The queen, in a species of delirium, abandoned herself to her pleasures and dissoluteness, without any dread of the scandal, without any regard for her own conduct sacrificing, for the young nobles of her court, the objects of her criminal attachment, the millions of France, at the period when the public finances were in the most frightful disorder.

Louis XVI then resolved to convoke the "notables," thereby to obtain new taxes, and to supply the deficiencies in the treasury. From the opening of that assembly, the extent of the progress which the clamor for reform had made was obvious. The notables, although belonging to the privileged classes, refused the subsidies which were demanded,

denounced the dissipation of the court, and demanded the suppression of annats, through which millions were drawn from the kingdom into the Roman treasury.

In those circumstances, the nuncio of Pius VI interposed to defend the interests of the Roman court, and engaged Louis XVI to transfer the reins of government to the hands of an energetic priest, who, after the example of Richelieu, might save the altar and the throne from impending ruin. The imbecile monarch obeyed, and named for his principal minister, Charles Lomenie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, to whom he gave the direction of the finances. The prelate immediately formed the edicts for the new imposts, and carried them to the parliament to be registered. The councillors refused to obey his command, and declared that the "states general" alone were competent to enact the public expenditures. That word, the "states general," soon spread throughout France. The priests, the nobles, the parliament, the peasantry, all nerved by hope, or various interests, proclaimed the principle that "a nation represented by their delegates, alone possessed the imprescriptible right to reform abuses and to impose taxes."

The king resisted that opinion, and held many sessions, "lits de justice," at which the new edicts were registered. The parliaments protested against them as illegal, and declared the registry null. The principal minister in vain endeavored to intimidate them, although he imprisoned the most refractory members. Those rigorous acts only exasperated their minds, and forced the king to dismiss the minister of finance, and to select for his successor, the Genevan Neckar, and also to issue the decree for the opening of the assembly of the states general, May 1, 1789. An incredible excitement was manifested throughout France. Clubs and political unions were every where organized for the election of the national deputies.

On May 4, 1789, the delegates of the three orders, the "Tiers-etat," the nobility, and the priesthood, met at Versailles, where the assembly was appointed to be held. Louis XVI, followed by the princes and the great officers of the crown, attended mass with them; at the end of which, La Fare, the prelate of Nancy, delivered an oration, in which he combined declarations of love for religion, fidelity to the king, and sublime reflections on the advantages of freedom. On the morrow, the king opened the states general with a cautious address, in which he announced assurances of his respect for the laws, and affection for the people. The deputies of the "Tiers-etat" were no longer duped by that hypocritical language. Assembled to effect useful reforms in the nation, they commenced their labors, without permitting themselves to be discouraged by the multiplied obstacles which counteracted

them. They began by attacking the ecclesiastical privileges, declared the wealth of the priesthood national property, abolished the tithes, sold the estates of the hierarchy, and transformed them into life-annuities; and then suppressed the annats. On May 17, 1790, the deputies, whose power had been recognised, having assumed the title of the national assembly, decreed the famous constitution concerning the priesthood, which overthrew all the degrees of the hierarchy, and enjoined on the prelates and priests to take the oath of fidelity to the nation.

The large majority of the French priests refused to submit to the decisions of the assembly. Of one hundred and thirty prelates, four only adopted it. Nevertheless, the first consecration of the constitutional prelates soon took place in the oratory. Talleyrand Perigord, prelate of Autun, assisted by the prelates Gobel, Lydda, and Mirourlot, conferred the prelatical dignity on the priests Expilly and Maroles, newly promoted to the sees of Quimper and Laon. That event made a profound sensation at the court of Rome. Pius VI was contented before with addressing his protestations to the legislators of the constituent assembly, as he said, who devoured each other. He then judged that his remonstrances had been too mild.—Wherefore, he decided to appal the deputies by fulminating his terrible bulls against the ecclesiastics, who had taken the oath of fidelity to the constitution, and enjoined on them within forty days to retract, under the penalty of excommunication, as intruders, illegitimate schismatics, heretics and sacrilegious.

The pope's bulls only induced the legislative body to decree that all connection with the Roman court was dissolved, and that the nuncios should be expelled from France.—The ambassador was recalled to Paris, and the refractory priests who refused to take the oath were prosecuted.

Pius was thus at once attacked, both in his spiritual and temporal domination. The cry for liberty, impelled by the national assembly, was resounded at Avignon. The Comtadins rallied at the idea of independence proclaimed by France. They formed a national guard; adopted a religious constitution like that of the French government, and revolted against the vice-legate, who commanded the province in the name of the pope. Then, on the pontif's refusal to sanction those acts, they drove the vice-legate from their territory, with the archbishop and all the ecclesiastics attached to the cause of Rome; and having declared themselves independent of the pope, they proposed to unite with France. Pius VI, enraged to see one of his finest provinces detached from his secular domain, tried another effort to retain his sovereignty. He organized bands of assassins, who, under the name of "pontificals," gave themselves up to frightful ravages in the Comtat Venaissin, and butchered

a great number of the republicans of Avignon and the territory, in the name of the pope and for the greater glory of his religion. Happily, the cause of liberty triumphed.—Public indignation wrought justice on the murderers, and Avignon was united to France.

That event was celebrated at Paris with great rejoicings, amid which the Parisians burnt the effigy of the pope in the garden of the royal palace; a burlesque comedy, which became the pretext, on the part of Pius, for cruel reprisals. The pope seized the French who resided in his states, and who were regarded as advocates of the new notions. He massacred or poisoned the whole of them, and did the same to all the Italians and strangers who were suspected of holding the opinions of the constituent assembly. With respect to those who were neutral or indifferent, he merely incarcerated them in the dungeons of the castle of Angelo, with the harshest treatment.

Among the latter, was the famous Cagliostro, one of the most extraordinary men of the eighteenth century, who had retired to Rome after the necklace proceedings, in which he had participated. After that affair, he married Lorenzia Feliciani, who, under the name of Seraphina, accompanied him in all his travels, and had experience both of his sorrows and comforts. As he had treated her with harshness since she was bound to him by indissoluble ties, the woman knew no other means to escape from him than by revealing to her confessor, that he might communicate the fact to the inquisition, the divining practices by which Cagliostro duped the fools.

The priest, enamoured with his penitent, scrupled not to destroy the husband, that he might attain the sole possession of Lorenzia, and denounced Cagliostro to the Inquisition. In consequence of his accusation, Cagliostro was arrested, and cast into a dungeon, and process commenced against him. The inquest was long and minute, from regard to the importance of the individual. All his papers and most trifling letters were read, commented on, and translated with extreme care; but nothing of sorcery was discovered. They only supposed, from certain passages written in his own hand, that he was a freemason, and imbued with French opinions. Nothing more was necessary for his condemnation to the most cruel torture. At one time the pope designed to burn him alive, under the pretext of the crime of witchcraft; but reflecting that such a murder would excite general indignation, he adjudged him to perpetual imprisonment. Another unfortunate man, named Octavius Capelli, for the same fault, that of having expressed a favorable opinion of the French republicans, was condemned to languish in a dungeon during the remainder of his life; and a monk, named Rugusain, was doomed to greater misery on a similar accusation.

Nevertheless, of what avail was the wrath of a furious pope against that revolutionary movement? The cry of liberty resounded at Paris, passed the Alps, was heard at Rome, and was reëchoed by the Italians. Then the pope conceived the design to raise a civil war in France, and to use the priests and monks, who were devoted to his cause, as instruments to renew the terrible crusades.—More than seventy thousand ecclesiastics had refused the constitutional oath. The constituent assembly had the weakness, however, to permit them to celebrate their superstitious rites in the edifices of the sworn priests.—Those wretched fanatics, at the instigation of the Roman court, unworthily abused the toleration to conspire against the new order of things. They insinuated to their devotees that all the sacraments administered by the constitutional priests and prelates were essentially null. They reëxorcised the children, re-married the adults, and dared to announce from the confessional and the pulpit, that out of their communion, all was concubinage, illegitimacy, and damnation. A dangerous agitation, the effect of those insinuations, was manifested in all the departments of France, which counteracted the revolutionary movement. The legislative assembly, which had succeeded the national, took measures to arrest the progress of the evil. They withdrew the connivance and the pensions which the state had granted to the refractory priests, decreed freedom of worship, the emancipation of the monastic orders, the marriage of the priests; and, upon the proposition of the Archbishop Torni, prohibited all the ecclesiastical costume.

Louis XVI wished to defend the priests by his enfeebled authority, and made use of the right which the constitution conceded to him, to reject a law, according to his caprice, by his simple veto. The ecclesiastics then assumed a fatal haughtiness and insolence. They dared to announce publicly, that a vast confederacy was organizing by the machinations of the pope, and that soon all the papal powers united by the pontif, would rush into France to extinguish the philosophical hydra in a sea of human blood.

The audacity of the priests, and the imminence of the danger, at length coerced the legislative assembly to act with severity towards the rebellious ecclesiastics. Therefore, all the ecclesiastics, without exception, were enjoined to take the civic oath, or to leave the kingdom. Those who refused to obey the decree, and who persisted to live in France, were cast into the national prisons. Nevertheless, the majority of them joined the princes and princesses who fled into foreign countries, and who intrigued with the monarchs to excite them against the French nation.

Among the emigrants was the Abbé Maury, one of the most powerful champions of

despotism, who fled to the pope, obtained flattering distinctions, and was appointed papal nuncio to represent the Roman court at the diet of Frankfort, and to urge Germany to invade France.

At length, a formidable coalition against France was organized. Civil war broke out in La Vendée, and the frontiers were menaced by the armies of Prussia, Sweden, Austria, and Sardinia. In the interior, secret machinations augmented the disorder, and threatened France with certain ruin. Thence the people, in the excitement of despair, dreading to fall again under the yoke of despotism, went to the prisons which contained the enemies of freedom, to avenge themselves on the guilty authors of their misery. However deplorable those excesses, they were the result entirely of the priestly doings; for even when in prison, they ceased not to conspire against the nation, and to enrage the people in avowing their hope of deliverance by the allied armies. Let not the advocates of despotism and the Roman priesthood, cry out against the massacres in the French prisons, as long as they can be condemned for the crusades, by Pope Innocent VIII, against the Albigenses; the butchery ordered by Philip II of Spain; the atrocities of the Armagnacs and the Bourguignons directed by Charles VI; the massacre of Bartholomew by Charles IX; and the dragoonings in the Cevennes, commanded by Louis XIV. It is not difficult to decide which is the most sanguinary and criminal, the priesthood, or the republicans, or the royalty.

But events changed their character. A new national assembly, the convention, succeeded the legislative. France was proclaimed to be a republic, and Louis XVI expiated the crimes of his race—if less his own—on the scaffold.

Pius VI instantly fulminated his bull of excommunication against the French people, designated them as an *impious*, sacrilegious, and abominable nation, and hurled against them the thunderbolts of heaven and earth. In reply, the convention sent the pope the following letter: "The executive council of the French republic, to the prince prelate of Rome. Pontif! you are required instantly to release the French prisoners detained in your dungeons. If this claim is without effect, you will learn that the republic is too high-minded to forget an outrage, and too powerful to permit it with impunity." The pope, on receiving that message from the convention, could scarcely restrain his rage. Nevertheless, the cardinals having made him understand the danger of provoking the republican people, the simulated vicar of God, and the pretended successor of Peter, the would-be infallible pontif of universal Christendom, humbled himself before the messenger, a citizen from the lowest rank, and promised to obey the will of the republic!

But when he heard that the French had met with some adverse events, the pope resumed his audacity, collected his troops, and announced that he was about to put on the helmet and the cuirass to fight the republicans. After the example of their chief, the monks and the priests, filled with crusading enthusiasm, overran the cities and the country; on their route, recruited other fanatics, enrolled them under the pontifical banner, and organized them as bands of assassins.—Then, when they supposed that they were in sufficient force to attack the republic, they cast off all shame, and the rights of nations, and massacred the secretary of the embassy, named Basseville, at the time when he was passing along in the street to the academy, accompanied by his wife and children. Then the cannibals rushed about the city, shouting, “Long live Pius VI! long live *Saint Bartholomew*! Kill all Frenchmen!”

The palace of the academy was assailed, the pensioned pupils were pursued and forced to fly from the daggers of the priests, while other bands of assassins forced open the doors of the French dwellings, and there renewed the same scenes of violence.

In France, affairs daily assumed a more mournful aspect. Within, all was disorder and anarchy. The peasants of Brittany and La Vendée, excited by the pretended prophecies of the fanatics, organized the insurrection of the Chouans, and transformed their rich country into a frightful field of battle. Without, the despots and their hordes of myrmidons roared, ready to rush upon the republic. Such was the critical position into which the nobles and priests had placed their country.

Pius VI, the author of the dreadful crusade, the enterprise of kings against liberty, desisted not from the odious task which he assumed. He even united with Britain and the other northern courts, *whom he ever cursed as heretics*, and formed with those powers and the kings of Italy and Spain, a formidable coalition.

It is true that tyrants have neither religion nor patriotism. Their religion is the immoderate love of power, the exercise of that supreme authority with which the ignorance or weakness of their fellow-citizens has invested them. Their country is the throne where they sit in the plenitude of their insolence. For those would-be demi-gods, men are but slaves, fit only to dig into the earth, thence to extract the wealth which they grasp, and to furnish it for their passions and luxury.

The French republic organized fourteen armies, struggled against their enemies, made the despots tremble on their thrones, and finally announced that they would punish the old pope for his crimes and treachery. When the French were preparing to invade Italy, Pius appealed to the superstitious fanaticism of the people, and disseminated this

furious proclamation—“Italians! as soon as the sound of the bell shall announce the entrance of the republicans into the territories of the church, fly to arms, burn the crops, poison the fountains and wells; kill by every method, by the dagger, sword, fire, or poison, an unbridled enemy, who cuts off, with the axe of the executioner, the heads of kings and priests. Exterminate the barbarous republicans, who have sworn to overturn the throne and the altar. Obey all of you, as your God, that which your pope ordains. We promise plenary indulgences and temporal recompense, to all who shall butcher the ferocious French. We grant an entire amnesty to thieves, assassins, and parricides, who shall cancel all their crimes in combating for our religion. We grant, in advance, our absolution to all courageous women, who, after the example of Judith, will prostitute themselves to those Philistines, and then chop off their heads! Let all men flock to the Roman standard! Let Italy entire rise up with its myriads of swords, at the voice of the vicar of Christ, and let all, men and women, plunge their hands in the blood of the French, and partake, with delight, of that glorious holocaust! We dispense no persons from this crusade but the ecclesiastics; because it is the duty of pastors to lift up their hands on the top of the mountain, while the faithful slaughter on the plain.”

During the dark ages, and the fury of the “League,” never did fanaticism howl more ferocious language. But the times were altered, and the pope’s proclamation had scarcely any influence upon the people.—Moreover, what could be achieved by wretches demoralized by anguish, crushed by exactions, and besotted in the grossest ignorance? The papal treasury also was empty, the Roman credit destroyed, and the resources from loans dried up: all had been devoured by the pope and his bastards, even to the silver plate of the mass-houses. The Italians made no movement, but rather awaited the arrival of the French, not as enemies, but as liberators. Moreover, the pope having been desirous to double the taxes, the people revolted against the fiscal agents, killed some of them at Rome, and even talked of burning down the palace of the duke of Braschi, whose wealth and audacious luxury were so odiously contrasted with the general distress. But a few policemen sufficed to stop those hostile manifestations, and to make the degenerate sons of ancient Rome tremble. The miserable people were so demoralized, that on one day of uproar, Braschi went out of his palace, with a whip in his hand, followed by some lacqueys carrying baskets full of pieces of small money, crying with a loud voice—“Come on! scatter the money among the rabble, that they may go and howl further off!” Then, clearing his way with blows of his whip, he passed through the midst of the crowd without any

one of them even thinking to punish his arrogance. However, as the pope lost some of his guards in those collisions, he declared their persons inviolable, and published that an insult to a "sbirri" should be deemed high treason.

In the interim, France had seen the convention revolutionized. A party composed of all the infamous men who had enriched themselves by betraying the popular cause, triumphed over the mountain, and the sway of power passed into the hands of the directory. With them the priests re-appeared, and after them followed bands of assassins, organized under the name of Jesuits, who made a terrible war on the republic.

Those new crusaders, recruited among the nobles and the dissolved monks, scattered themselves in many of the departments, especially in Vaucluse and Bouches-des-Rhone, and perpetrated the most atrocious barbarities, in the name of the pope and Louis XVIII, whom Pius VI recognised by that title, after the death of the son of Louis XVI in the temple.

Their audacity increased rapidly through the weakness of the directory, and they ventured to proclaim popery to be the national religion. Five prelates, sworn and secretly affiliated with the Jesuits, seconded their projects by publishing an encyclical letter, to which thirty-three other prelates adhered, that is, almost all the new Gallican hierarchy. The refractory priests thought that the day of their victory had arrived, and encouraged the Jesuits in their work of desolation. The court of Rome applauded their sanguinary zeal, and the pope, in his intoxication of joy, commanded masses to be chanted for the success of the cause of despotism.

The directory, impressed by the progress of the Jesuits, vigorously arrested them.—They required every ecclesiastic, without exception, to take the civic oath, and banished from France all who refused to take it. Nevertheless, a large number of the Jesuits remained; and it was soon perceived, without the power to remedy the evil, that these same priests had conspired to destroy the national liberties, and to insure the triumph of despotism.

In all parts the republican armies were victorious. The country within the Rhine was completely subjugated, and Italy alone remained to be conquered to overthrow the coalition. That service was confided to Napoleon Bonaparte. Brilliant success every where marked his course. The Austrians and Piedmontese were routed by the republican soldiers, who were almost without arms and shoes; and the pope soon trembled for his temporal supremacy.

Pius endeavored to levy troops; and to repair the penury of his treasury, he emitted his notes, a species of paper money, which he forced on the people by constraining the

merchants of Rome to receive them in exchange for specie. But the rapid march of the French surprised him in his preparations, and hindered him from executing his warlike projects. Then the crafty pontif feigned his willingness to be at peace with France, and sent the Spanish ambassador Azara, to Bonaparte, to ask an armistice, and to offer the acquisition of peace by the cession of the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, the payment of a contribution of fifteen millions, and the transfer of the principal works of art of ancient Greece and modern Italy, which decorated the galleries of the Vatican.

The armistice having been granted, Pius VI, who only wished to gain time, with no design to fulfil the conditions stipulated in his name, profited by the delay in expediting his armaments. By his orders, legions of priests were scattered in all the papal territory, who excited the fanatical population against the French by furious predictions.—To increase the enthusiasm of his devotees, he opened the treasury of the papacy, and in his bull he promised forty thousand years of indulgences to all those who would aid to repel the republicans. This was the tenor of the brief—"To all our well beloved catholic children, brethren in Jesus Christ! We command you for the love of Christianity, to take arms; and that no person may hesitate to accomplish our pleasure, we apprise you that by virtue of our sovereign authority, we grant forty thousand years of indulgences to all those who will join our banners, and the celestial beatitude to every man who shall kill but one of our enemies!" Independent of those machinations, the pope took care to send his emissaries to the emperor of Austria to obtain aid.

Bonaparte, informed of these occurrences, signified to the Roman court that he should instantly commence hostilities, if the pope did not abandon his measures and fulfil his engagements with the republic. Pius appeared ready to obey. He collected in a large gallery the paintings destined for the ransom of Rome. He drew out of the castle Angelo all the money that remained of the famous treasury of Sixtus V. He constrained the ecclesiastics to send him from their convents, mass-houses and monasteries, all their ornaments and precious vessels which were not of absolute necessity for their superstitious ritual. He obliged all his subjects to give up their silver plate; and even searched the private domicils for jewels, decorations of gold, and the rings of the women. When he had accumulated in the Roman treasury all the wealth of his people, he informed the French general that he was ready to satisfy the republic.

The commissioners of the directory speedily arrived at Rome, to receive the pledges of the capitulation, and to inform Pius that France demanded that he should retract, disavow, and annul all the bulls, decisions,

sentences, censures, condemnations, pastoral instructions; all the briefs, decrees, edicts, mandates, and, in general, all the writings promulgated by the Roman court since the commencement of the revolution; and, also, that he should abolish the Inquisition throughout the papedom, and that he should suppress the barbarous and abominable practice of castration exercised upon the boys destined to sing in the mass-houses.

Those conditions, which really added nothing to the terms of the treaty, and which were only the offspring of humanity, appeared to excite the pope's wrath to the utmost degree. Pius VI pretended that they were equivalent to a direct denial of his infallibility, and an avowal before Europe that he was only an impostor, and that his religion was only a routine of absurd and odious practices. He requested that he might have the opportunity to consult the conclave of cardinals on the measures which it was proper to adopt. That was only a new trick to gain time and to postpone the execution of the treaty until the arrival of the Austrian troops would enable him to quarrel openly with France.

In fact, as soon as it was known at Rome that Austria had resumed offensive operations, the priests recommenced their predictions. The pope redoubled his activity to secure his pecuniary resources. He changed the money, and obliged the farmers to sell their grain at a low price and for his bills, to supply his troops. He organized a civic guard, raised corps of battery guards in every quarter of Rome, and transformed the city into a warlike arsenal. On all sides were seen only soldiers and vehicles laden with muskets, cannons, tents and the materials of war. His enthusiasm was communicated to the Romans. Contributions flowed into the Roman treasury. Gold, silver, jewels, provisions, and cattle, all the possessions of the people were placed at the pope's disposal. Many rich citizens raised companies of troops at their own expense. The Constable Colonna equipped a complete regiment of infantry. A species of delirium seemed to fill all their heads.

To produce that result, Pius employed special means. All the convents in the ecclesiastical dominion received orders to "set a going" the madonnas. In the villages, the statues of the Virgin moved their arms, opened their eyes, and lifted up their legs.—In the cities, the crucifixes effused blood and oil. At Ancona, *Saint* Cyriac exhibited multiplied roars of laughter. In Rome, the skulls of Peter and Paul chaunted hymns; and what was deemed the most extraordinary and miraculous, in the presence of the pope, the cardinals, and more than eighty thousand persons, at one festival, a madonna walked, shook her head three times, rolled her eyes in their sockets, and uttered groans. That juggling, executed by the automaton,

filled the stupid fanatics with wonder and exasperation.

At length, Pius had the satisfaction to see his execrable policy producing the expected results. At one disturbance, bands of monks, sbirris, and deranged persons surrounded the palace of the republican commissioners vociferating their menaces of death, which they would doubtless have executed, had not Azara the Spanish ambassador interfered. Repelled from the house of the embassy, they dispersed about the streets of Rome, assassinating every Frenchman whom they met, and roaring out cries of "Hail, Mary! Long live Pius VI!" They then directed their course into the country to accomplish the work of ruffians.

The victories obtained by Bonaparte over the Austrians, forced the pope to terminate those scenes of carnage. Pius, dreading the arrival of the French army at Rome, hastened to inform the general of his friendly designs towards the republic. At the same time he addressed a message to the emperor of Germany, to obtain the assistance of ten thousand soldiers, and informed him that he had taken excellent measures to organize a civil war in France. He also assured the emperor that he was amusing the republican commissioners until the Austrians appeared; and that as soon as their troops were united in one body, he would cast off the pontif's tiara for the helmet of Cæsar, unfurl the famous labarum of Constantine, and march at the head of the army to combat the proud Corsican and his banditti.

That letter fell into the hands of Bonaparte. The armistice was instantly terminated. The French army entered the papal territory, and within fifteen days conquered one half of the pope's dominions. Pius then expected to receive the just punishment of his treachery and crimes; but whether Bonaparte conceived that the papal authority could aid his secret designs, or that he wished to oppose the directory, who had commanded him to occupy Rome, he offered peace to the pope, which was eagerly accepted. Pius sent his nephew, the duke of Braschi, as plenipotentiary, with the Marquess Camille Massini, Cardinal Maltei, and Galoppi, with full powers to arrange a treaty. By that agreement, the pope consented to pay to France thirty-one millions, and to allow the family of the murdered Basseville an annuity. He also surrendered to France, for ever, Avignon, Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, and permitted a French garrison to occupy Ancona. When the affair was concluded, Bonaparte hastened towards the Tyrol, leaving fifteen thousand men under the command of General Victor, to guard the conquered districts, and to execute the treaties.

Pius was anxious to avert the danger which he could ill sustain; for the shocks, his ceaseless inquietude, and his licentious indulgences with the duchess of Braschi, his

daughter, seriously affected his health, and almost instantly after the conclusion of the truce of Tolentino, he became so ill, that it was anticipated he would not live.

His two bastards hastened to lay their greedy hands on the treasures amassed in the Vatican for the payment of the ransom of Rome to the French. But as the citizens had drained all their resources to defray the millions exacted by Bonaparte, and as they began to imbibe the ideas of the French concerning Roman priests and kings, they resisted their proposed new spoliation, went to the palace of Braschi, and forced the infamous wretch to fly from the city to escape the popular vengeance. The pope, however, was restored to health, and all things resumed their anterior course; only Pius dared not to augment the taxes to satisfy the demands of the treaty of Tolentino, and commanded the ecclesiastics to replace the sums stolen by his nephews.

The priests menaced in their property, turned against the pope, denounced his tyranny, called on the people to revolt, accused Pius as the author of all the calamities which had fallen on Rome, and even in their harangues, branded the pontif with the names "old incestuous fool, sodomite, and robber." They also made a poor girl named Labrousse enact the part of a prophetess; who publicly declared that the sovereignty of the popes was nearly at an end; that heaven was tired of the reign of those infamous impostors; and that Pius would soon be hurled from his throne.

Amid those circumstances Joseph Bonaparte arrived at Rome, to claim the fulfilment of the treaties of Tolentino, and to demand the release of every Italian who was imprisoned for his political opinions. As soon as that proceeding was known at Rome, the city changed its aspect as if by enchantment. Enthusiasm displaced stupor. Instantly the streets, the public places, and the squares were filled with crowds of citizens, who made the air resound with patriotic acclamations, and menaces of death against Pius VI. Then the multitude, as if actuated by one impulse, rushed to the quarter Transteverin, and hoisted the tri-colored flag amid the universal and reiterated shout—"Hail liberty! Long live France!"

Those developments, cries, and threats exasperated the old pope. He was astonished at the Romans—habituated during so many centuries, basely to bow their heads beneath the yoke. He resolved, therefore, by an act of cruelty, to retain the power which appeared to be flitting from him, and directed his myrmidons to assault the populace. The soldiers of the execrable Pius rushed upon the citizens, massacred women, children, and the aged, shot the fugitives, covered the streets with corpses, pursued the miserable people who had taken refuge in the palace of the French embassy, and transformed that

inviolable asylum into a scene of carnage.—Joseph Bonaparte, General Duphot and the officers of the embassy hastened to arrest the massacre. At the sight of them, the rage of the bandits seemed to be doubled, and the chief who directed the butchery, cried aloud, "Kill them, kill them, these are the French!" At the same moment, General Duphot was shot dead; and the other officers of the embassy escaped a similar doom by destroying the stair-case of the palace. The other ambassadors advised of the scene, hastened with their suit to the place only just in time to rescue the representatives of the French republic, and to stop further butchery.

Azara, in the name of the diplomatic corps hurried to the Vatican, and energetically remonstrated with the pope on the atrocity of his conduct. But the infamous Pius pretended to be extremely surprised, and swore by Christ and Peter, that he had not given any order to that effect. He even dared to say, that he was absolutely ignorant of the occurrences which had transpired in the city, simulating that for many hours he had been employed in his private oratory supplicating God for the republic. Joseph Bonaparte, indignant at such excessive impudence and hypocrisy, announced that he should leave Rome, unless reparation was instantly made for the murder of General Duphot. Fourteen hours having elapsed without any formal communication from the pontif by an ecclesiastical officer, that the assassins should be prosecuted, the French ambassador departed for Florence.

Moreover, it was not in Rome only that the pontif had organized the massacre of the French and their partisans; for at the same time, similar scenes occurred in the principal cities of the papacy and at Venice. At Verona, the priests exhibited a peculiar cold-blooded and cruel ferocity; for not only many thousands of inoffensive men had been butchered by their orders, but those infamous wretches led companies of murderers into the hospitals, and took out four hundred French soldiers, sick or wounded, all of whom were pitilessly poignarded or drowned in the Adige.

The Italians opened their eyes at last to the crimes of Pius, and began to take part with the French republic. At Milan, the indignation which the conduct of the pope excited was displayed in both the private and public assemblies. Every where the cry was heard—"Death to that assassin, the pope! Vengeance for our liberators, the French!" One Italian patriot even delivered a public oration, in which he expressed his wish: "that the Tiber soon might roll its far-famed waters among a free people, and that the blood of the pope might cleanse the land of the crimes, the disgrace, and the bondage of eighteen centuries!"

General Berthier, who was directed to avenge the republic for the outrages of Pius,

marched towards Rome at the head of his troops, and passed through the papal dominions with as much security as if he had been traversing a French department. He was received every where with shouts of rejoicing. In vain did the cardinals, the priests, and the deadly cohorts of monks and Jesuits endeavor to quicken the popular fanaticism—in no district was their outcry re-echoed. The wooden *saints* and silver *madonnas* shook their arms and legs, rolled their eyes, and chanted their canticles in vain.—No resistance to the republican army appeared. Berthier had not arrived near the walls of Rome, when the citizens proclaimed their independence, and planted the tree of liberty before the capitol, and in all the public places.

As soon as the French columns appeared, a deputation went out to meet them and to announce to the general that Rome, liberated, opened the gates to the regenerators of the people. Berthier immediately entered the city, amid an innumerable multitude of citizens, with the sound of trumpets, and accompanied by his staff, a hundred cavalry, and the grenadiers of his army. When he arrived at the foot of the capitol, he halted, and thus addressed the immense multitude: “Manes of Cato, Pompey, Cicero, and Brutus! receive the homage of freed Frenchmen, in this capitol, where you so often defended the popular rights, and honored the Roman republic! The children of Gaul, with the olive of peace in their hand, come in this august place to establish the altar of liberty garnished by the first Brutus! And you, Romans, who have re-conquered your legitimate privileges, remember your glorious ancestors, behold their monuments which surround you, and resume your ancient virtue and the virtue of your forefathers!”

The loudest and long-continued acclamations followed the general’s address. After that ceremony, Berthier returned to his tent. Pius VI, always shut up in the Vatican, wished to disarm his formidable adversary; and sent to him the most eminent personages of his court, to make peace and to obtain a favorable capitulation. But Berthier’s inflexibility soon dissipated the pontif’s illusions. The general refused to admit the papal deputation. He directed those envoys to be informed, that he should not recognise the sovereignty of the pope, and that he should not receive any overtures, except from the delegates of the Roman republic.

The citizens had formed a government, modelled after the ancient constitutions of Rome, had named seven consuls, decreed the degradation of Pius VI, and published accusations against the peculating cardinals and plunderers. Assured of the support of France, after the answer of the general to the pope’s overtures, the new chiefs of the Roman government proceeded to their acts of justice. They affixed the public seal to

the museums, the galleries, and all the other precious objects, to secure them from the pontif’s rapacity. They sold, for the public benefit, the statues and vases which adorned the villa of Cardinal Albani, and the palace of Cardinal Busca, two prelates who had participated in all the felonies perpetrated by the pope’s bastards. They expelled from Rome, the Cardinals Antici, Caprara, Pignatelli, Archinto, and Gerdyl. They cast into prison, the secretary of state, Doria, the statesman Antonelli, the crafty Somaglia, and their minions Borgia, Carandi, Boverella, Carandini, Vincenti, and Mattei; that they might be judged by the tribunals. The Abbé Maury, who had been made a cardinal by Pius VI, as the reward of his services for despotism, escaped from Rome, and thus was screened from the public vengeance.—To the pope and his two bastards, the people granted their lives, and merely deprived them of their domains, their palaces, and the riches of which they had defrauded the state, or stolen from the public revenue.

The duchess of Braschi, that doubly incestuous courtesan, incestuous with her brother and her father, the wife of one and mistress of the other, was treated with yet more indulgence. The consuls left her part of the jewels and trinkets which the pope had given her, and banished her to Tivoli, where she comforted herself with another lover, amid the ruin of her family.

All those misfortunes abased the pope almost to idiotism. At length, the governor of Rome, the General Cervoni, gave him the last stroke, by the official announcement, that the people had reconquered their rights, and he was no longer an officer of the government. “What becomes of my dignity?” inquired Pius, with anxiety. “That will be reserved to you,” the general replied, “and an income of two hundred thousand crowns, to sustain your rank, will be granted you.” “My person,” asked the pontif, “what is to be done with myself?” Cervoni answered—“You are in safety, and will have a hundred and twenty men for your guard.” “Then I am still pope!” exclaimed Pius, with a strange grin. The governor of Rome having withdrawn, the old audacious pontif almost recovered his animation. He called to him his chamberlain and other confidants, and with them plotted another tragedy, like the “*Sicilian Vespers*,” in which all the French and the partisans of the new government should be conjoined. They were warned of the conspiracy, and adopted the measures to hinder the accomplishment of his criminal project.

The removal of Pius was one of those measures. In vain did the pope, who perceived that his plans were discovered, protest against the violence which was offered to him, and which severed him from his people and duties. He was placed in a coach with his physician, his footman, and

cook, and driven towards Tuscany. He was set down at the convent of Augustin at Sienna, where he remained three months.—There he lived in quiet, and forgotten by the world, when an extraordinary event, an earthquake, shook the asylum where he resided, and destroyed part of the walls of the edifice. Although he was not in danger, because, at the moment of the catastrophe, he was walking in one of the gardens of the city, yet he became so frightened that he would not return to the monastery. They gave up to his control, and for his residence, a country house, called "*L'Enfer*," which furnished occasion for the sarcasms of the people, who said that, "*the pope is in his own place*." Some time after, he was transferred to the Grande Chartreuse of Florence, where he remained during ten months.

But in his exile, the old pontif renounced not the hope of his being avenged on the French. From the seclusion of Tuscany, he organized insurrections, and Rome speedily became the theatre of frightful massacres. Gangs of fanatics, conducted by monks and priests, with the crucifix in one hand and a torch in the other, ran about the streets and the public places. Every where, the French fell, assassinated by consecrated poignards, amid cries of, "Hail, Mary! Long live Pius VI!" The Italian patriots were thrown into the Tiber. A company of the Vatican guard were surprised, and every man of them slaughtered. It would have been difficult to foresee where those massacres would have stopped, if General Vial had not marched against them with his troops and seized the most mutinous of those crusaders.

Those who escaped from seizure by the republican general, fled into the country, excited the fanaticism of the inhabitants of Albano, Riccia, Genzano, and Velletri, and returned to Rome, with a body of six thousand men; and they even dared to offer fight to the French. An engagement took place at Fratoecchi, but it was of short duration; for at the first charge, the Italians scampered away from the field of battle.

The pope, not content to embarrass the French in the heart of Rome, labored to raise up enemies to them in other parts of Italy. In concert with Britain, he intrigued, through his agents, with the silly Ferdinand IV of Naples, and his shamless wife, Marie Caroline, and induced him to declare war against France.

At first, the king of the Two Sicilies was victorious. Rome, divested of the military, surrendered to the Neapolitans. The French, overpowered on all sides, by a numerous army, were obliged to retreat. But they soon retaliated under the command of General Championnet; for the Neapolitans were driven back to Naples, and forced to surrender. Ferdinand IV was dethroned, and the Parthenopian republic established.

Cardinal Russo, the king's minister, and the indefatigable agent of ultramontaniam, hastened into Calabria, excited the ignorant population of that country to an insurrection, lifted up the crucifix as the signal of the crusade against the republicans, distributed indulgences and benedictions, recruited an army of mad bigots, and marched towards Naples, at the head of his consecrated bandits.

The French, attacked by land and sea, were obliged again to retreat, and the Neapolitan patriots were forced to capitulate to the royal army; on condition that they might withdraw from the kingdom in safety with their property. As soon as Cardinal Russo obtained possession of the capital, to the disgrace of Ferdinand, and his licentious queen, and Nelson! in utter contempt of the treaty, guaranteed by the British ambassador, that execrable prelate arrested all the citizens suspected of being republicans, and tried them by a special "*Junto*." Three hundred were executed in one day; and as if that tribunal of hangmen was insufficient to exterminate those unfortunate Neapolitans, Russo encouraged the barbarous Calabrians in pillage, conflagrations, rapes, and murder, and made the city of Naples a wide-spread scene of carnage.

Pius VI heard of the success of his machinations, with inexpressible delight; and unable to retain his joy, he addressed a brief to all the Roman prelates, announcing the triumph over the enemies of the papacy, and that the time was approaching when the papacy would arise from the dungeon in radiance, where it had been so tormented in his person. The pope directed the priests, in every country, to wait on the monarchs, to assist them with their counsels and prayers, and as they had not any arms, to replace the people under their domination, thereby promptly to destroy the revolutionary hydra.

The pontif seemed so certain of a speedy change in his condition, that he recalled about his person, his nephew, the duke of Braschi. The minion, who knew that his uncle was possessed of considerable sums of money and a large amount of jewels, hastened to Florence, took advantage of the pontif's sufferings, hindered him from leaving the bed, and stole his treasure. Then ascertaining that the directory, weary of the increasing plots of the pope, had decided to transfer him to France, Braschi fled from Tuscany, as a felon, with his uncle's jewels and gold.

Pius left Florence under the safe-guard of the republican commissioners, and having passed through Turin, and crossed the Alps, he arrived at Valence in Dauphiny, which was designated as the place of his residence.

By order of the directory, he was domiciliated in the house of the governor of the citadel. He was treated with all kindness and liberality; and permitted to form a court

of all the priests and servants who accompanied him. But nothing could comfort the old pontif in his exile. The last act of ingratitude by his cherished bastard was a terrible blow to him. Moreover, the energies of his life having been very much exhausted by age, debauchery, and excesses of the table, palsy in his legs seized him, which subsequently affected his whole frame, and on August 29, 1799, Europe was delivered from the last pope of the eighteenth century.

To the above, extracted mainly from De Cernenin, we subjoin some parallel accounts from other authors; the difference being immaterial in point of historical credibility, and often of great interest and use in respect to amplitude of illustration and authenticity.—This pope lived at a period of memorable revolution and crisis in the affairs of nations; and its influence, affecting Europe in church and state, in letters and religion, in the progress of light and the prospects of society, to this day, will continue to multiply its monuments in the future, connected with the purposes still maturing, and the providences yet to be accomplished, of the wonder-working God! While we are no apologists for the rabid and atheistical enormities of the French revolution, of its astounding excesses and terrible impieties, we are not to forget that God, who “rides on the whirlwind and directs the storm,” God himself, with his wisdom, his righteousness, and his goodness, GOD WAS IN IT, permissively and actively, and in all over-ruling, counter-working, and ordering all events, for his own eternal and glorious vindication, the fulfilment of his prophecies and the honor of his name! Besides, there are some lessons in it for all tyrants, usurpers, oppressors, and hypocritical pretenders in religion, which they, and all like them, would do well to ponder at their sincerest leisure.

Joseph II, the German emperor, immediately after the death of his mother, resolved upon a plan, if possible, to humble the court of Rome, and to commence, on a large scale, his philosophical schemes. From the year 1781, he avowed his intention to introduce into his states, the maxims of the Gallican hierarchy, and to abolish the plurality of benefices. Soon there appeared a royal ordinance, which decreed that there should be a registry of all the revenues of the Austrian priesthood, and an edict favorable to the protestants, and an unrestricted prohibition to all the convents of the admission of novices.

In 1767, Frederic II of Prussia, wrote a letter to one of the French philosophers, which comprised these sentences, concerning the cloisters: “Those asylums of fanaticism must be destroyed. The moment has arrived. Austria and France are deeply indebted. They have foolishly drained the re-

sources of industry to pay their debts. The rich abbeys and the convents are an enticement. The mischief which those cœnobites do to the population of states, and the power of release from them by the appropriation to the public, of wealth, which has no heirs, should be so represented, that they might easily be induced to attempt that reform; and it may be presumed, that after having discovered the advantage of secularizing some of the benefices, they would speedily grasp the remainder.”

In another letter, Frederic wrote—“If the new French minister is a man of firmness, he will not exhibit so much imbecility as to restore Avignon to the pope. A man may be a very good papist, and, nevertheless, may take from the pope, those temporal possessions which too much draw off his attention from his spiritual duties, and by which his own salvation is endangered.”

Joseph II conformed greatly to the counsels and precepts which the king of Prussia gave to European monarchs connected with the popedom. For, not content with having forbidden the reception of novices in the female convents, the emperor entirely suppressed all those which were not devoted to the tuition of children. Two other edicts gave a mortal wound to the pontifical authority. By the first, he subjected to very embarrassing formalities, the admission into his dominions of the briefs, bulls, and rescripts of the Roman court—and, by the other, he abolished the papal power to nominate for the vacant prelacies, abbeys, and provostships.

In 1778, the imperial court discharged the superiors of the seminary at Brunn, and substituted other persons of their own choice, against whom complaints were made. They were accused of following the same principles as the appellants against the decisions of Clement XI, and of disseminating their works, and of endeavoring to introduce into Germany, the subjects of controversial discussion which so long had agitated other countries. Many of the prelates denounced the new professors; and in 1781, Joseph II personally investigated the matter, and pronounced the final judgment. By which, the three teachers accused were absolved—their accuser was dismissed from the archdeaconry of Olmutz—the archbishop of Olmutz, and the prelate of Brunn, were directed to select wiser counsellors—the two ecclesiastics who had dared to maintain the constitution *Unigenitus*, were sternly censured—the preachers who had reviled the accused professors, were always, and every where, interdicted from the pulpit—the bulls *Unigenitus* and *In Cœna Domini*, were adjudged never to have had any force, nor should they be valid; and the erasure of them from all the liturgical books was enjoined—and the Cardinal Migazzi, archbishop of Vienna, was severely reprimanded, a scrutiny of his conduct was or-

dered, the superintendence of his seminary was given to one of the accused, and all the prelates were required to give an immediate account of their seminaries. The language of the decree, also, was unusually harsh and censorious, especially in reference to the cardinal—who, speedily after, was commanded to give an account of the administration of his seminary, in spiritual, as well as temporal things, and was officially characterized as a disturber, a persecutor, and an unprincipled mischief-maker.

Another affair which almost instantly occurred, excited great interest. A parish priest was accused before the archbishop of Olmutz, of innovating in the mass-ritual, of praising the books which were inimical to the court of Rome, of rejecting the bull *Unigenitus*, and of holding suspected doctrines. The archbishop, by his inquisitorial authority, pronounced him guilty, and enjoined upon the priest to leave his parish, and confine himself in a monastery. The priest appealed to the emperor, who, on November 17, 1781, issued his definitive sentence, that the priest was guilty of innovations, but might be restored to his parish when the archbishop thought proper. Nevertheless, he censured the prelate, reprimanded him for following silly and passionate counsel, and ordered that the accusers of the priest should pay him a salary of four hundred florins, until he should be restored to his parish.

Those decrees and edicts excited the indignation of the prelates. Cardinal Magazzi's representations were treated with contempt; and those of Cardinal Frankenberg met with a similar reception. The university of Louvain remonstrated against the edict in favor of the protestants, and against the obstacles which the emperor directed concerning the public teaching of the Romish dogmas. The archbishop of Treves, and seven Hungarian prelates opposed the decree concerning the bull *Unigenitus*; and Cardinal Bathiani, archbishop of Strigony, remonstrated against them as exceeding the power of the civil authority, and avowed that the bull *Unigenitus* was the decision of the entire papacy. The pope's nuncio at Vienna, seconded the efforts of the German ecclesiastics. At last, Pius VI made different efforts to the same effect; but the emperor sternly replied to the nuncio—"I ask not for your counsel respecting my government of my own subjects, on matters exclusively temporal."

After the example, and by the suggestions of his brother Joseph II, Leopold, the grand duke of Tuscany, began to intermeddle with the ecclesiastical government, and to adopt the counsels of Scipio Ricci, who was installed as the prelate of Pistoia and Prato, in 1780. By his influence, among other collateral matters, catechisms were formed for juvenile instruction, books were distributed among the people, the monkish fraternities

were abolished, the processions were diminished, the superstitious ceremonies were reformed and regulated, and the pomp and splendor of them were lessened. He also issued works against the idolatry of the sacred heart of Jesus, and against the indulgences. He altered the rites, reformed the discipline, and exchanged the common lessons—and condemning the opinions, and despising the complaints of the people, he despoiled the ceremonies of their show, the priesthood of their immunities, and the mass of its superstitious influence over the people; and all under the pretext, as he said, of restoring primitive Christianity. He translated the works of the Gallican appellants against the pope into Italian. The press at Pistoia, under Ricci's auspices, issued satirical pamphlets, and volumes of antiquated essays and pictures, with the boldly announced design, to display the unjust pretensions of that "*Spiritual Babylon*," Rome, which had disfigured all the economy of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and overthrown the communion of saints, and the independence of sovereigns. Ricci also held prelatical conferences, at which the constitution *Unigenitus* was opposed, and the appeal and cause of the Romish opponents was sustained. By his reformation of the convents, the suppression of feasts, and the proscription of prelates, he announced his project of liberation from the papal tyranny, if the pontif refused his sanctions to the reforms.

Pius VI complained loudly to Leopold of those novelties, as he denominated them, and reproved those audacious irregularities; to which the Tuscan grand duke sneeringly replied—"THE DAYS OF GREGORY VII AND BONIFACE VIII HAVE PASSED AWAY!" Scipio Ricci, therefore, proceeded to exterminate "the stations of Calvary," the festival of the sacred heart of Jesus, seventeen convents, and auricular confession. He introduced the use of the vulgar tongue in the celebration of the ceremonial of the mass; all which Pius VI pronounced the excess of audacious impiety. He was in a fever to pour out his papal curses on Ricci—but the dread of Joseph II and Leopold induced him to keep the thunder stones of the Vatican quiet and silent in his hand.

Perceiving that the emperor and archduke only condemned the papal interference, Pius VI, hoping to remove the chilling aversion of those princes, made the extraordinary resolution, personally to visit Joseph II at Vienna. By a brief dated December 15, 1781, he announced to the emperor, his intention to terminate all the discussions between the courts of Rome and Austria, without any intermediate aid. That pontifical letter accurately develops the complex character of the crafty Braschi. It was thus expressed:

"To our dear son in Christ Jesus, Joseph, the illustrious apostolic king of Hungary and

Bohemia, and king-elect of the Romans—
Pope Pius VI.

“Our very dear son, Francis Herzan, cardinal and minister plenipotentiary of your majesty to the Roman court, remitted to us, on the 9th of December, your gracious letter of October 6, preceding, by which you replied to our epistle of August 26, before.

“While perusing it, we were deeply afflicted to learn that you have paid no regard to our persuasions that you would not despoil the Roman see of the privilege which it has enjoyed from the most distant period, of constituting in your dominion of Austrian Lombardy, the prelaties, abbeys, and provostships, and of appropriating it to yourself. We wish not, most dear son, to discuss with you the topics which were raised about the midst of the Christian era; and at the termination of which, peace having been restored to the papacy, the court of Rome reëntered upon the ancient possession of their prerogatives and discipline, which had been confirmed by the constant testimony of œcumenical councils—but we owe it to our tenderness for you, and to the deposit that is confided to us, to assure you, as an *indubitable fact*, that when the apostles founded the churches, and established for them priests and prelates, they never were suspected of any design or wish to encroach on the jurisdiction of the civil and secular authority. The church has preserved that usage, without any detriment resulting to the rights of sovereigns. As to the wealth which the church enjoys from the munificence of princes, or the donations of individuals, your majesty knows that it always has been deemed the patrimony of the poor, and as such was respected by your ancestors, so that in the judgment of all, it is not permitted to divert that wealth to other purposes than those to which they were originally destined. Your glorious ancestors, and especially your august mother, recognised those truths, which were placed in all their clearness during the negotiation which occurred between that empress and Pope Benedict XIV, on the subject of the abbeys in Lombardy; as is well known to you.

“We are solicitous to treat with you as a father with his son—but our project meets with great obstacles through the distance which separates us; therefore, we have resolved to see you in your metropolis. We shall pay not any regard either to the length or inconvenience of the journey, or to our own feebleness and advanced age. We shall find energy in the great and unique consolation to converse with you, and to declare how much we are disposed to gratify you, and to conciliate the rights of your imperial majesty with those of the Roman court.—We also beseech your majesty most earnestly to regard our design as a special pledge of our attachment for your person, and of our desire to preserve the union of your majesty with our court. We ask this favor,

not for ourselves particularly, but for the common cause of our religion, over which, as a deposit, we are bound to watch, and which it is your duty to protect.

“Given at Rome, December 15, 1781, and of our pontificate, the seventh year.”

That pontifical unexpected determination, to make a journey to Vienna, struck the Cardinal de Bernis unawares, and surprised all Europe. The emperor, with apparently total indifference, thus replied to the pontif’s brief:

“Holy Father!—Since you persist in your resolution to approach us, I assure you that you will be received with all the honor and respect due to your dignity. The object of your journey appertaining to things which your holiness still regards as doubtful, and on which I have decided, permit me to believe that you will undertake a useless labor. I should premonish you that my resolutions have been regulated only by reason, justice, and religion. Before deciding, I long consider, and hear the opinions of my counselors. Having determined, I persevere. I assure your holiness that I have all respect for you, and the veneration of a true apostolic catholic!”

That letter changed not the pope’s determination; and during the months which elapsed between the reply of Joseph II and the departure of Pius VI, every endeavor was made to change his resolution, by the Cardinal de Bernis, the Spanish ambassador Azara, the Cardinal Borromeo, and his own sons; but their efforts were vain. The pontif had resolved to travel incognito, under the title of the prelate of John Lateran; but the emperor, as a compensation for his own frivolous and amusing conversations, and for the inflexible official repulses of Kaunitz, lavished on him external honors. Sumptuous apartments were prepared in the imperial palace, and a private mass chamber was magnificently decorated.

At a conclave of the cardinals, February 25, 1782, the pope entrusted the government to Cardinal Colonna. He suppressed the bull, *Ubi Papa ibi Roma*, that in case of his death the cardinals might assemble at Rome. He also directed that mass should be sung daily in several places at Rome with the collect, *Pro peregrinantibus*. He likewise had eight hundred gold medals struck off; on one side appeared the heads of Peter and Paul, and on the reverse, Pius VI.—Having delivered his will to his son, and performed mass at night in the pretended tomb of the apostles, under the chief altar of the cathedral, on the morning of February 27, 1782, the Roman pontif commenced his fruitless journey to Vienna.

On August 20, 1789, the national assembly of France, appointed a *committee on ecclesiastical affairs*, who were directed to present a system of laws relative to religion and the priesthood. The first act adopted, was that which cancelled the tribute then paid to the court of Rome. Annats were abolished, and next the tithe, which was the most considerable portion of the ecclesiastical revenue; and, subsequently, it was decreed that "the ecclesiastical property should be subject to the disposal of the nation." On February 13, 1790, the suppression of the monastic orders, and the abolition of the monastic vows were decreed; and that measure was rapturously hailed by the monks and nuns, although many of them avowed a desire to perpetuate their conventual mode of life.—That decree for the abolition of the monkish fraternities and sisterhoods, was afterwards ordered to be announced in every parish by the priest, during mass; and so indifferent were the ecclesiastics, even to the prolongation of their own priestcraft, that, with few exceptions, it was published as ordered by the national assembly.

During the discussion respecting the extinction of the monastic vows, a motion was made that "*the Romish religion is acknowledged and declared to be the religion of the state.*" But, on April 13, 1790, the national assembly passed this decree—"The national assembly, considering that they neither have nor can possess any power over conscience and religious opinions; and that the majesty of religion, and the profound respect which is due to it, do not permit that subject even to be a topic of deliberation—and considering that the attachment of the assembly to the Romish worship cannot for a moment be doubted, since that worship is placed in the primary class of public expenditures; and when, by a unanimous exhibition of respect, their sentiments have been expressed in the only manner suitable to the dignity of religion and the character of the national assembly, do DECREE, that they neither can nor ought to deliberate on the motion proposed."

The prelates and priests of various dioceses made loud protestations against the toleration of the Huguenots, which was implied in that enactment. Notwithstanding, the ecclesiastical committee proceeded in their schemes of reform, and made four reports on the subject, which were discussed by the assembly from May 29 till July 13, 1790, when the civil constitution for the clergy was adopted. The importance of that document requires that a succinct view of its principles should be presented.

It was divided into four "titles"—I. "Ecclesiastical Officers." II. "Nomination to Benefices." III. "Treatment of the Ministers of Religion." IV. "Law of Residence." The essential articles appertain to the first and second heads.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICES.

I. Each department shall form a diocese, both in limits and extent.

The second and third sections merely enumerated the *eighty-three* prelates classed in ten metropolitan provinces.

IV. Every parish in France, and all French citizens, are prohibited to acknowledge in any case, or under any pretext whatever, the authority of any ordinary or metropolitan prelate, whose see is established under the domination of any foreign power, or of any delegates of such potentate residing in France or elsewhere, without prejudice to the unity of faith, and of communion with the head of the visible church.

The fifth adverted to diocesan and metropolitan synods.

The sixth appointed a new distribution of parishes.

VII. The cathedral of each diocese shall be restored to its primitive state. It shall be both a parish and a prelatical edifice.

VIII. The episcopal parish shall have no other pastor than the prelate. All the priests belonging to it shall be his vicars, and perform the functions of it.

IX. There shall be sixteen vicars for the cathedral of a city which comprises more than ten thousand souls; and twelve only, when the population is less than that number.

The tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth articles refer to the diocesan seminary.

XIV. The vicars of the cathedral and of the seminary, shall form together a permanent council for the prelate, who shall not exercise any acts of jurisdiction which concern the government of the diocese and seminary, until after deliberation with them.

XV. Each village or town, which contains not more than six thousand souls, shall form but one parish.

The sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth sections, regulate the new distribution of the parishes.

XX. All titles and other offices than those mentioned in the present constitution, dignities, canonries, prebends, demi-prebends, chapels, chapelries, whether of cathedrals or collegiate, and all regular and secular chapters, by rule or in commendam, belonging to either sex, and all other benefices and prestimonies whatsoever, of any kind and of every denomination, from the day of the publication of this present decree, are extinguished and irrevocably abolished, so that they, or similar titles and offices shall never be reestablished.

The remaining articles, from twenty-one to twenty-five, are explanatory of the twentieth.

II. NOMINATION TO BENEFICES.

I. From the publication of the present decree, one mode only of providing prelates

and priests shall be used—the form of election.

II. All elections shall be by scrutiny and the absolute plurality of votes.

The third, fourth, and fifth direct the forms preceding the election of a prelate.

VI. The election of a prelate shall not be commenced or held on any other day than Sunday, in the principal church of the chief place in the department, at the end of the parish mass, when all the electors shall be present.

VII. To be eligible for a prelacy, it shall be necessary that the candidate shall have fulfilled, for fifteen years at least, the ecclesiastical functions in that diocese, as a parish priest, or curate, or vicar, or superior vicar, or vicar director of the seminary.

The eighth and ninth, provide for the prelates and priests whose relation may be changed by the new arrangement of the dioceses and parishes.

The tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth refer to the eligibility of the parish priests, curates, and vicars.

XIV. The proclamation of the person elected, shall be made by the president of the electoral assembly in the place where the election shall be held, in the presence of the people and the priests, and before the commencement of mass, to be solemnized for that purpose.

The fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, direct the proceedings in reference to the canonical confirmation of prelates.

XVIII. The prelate from whom confirmation shall be demanded, shall not require of the person elected, any other oath than that he professes the Romish religion.

XIX. The new prelate shall not address the pope for any additional confirmation.

The twentieth explains the manner of consecrating a prelate.

XXI. Before the commencement of the ceremony of confirmation, the prelate-elect, in the presence of the municipal officers, the people, and the priests, shall take the solemn oath carefully to watch over the people of his diocese, to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king, and to maintain, with all his power, the constitution adopted by the assembly, and accepted by the king.

The three following sections prescribe the method of appointing the vicars for the cathedrals.

The articles twenty-five to twenty-eight appoint the method of electing parish priests.

XXIX. Every elector, before he puts his vote into the box, shall swear not to nominate any man but he who, in his heart and conscience, he shall deem most worthy, without any influence from gifts, promises, or threats. *That oath shall be required at the election of both prelates and priests.*

XXX. The election of priests shall be commenced and held on Sundays only, in the principal church of the chief place in the

district, at the end of parish-mass, at which all the electors shall be present.

XXXI. The proclamation of the priest-elect shall be made by the president of the electoral body, in the principal church, before mass, which shall be celebrated for that object in the presence of the people and the priests.

XXXII. To be eligible for a parish, the priest shall have performed the functions of a curate, for at least five years.

The four ensuing sections advert merely to the forms of induction.

XXXVII. In the examination of a priest who shall demand canonical institution to a parish, the prelate shall not require of him any other oath, than that he professes the Romish religion.

XXXVIII. The priest-elect and instituted, shall take the same oath as the prelates, in the church on a Sunday, before parish-mass, in the presence of the municipal officers of the place, the people, and the priests; until then, he shall not perform any official duty.

The other articles define the character of vacancies, and the choice of assistant priests or curates.

Those were the principal regulations of the civil constitution of the Romish priesthood, by which the Gallican hierarchy was virtually overthrown, and their severance from Rome was accomplished.

A brief was addressed to the French prelates on July 10, and another on August 10, 1790, by Pius VI, denouncing the civil constitution for the French ecclesiastics—and the Roman pontiff also wrote to Louis XVI, to warn him against the perils which environed him; but the papal interference only augmented the power and the resolution of the enemies to the Romish usurpations; so that Louis XVI was obliged, on August 24, 1790, formally to confirm a measure of which he probably disapproved. Nevertheless, Louis solicited Pius to sanction some part of the constitution provisionally, hoping thereby to allay the popular storm. The pope replied, that he could not comply with the monarch's request; and the secret and open sanction which he gave to the opponents of the assembly's constitution only increased the difficulties, extended the agitation, and rendered the Romish prelates and priests more suspected and unpopular; until by the refusal of twenty-nine prelates, and a large number of the priests, to take the required oath, the ferment became so strong that the ecclesiastics, of all ranks, were publicly insulted, and their "Lord God, the Pope," was burned in effigy!

On November 29, 1791, the assembly decreed that the Roman ecclesiastics who would not comply with the requirements of the civil constitution, should be subject to the penalties of their disobedience. To that measure Louis XVI affixed his *veto*; to which acts,

Pius VI, in his brief of March 19, 1792, added his sanction, eulogizing the prelates and the priests for their disobedience, and Louis, for the royal protection which he gave them. Among all the causes of dislike to Louis, probably not one produced more alienation to his government than that attempt to sustain the refractory monks.

About the commencement of the year 1792, the direct personal assaults on the ecclesiastics began. The assembly proclaimed the toleration of all religious worship. But there was a great opposition to the party who adhered to the papal jurisdiction over the kingdom; until the nuns who would not submit to the secular authority were removed from their convents, and the monks, equally unyielding, were driven from their cloisters; and many of the parish priests, who refused to take the oath of allegiance, were either arrested or obliged to abscond.

The agitation of the kingdom of France being on the increase continually, through the secret briefs and bulls of Pius VI, aided by the wiles and machinations of the Roman priests, until all parts of the country were almost in anarchy, the assembly resolved, if possible, to allay the impending tornado by another act. They, therefore, passed a decree, May 26, 1792, commanding the immediate banishment of every ecclesiastic, without exception, who would not take the civic oath.

DECREE FOR THE BANISHMENT OF THE ECCLESIASTICS WHO WILL NOT TAKE THE CONSTITUTIONAL OATH.

I. The banishment shall be done by the police.

II. All those who were subject to the law of December 26, 1790, and those who have not subsequently taken the oath of September 3, and those who have retracted either oath, all of them shall be deemed as not duly sworn, and shall be subject to banishment.

III. When twenty citizens of the same canton shall unite to demand the banishment of any ecclesiastic who will not take the oath, the directory of the department shall pronounce the sentence of banishment, if the public opinion of the district is conformed to the petition.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth articles are explanatory of the preceding.

VII. The department shall order the ecclesiastics subject to banishment, to withdraw within twenty-four hours from the limits of the district in which they have resided; and from the department within three days; and within one month, from the kingdom.

VIII. The ecclesiastic shall mention the foreign country into which he is desirous to retire; and he shall receive a passport in conformity to it.

IX. If an ecclesiastic will not obey, the gendarmerie shall transfer him from one brigade to another to the frontier.

X. They who remain in the kingdom, or return to it, after their banishment has been adjudged, shall be condemned to imprisonment for ten years.

Louis would willingly have rejected the decree, but all opposition on his part was nugatory; and his procrastination in affixing his signature to the measure only accelerated the overthrow, both of the ecclesiastical establishment, and the monarchy. The consequences of the revocation of the edict of Nantes a century previous, and of the assembly's decree, are too similar and retributive not to impress the mind with devout astonishment.

At the period when Clement XIV was murdered, the kingdom of France especially, and Germany, with the other parts of continental Europe, were the scene of a relentless warfare between the philosophical sceptics, and the atheistical Jesuits. A similar division of the cardinals, between the *Zelanti*, who were fiery partisans of the papal supremacy, and the *monarchists*, who sustained the independence of the secular powers, agitated the conclave and the Romanists. Cardinal Braschi, who craftily contrived to deceive both parties as in union with each, after the unceasing intrigues of one hundred and thirty-two days, was elected pope, by the title of Pius VI. He was born at Cesena, a city of Romagna, December 27, 1717.

After the grant of the pallium to the archbishop of Mohilev, to delude the courts of France and Spain, Pius VI sent them a brief, in which he declared null, unlawful, and pernicious, all the proceedings which, in any place, had been engaged in contrary to the bull of Clement XIV; but as that brief had never been published in Russia, it was without any authority there, and never was executed.

The authenticity of the different briefs of Pius VI, during the course of the French revolution, has been disputed. But the genuine pontifical mandates were addressed to the adhering prelates, who neither contested the rights of the court of Rome, nor denied the papal traditions. His brief of March 10, 1791, was especially addressed to the prelates who were deputed to the national assembly. In it the pontif discussed many articles of the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," that had been enacted by that body in July 1790; and the effect of which was the entire subversion of the papal jurisdiction and hierarchy in France.

The national assembly having claimed the authority to regulate ecclesiastical discipline, because it was unavoidably subject to changes; the pope thus retorted—"Many of the new decrees are adverse to the teaching of the church. That absolute freedom which is proclaimed and magnified, that doc-

trine which sees not in the sovereign the minister only of God, and this formal diminution of the authority of the Roman see, are contrary to the principles of the church. Moreover, the discipline is often intimately united with the doctrine; as it contributes to the preservation of its purity, and councils often have condemned those who only were guilty of subverting discipline. Of this fact, the Council of Trent affords many examples.—Thus, at the forty-eighth session, they denounced the anathema against all those who dared to maintain that the church had not the power to establish impediments to marriages, which would be invalidated in themselves, or that the council was erroneous for establishing those obstacles. The changes and innovations introduced by the national assembly into the ecclesiastical discipline, destroy the fundamental principles on which the authority of the Roman church is founded. In truth, *the civil power cannot give spiritual jurisdiction*; and the novel distribution of diocesses overturns and confounds all the boundaries of power in each bishopric, and openly violates the canons and decrees of councils. The new law which enacts that a prelate, when he takes possession of his see, shall address the pope merely as the visible chief of the papacy, as a testimony only of unity in the faith, destroys the Romish primacy of jurisdiction, from which, as the common centre, emanate the spiritual rights and authority of prelates. The changes introduced into the form of elections are dangerous, as they yield to the laity exclusively the choice of ecclesiastical functionaries, and above all, as in certain departments, they virtually transfer the election of Roman priests to Jews, or to protestants, or to other enemies of the Romish faith. The decree which orders that a prelate, on the refusal of the metropolitan, may address the civil magistrate for confirmation, is not less contrary to sound Romish doctrine, since it elevates the civil magistrate to be a judge of prelates.”

In condemning those articles of the constitution, Pius protested, that he only raised his voice against the manifest assaults on the spiritual authority, and the principles of the Roman faith, and that he only condemned the temerity of those who, without any title or mission, have dared to lay hold of the priestly censer. The seizure of the ecclesiastical property, although it only attacked, indirectly, the Romish doctrine and superstitions, appeared to the pontif as a most cruel and destructive scourge to the papal priesthood. The transfer of the prelatial and monkish revenues to the nation was invented by the philosophers to destroy the hierarchy, in conformity with D' Alembert's application of the Lord's words to the monks and priests—*Hoc genus demoniorum non ejicitur nisi jejuniis*—This kind of devils goeth not out except by fasting.

Pius also complained loudly, that while the wealth of the Roman priesthood was confiscated, the protestant churches were secured in their possessions; and especially denounced the suppression of the monastic orders, and the restoration of the nuns to the duties of civil society.

The pope also addressed a brief to the French prelates, priests, and people, dated April 13, 1791, in which, after condemning the defection, as he called it, of Talleyrand, Gobel, Lydda, and Mirandot, for their consecration of the two constitutional prelates, Expilly and Marolles, commanded all the ecclesiastics who had taken the oath of fidelity, to retract it within forty days, under the penalty of suspension, or of irregularity. He declared the elections of new prelates, as well as the erection of the new sees, unlawful, sacrilegious, and contrary to the canons; and pronounced all the consecrations of such prelates criminal and illicit, and impious, and that those consecrated persons were not possessed of any prelatial jurisdiction, and were suspended from all episcopal functions. The oath required by the constitution was designated as impious, unjust, useless, impolitic, dangerous, and absolutely contrary to the views of those who exacted it. It was also declared that, “*To place the conscience of citizens between duty and interest, and to reduce them to the alternative of being apostates or martyrs, is odious tyranny; the most criminal assault on all laws human and divine, and ever produces the most odious persecution!*” Such is the character truly given of all the crusades and acts of the Inquisition announced by the papacy itself, in application to the reform of popery attempted by the national assembly of France. After that judgment by Pius VI, some few of the priests returned to their vassalage to Rome, but almost all of them who had taken the constitutional oath, adhered to their own course.

But Pius menaced the people in vain; for, on May 3, 1791, the indignant citizens of Paris dressed up an effigy of the pope, in mock splendor, with his two briefs in the hand of the simulated pontif, and set fire to the ridiculous symbol of the world's disturber, their own adored universal HEAD OF THE CHURCH.

Some of the ecclesiastics having retracted their oath of fidelity to the nation, Pius, in his brief of March 19, 1792, concerning the ecclesiastical affairs of France, eulogized the priests who had returned to their allegiance to the papacy. He stated that in mercy he would not then crush the prelates who persevered in their schism and rashness, but gave them his monitions. Those prelates, in reply, chastised the pope severely, and declared his condemnation of no force. Protestants—almost.

At the same period, two other controversial topics were introduced, and excited uni-

versal commotion. The ecclesiastical costume, and the marriage of priests—of which, the former was abolished, and the latter became very common in the year 1792.

As the pope and the priests kept France in one continuous agitation, the national convention, August 26, 1792, issued a decree for the banishment, within fifteen days, of all the Roman ecclesiastics, who would not take the constitutional oath of fidelity to the nation. The suppression of the processions of the Fete-Dieu also was soon after decreed.

Notwithstanding the decree of the convention, many of the ecclesiastics remained in France, and steadfastly endeavored to increase the existing direful agitations. Therefore, the convention, April 21, 1793, renewed the order for their entire exclusion from the country, with the menace of death against those who returned within the boundaries of the republic. That measure, with their increasing perils, induced the large majority of them to flee from France, or to take up arms among the insurrectionists of La Vendee. "The reign of terror" in France, nearly exterminated all that remained of the exterior symbols of popery in France; for Gobel, the prelate of Paris, and thirteen of his vicars, publicly abandoned the priesthood in the presence of the convention.

Pius departed this life, August 29, 1799, after having filled the papal throne twenty-four years, six months and fourteen days; a longer period than any other pontif in the Romish ecclesiastical annals.

There had been an entire alienation between Ganganelli and Braschi, probably both on moral topics and practice, and on the abolition of the order of the Jesuits; so that when Clement XIV died, Braschi was in disgrace among the cardinals. Often had Braschi deplored, under his predecessor's reign, the loss of the traditional authority, and as soon as he was enthroned, he resolved to restore its lustre and sway.

For love of the imposing show in the pontifical ceremonies and the fine arts, Pius VI was a genuine pope of the sixteenth century. While he occupied the office of Roman treasurer, he always excited Clement XIV to restore the museum in the Vatican. Ganganelli directed him to proceed in that work; which, as pope, he completed. In consequence of this alteration, Rome was thronged with all kinds of visitors, with which the ancient pilgrimages had no connection. Pius VI well knew how to reconcile the forms of his superstition with the policy of the world. At the same moment when on his throne he engaged in the idolatry of high mass, his private apartments and chapel were full of protestants.

Pius was most guilty in his unconquerable adhesion to that ancient and perennial, hereditary and endemical sin of the papacy, NE-

POTISM, with all its consequent scandals and evils. Through his duplicity, also, the Jesuits hoped to resume their former position; for Pius secretly pitied their depressed condition, and longed for an opportunity to avow his protection to the order—so that the Jesuits always flattered themselves that they should behold that most imposing specimen of the papal infallibility, Pius VI contradicting and annulling the elaborate and thundering bull of his predecessor. The monarchs also endeavored to procure from him the confirmation of Ganganelli's brief; but the crafty pope would accede to neither of the parties. The cunning of the monks, and the threats of the diplomatists, were equally fruitless with Pius VI, whose Machiavelian science outwitted all of them, by his artifices to secure a constant adjournment of the final decision and act.

Joseph II determined to eradicate the ecclesiastical despotism so long established in Germany. He blushed at the thought of a Cæsar prostrate at the foot of a Jesuit. The order had been authoritatively suppressed, but its spirit lived. Besides, Joseph resolved to conquer another adversary, the Roman priesthood; who, through their power and wealth, were the great adversaries of the national prosperity.

From the period of the reformation, and especially after the treaty of Westphalia, religious liberty had totally disappeared in the Austrian dominions. The schools and seminaries were altogether in the hands of the Jesuits. Their doctrines swayed in the imperial palace; and neither the archdukes of Austria, nor the electors of Bavaria, nor the princes of the empire, considered themselves safe either in body or soul, unless he had a Jesuit guard.

Hatred of protestantism and superstitious bigotry and ignorance of the truth, bound all those potentates together in support of the temporal supremacy of the Roman court. The feeble emperors carried the papal yoke without a murmur. Nothing troubled the dead sleep of the imperial apartments, which were defended by the triple army of cardinals, legates, princely prelates, and Jesuits, priests of various clans, and monks of a thousand colors, with their subalterns, symbols, and circumstances.

Maria Theresa, however, had long perceived the vast superiority of protestant Germany to the papal provinces. Frederic of Prussia had taught her the indescribable difference between the national value of monks and nuns, monasteries and convents, and agriculturists, mechanics, scholars, manufacturers, merchants and industrious artisans. She, therefore, became anxious to diminish the ecclesiastical drones, and to augment the useful classes, the citizens that produce, rather than those that merely consume.

Pius gave to Joseph II a good excuse for

attacking the ecclesiastical sovereignty in Germany, by refusing to his mother, Maria Theresa, the usual funeral honors displayed at Rome on the death of the monarchs who submitted to the papal hierarchy. The Austrians also were highly offended with the pope's contempt for their empress. Joseph gladly seized the opportunity to commence his projected reform, and an edict of general toleration announced the imperial scheme. It was thus proclaimed—

“Convinced of the pernicious effects of all violence exercised over the consciences of men, and of the essential advantages of Christian toleration, his imperial majesty decrees that the private exercise of their religion shall be permitted to all his protestant subjects, who adhere to the Helvetic confession, to the confession of Augsburg, to all his subjects of the Greek religion, in all parts of the Austrian monarchy. They who profess not the Romish religion, shall not be constrained to take the oath of the formula contrary to the principles of their sect, nor to assist at the processions and ceremonies of the dominant religion. In conferring public offices, the emperor will pay no regard to the difference of religions, but solely to the capacity and fitness of the individuals. Mixed marriages are permitted. Persons shall not be punished on account of religion, but solely for offences against the civil law.”

A sensible and most exemplary edict.

The emperor also declared that dispensations for marriage and other canonical cases should not be sought from the pope—but from the prelate of the diocese, who was forbidden to recur to Rome.

Papal briefs or bulls were excluded, unless first approved by the emperor.

Novices and nuns, or monks, were prohibited from making to convents, donations of higher value than twelve hundred florins.

Convents were placed under the jurisdiction of the diocesans, without reference to the foreign chiefs of their order.

The bulls *In Cæna Domini* and *Unigenitus*, were effaced from the Missals.

Monasteries were directed to be suppressed. The multiplicity of benefices was diminished. The treasures of many of the chapters were applied to the public treasury. Theological schools in the monasteries were abolished. And many similar reforms were effectuated.

Nevertheless, the inconsistency of the emperor injured his great work; for while he despoiled the madonnas of their ornaments, he prescribed the number of wax candles to be kept burning before the idol; so that Frederick of Prussia, called Joseph “*My brother the Sacristan*.”

That imperial edict disquieted the Roman court beyond measure. It was not a question concerning ceremonies or symbols, or a

slight prerogative, or a point of etiquette; but there was a direct overthrow of the long-possessed power to penetrate into the interior of the domestic sanctuary, to preside in every affair, to grasp the child in the cradle, to enchain him through all his life, and never to release him, until he was placed in the tomb. At his birth, in his education, in his creed and his conscience, through all the faculties of his mind, at his marriage, in his will, dying, and to his very sepulture, nay, beyond it and forever, Rome swayed him in all. The priests were interdicted from all their previous interference and claims. The monasteries and convents, scattered over all the land, as papal fortresses united for the powerful defence of their one common priesthood, were disjoined into separate, feeble, independent colonies; and the hierarchy were divested of their overflowing income from annats, dispensations, anathemas, indulgences, reconciliations, absolutions, their American stream of gold and silver, and their ceaseless exactions on a thousand varying pretences, for the ecclesiastical treasury. Even their liturgy was exposed to the censure and ridicule of the opponents of the pontifical usurpation and sway; and the chants, the invocations, and the ceremonies, were placed under the control of the secular authority. Never had the papacy been so deeply and sensibly assailed since the reformation; for even then, its deadly wound seemed to proceed from professed enemies alone, and was not accompanied with such contemptuous implications and galling derision. Joseph II was not an avowed enemy of Rome; and, therefore, Pius was obliged to exert all his dissimulation with his respectful, but implacable adversary.—After a protracted and useless correspondence, the pontif resolved to vanquish the obstinacy of Joseph by his personal eloquence and wiles; and, therefore, communicated to the emperor the design to have an interview with him at Vienna. The futility of that measure was foreseen and distinctly explained to the pope and his nuncio; but finding the pope immovable in his purpose, Joseph agreed to receive the pontif with all personal respect and homage, while his minister, Kaunitz, was to manifest all political harshness and contempt.

The announcements of Kaunitz seemed to perplex Pius, who began to hesitate respecting his journey; which induced Joseph to ridicule him for his weak vacillation. That sarcasm decided the pope to fulfil his intention. He made the requisite preparation, and commenced his portentous journey.

Having arrived at Vienna, Pius VI was anxious to reside with his nuncio—but under the pretext of honoring the pontif, the emperor would enforce his occupation of the apartments in the palace previously used by Maria Theresa; thereby, as the wily Joseph avowed, by their being in the same castle,

to facilitate their interviews, and to conceal from the public their negotiations. On their passage along the streets, amid the ringing of the bells, Joseph remarked to his brother, "*That noise is from the artillery of the monks.*"

The emperor exhibited towards the pope, all external respect—so that they seemed as loving as two superlative hypocrites together—but the bitterest complaints were made by Pius, because, in the midst of the pontifical masses, and the popular homage, all Joseph's civil behavior was manifestly overacted and inimical. Edicts contrary to the pope's authority, were posted in the streets; and the people were expressly forbidden to visit the pope for his pretended gifts.

Febronius wrote a significant and powerful pamphlet, entitled *QUID EST PAPA?*—meaning, *THE POPE IS—WHAT?*—with the public encouragement. One circumstance was peculiarly characteristic. The prelate of Gorice, emerged from his obscurity by his opposition to the imperial ordinances. On the day when Pius passed through that city, Joseph announced to the nuns of that city, that they were discharged from their vows, and commanded the prelate to appear at Vienna, where he was reprimanded severely, almost in the presence of the pope; and having retracted his doings, was sent back to Gorice without being permitted to kiss the pope's foot. *Dedecus et privatio quam ineffabilis!*

With all his schemes and deceptions, Pius elaborated only for himself a signal disappointment. Joseph II amused him by his pretended simplicity and candor; and Kaunitz repelled him by his chilling reserve and insulting familiarity; so that the pope's journey, justly disapproved by the Roman cardinals as humiliating, was also entirely fruitless.

It is worthy of special notice, that the Jesuits, who originally obtained the pontifical sanction for their organization, only because their cardinal, and in truth their sole principle, is prompt, unreserved obedience to the pope in all things, when communicated by the general of their order, every where simultaneously refused to acknowledge the validity, or to submit to the mandates of the brief, which suppressed their order, as issued by Clement XIV. Some of them retreated into Prussia, where they were supported by Frederic, infidel as he was—for extremes meet—merely because they were reputed to be such competent instructors of youth; which act embroiled him with his former sceptical companions; and Voltaire hoped that the pope would appoint Frederic his "mufti, and general of the order of Jesuits." The solution of Frederic's conduct is this—that having quarrelled with "the philosophers," he aided the Jesuits in their opposition to his prior confederates, that he might enjoy their

mutual accusations, reproaches, and disgrace.

Catharine II of Russia, also aided the Jesuits, purely from self-interested policy; and supported them in White Russia, an ancient Polish province. They repaid her by their powerful services in the partition of Poland. At Polotzk, the Jesuits possessed a magnificent monastery, with a large domain, and ten thousand serfs on both banks of the Dwina. Over all that province, they exercised a boundless influence. Secure of Catharine's protection, after the publication of Ganganelli's brief of suppression, they passed over, altogether, into the Russian dominion, took the oath of fidelity to Catharine, and maintained their condition, their habit, and their name, in spite of their own oath and the papal bull, the publication of which in Russia, was utterly interdicted. From that period, they elevated to a species of Jesuit primacy or patriarchate, the prelate Siestrenciewicz, of a protestant family, and who had married, and then was a man of no principle in religion. They favored his nomination as archbishop of Mohilev, and gave him for coadjutor, one of their own body, a Jesuit named Benislanki. The latter departed for Rome, and finally obtained the pallium for the archbishop of Mohilev. Thus Pius VI, with the genuine double dealing of the pontificate, adhered to the suppression of the Jesuits in all the southern kingdoms of Europe, and secretly favored their establishment and increase in Russia. In 1782, the Jesuits of Polotzk were embodied according to their rule, elected a vicar, as superintendent, and after two years, he became general of the order. Thus was exhibited the singular spectacle of an order of Romish monks in rebellion against the pope; sustained by the powers severed from Rome; crushed by the papal princes; and in direct conflict with the papacy itself, whom they had so solemnly vowed to serve and obey in all things, acknowledged to be infallible, and owned and invoked as their "Lord God."

Thus the nursery of Jesuitism was preserved in Russia. Grouber, a genuine successor of Aquaviva, and Layuey, was appointed general of the order, who, by his cunning craftiness, promoted the secret extension of those monks; until they fancied themselves too powerful to be efficiently opposed. Then they recommenced their system of zealous proselytism, which caused the banishment of the entire horde from the Russian empire, where had been their only secure asylum. But their establishment there was then no longer indispensable; because Pius VII had raised them from their degradation by his bull, *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*, dated, August 7, 1814, which revoked the brief of Ganganelli, rendered the claim of papal infallibility an illustrated subject of ridicule, proclaimed Clement XIV an

audacious lying pontif—*QUID EST PAPA?*—and reorganized the Jesuits anew, to perpetrate their impious crimes and their desolating mischiefs throughout the world.

And ruined Poland is an example at this

moment of the consequences of their modern sway, and a beacon of admonition to other nations to beware of them. *Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.* God save the United States of America!

PIUS VII, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-NINTH BISHOP OF ROME.

GEORGE III, and GEORGE IV, *Kings of England.*—JEFFERSON, MADISON, and MONROE, *Presidents of the United States.*

[Year of Christ, 1800.] The period at which we now arrive is signal in history, and marked with great and strange events. The end of the eighteenth century had been anticipated by enthusiasts and philosophers with a kind of superstition, as if the seasons and the times were now approaching a climax of ages. The unparalleled wonders of the French revolution were considered by many as the great symbols of other political earthquakes, which should prostrate thrones and altars in a common ruin, transform society, and regenerate the world. Some of the pseudo-philosophers, with the illustrious historian, or the ridiculous idealist, Hume, among them, had almost believed their own prophecies, and made others, also, believe them—that, at the end of the eighteenth century, philosophy should gain the ascendancy, and culminate in the moral heavens, as the sun of celestial glory, shedding day on all the nations. By philosophy they meant infidelity, and by superstition they meant Christianity. In the result, Christianity was to become obsolete, and as such was every where to be repudiated. Men were to be—not Christians, but philosophers; and a political, intellectual, and social millennium, was to cover the earth with its glorious jurisdiction—and the cheering hope of eternal rottenness in the grave!

Alas! they made one blunder, not to speak of others, which thousands of our own day, belonging to the same *apostolical* succession, continue to perpetuate in their blindness; whence we know not, as we see them glorying in their atheism and madness, whether ignorance, or delusion, or arrogance predominates more in their desperate career; they know not what Christianity is—and they practically make the enormous blunder of identifying it with the abominable adulterations of popery. If they had mistaken the moon for a cardinal's hat, or a swimming porpoise for the city of Strasburg, or the blasphemy of *delirium tremens* for the oracles of God, their error would have been *infinitely* less absurd, less dangerous, and less impious too!

Christianity is the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ; contained objectively in the

Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments, as the inspired truth of the revelation of God; and thence in degree exemplified subjectively, by all those who believe and love that volume of incomparable wisdom, grace, and consolation to their souls: a religion fitted to become the only universal religion of mankind, morally designed for all nations, and to be propagated, by command of its divine author, through *all the world and to every creature*; and this, in its unchanging purity, fulness, and grandeur; and preëminently as contradistinguished from all the corruptions, inventions, and substitutes by which men have modified it, obscured it, superseded it, and caricatured it, among the nations; chiefly at Rome—and by her paganism, her tyranny, her cupidity, her idolatry, her exclusiveness, her persecution, her organized ignorance, and her unequalled usurpations of hypocrisy and bible-hating falsehood combined! Christianity is the only religion of salvation, or freedom, or rational evidence in the world.

Nor is it wonderful, or very mysterious, that the Bible should be, in their ethics and economics, a proscribed volume. Itself amply solves the wonder—there is no authority on earth that so criminales them, reveals them, contradicts them, predicts all their atrocities, anticipates their ascendancy, portrays their character, and at the same time portends their near-hastening destruction! Christianity is a vastly different system from any thing that is appreciated by infidels, cardinals, or popes; who, for the most part, whatever else they know—and in politics and cunning they are very knowing—are criminally ignorant, and consequently blind, in reference to the nature of Christianity and the meaning or the contents of the Bible!

The nineteenth century began, however, under favorable auspices for the people.—God had overruled the orgies and the enormities of the French revolution, as he does all other occurrences in the universe, for good. The rights of man had gained in the portentous conflict. Usurpation could no longer seem to create legitimacy, as it had

done before for ages, nor the possession of power be longer identified in popular esteem with the right to it. Monarchs who, during so many centuries, had dominated over the nations by terror, now began to tremble in their turn, on their tottering thrones. Men chose to think, to inquire, and examine. A thirst for knowledge on every question became general. Mere authority was at a discount, and nobility and monarchy were inspected, for their nature, their character, and the causes of their noble blood, or their superhuman greatness. It seemed, indeed, a perilous unfix of society; and the wise and the good, as well as the usurpers and the oppressors of the species, in church and in state, watched with anxiety the terrific process, expecting a worse result. Priests, of all gradations of the hierarchical pyramid, who, through fourteen centuries, had reigned despotically, and for the curse of humanity, over conscience, were forced to conspire in secret. The *papacy*, that fatal and monstrous institution, which had been the cause of such numberless calamities, disasters, and persecutions, at the death of Pius VI, was apparently on the verge of complete extinction. But men were not sufficiently sated with superstitions, and the triumph of permanent liberty was still deferred!

Bonaparte, consul, who began to think of placing on his head the diadem of Charlemagne, and who anticipated the period when he should want another Leo III to consecrate him, collected the scattered stones of the pontifical Babel, which the republic had almost rased, and anew reconstructed it. Twenty days after his attainment of power, thirty-five cardinals assembled at Venice to fill the vacancy in the pontificate, and to elect the chief of the popedom.

Each secular power, according to custom, intrigued to have one of their own minions nominated, and to insure the voices of the cardinals for him; but France was successful. Whether the first consul was more ably served, or whether he paid most generously for the votes, after one hundred and four days of discussions and strife, the majority was announced for the cardinal Gregory Barnabas Louis Chiaramonti, who was proclaimed pope, on March 14, 1800, by the title of Pius VII.

The new pontif was only fifty-eight years of age. He was born in 1782, at Cesena, and the son of Count Scipio Chiaramonti and the Countess Ghini. His parents, when he was very young, made him enter the order of the Benedictines. Pius VI, who was allied to his family, successively elevated him to the dignities of abbot, prelate of Tivoli and Imola, and finally, of cardinal. In those different stations, he had exhibited an extreme flexibility of sentiment. Thus, after having appeared as a partisan of ultra-absolutism, he changed at once to the most liberal opinions, and on the occasion of combining his

diocese with the Cisalpine republic, he pronounced a pompous homily, in which he plausibly proved, by the support of citations from the Scriptures, that *if a man would be a good Christian, he must be a republican*.—The crafty cardinal seems not vainly to have foreseen, that, by affecting democratic sentiments, he would insure the protection of France, and prepare the way for his elevation to the pontifical throne.

Having become pope, Chiaramonti pursued the cautious policy which had obtained for him the tiara. He exhausted all the adulatory forms to thank the Consul Bonaparte for the support which he had afforded him; proclaimed him the elect of heaven, and, in preëminence, “the just!” As may well be supposed, all that base flattery was for an interested purpose—to obtain the intervention of France, that the German emperor might permit Pius VII to withdraw from Venice, and renounce his project of establishing the papal see at Vienna.

The first consul received those demands favorably, and announced to Francis II that he must not interpose any obstacle to the departure of Pius VII. The pope, therefore, embarked for Pesaro, and proceeded towards Rome. At that period, the French had withdrawn from the city, which was occupied by the Neapolitans. The pope thought that it would be good policy to maintain amity and to secure protectors with all parties; and, therefore, to propitiate the Bourbons at Naples, he hastened officially to inform the count of Provence of his exaltation, addressing him at the same time by the titles of “King of France, and Eldest Son of the Church.” Then, upon hearing that the first consul had crossed the Alps, and invaded Italy the second time at the head of a formidable army, he wrote to Bonaparte, and also gave him the title of “Most Christian Prince, and Eldest Son of the Church,” and opened the primary negotiations relative to the famous concordat, which was definitively concluded in the following year, July 15, 1801.

By that convention, Pius transferred to the chief of the French government the rights and prerogatives which the ancient kings had obtained from the popes. He even authorized the priests to take the oath of fidelity to Bonaparte, without any disquietude respecting the holy doctrine of the succession, or *the divine right* of the overthrown dynasty of the Bourbons. The pope reserved only the canonical institution of the prelates, that he might paralyse in France, the influence of that submission, according to his interests. The first consul had the weakness to yield that clause; whether he did not foresee all its necessary consequences, or whether, by his condescension, he designed to secure the devotedness of Pius VII to his ulterior designs, yet such was the fact.

It is true, nevertheless, that as a compensation, the pope placed the French clergy at

the feet of the conqueror, and imposed on the priests the obligation to disclose to the government their acquaintance with any conspiracies which might be revealed to them; that is, to enclose the royalists in one vast net, and make the papal superstitions subservient to a species of religious espionage—probably the best for its purposes that human tyranny ever commanded.

The concordat was scarcely signed, ere Pius openly entered on his scheme of a pontifical reaction. He reëstablished the order of Jesuits in Russia, directed the return of those monks to France, under the name of *Adorers of the Sacred Heart*, and *Brethren of Faith*. The convents speedily reappeared, the professed houses were reopened; and from those monastic haunts issued thousands of fanatics, who were directed to besot and enslave the people, according to their old vocation.

The pope was too hasty in that affair; for the mass of the nation were more terrified than charmed with the efforts of the priests, and so energetically declared their opposition to the return of the Romish superstitions, that the consular government was obliged to delay the publication of the concordat with the papacy, until April 15, 1802.

Bonaparte having improved the interval to dispose the French people to submission, the pope also was employed in the reorganization of the French hierarchy. Two kindred movements of freedom and philanthropy.

Of one hundred and thirty-five prelacies, which existed before the revolution, one hundred and four were vacant by death, or renunciation, or voluntary absence, of the titular prelates; since some, having refused to take the civic oath, had fled from the country.

In the country conquered from Germany, Flanders, and Switzerland, of eighty-four diocesses, two were also vacant from analogous causes. The sovereign pontif addressed a bull to the constitutional prelates, and to those who had not taken the oath, that they should resign and consent to a new election, for the interest of the papacy. The sworn priests consented, and placed their functions at the disposal of the consul. But not so did the rebellious prelates act, who had fled into the foreign countries, and who deemed themselves as martyrs. They refused to accede to the measures enjoined by the court of Rome, and denounced the pontifical bull as violent and irregular. Pius proceeded further; for he declared all the ancient diocesses suppressed; and promulgated the decree, which authorized the new division of the territory of the French republic into ten archbishoprics, and fifty-nine prelacies.—Then he sent Cardinal Caprara to Paris as his legate *à latere*, with the most extensive powers, to regulate, in concurrence with Portalis, the minister of religious affairs,

every thing which appertained to the pope-dom.

The cardinal, on the morrow of his arrival, had an audience with the first consul. Immediately after, he delivered the bulls of canonical institution to the prelates specified by Bonaparte. Every thing was suitably transacted. The performance of the Romish ceremonies was solemnly reëstablished in France; and the legate, as a proof of his satisfaction, published an extraordinary jubilee, that the devotees might *purchase* the pardon of their sins. A very small number only, at this time, consented to encourage the traffic in the papal indulgences. The majority of the nation remained totally unconcerned. Some energetic and patriotic citizens even censured the conduct of the first consul. General Launes, on that occasion remarked—“*Bonaparte is soaking himself in the holy water, and the holy water will drown him.*”

In truth, the first consul speedily discerned the capital fault which he had perpetrated in placing himself in a state of dependence on the court of Rome. Scarcely had the concordat been promulgated, than he strove, gradually, to regain the authority of which he had so unseasonably deprived himself, by the publication of the organic articles, which were merely the four propositions of the French priesthood, and the maxims of the Gallican hierarchy contained in the pragmatic sanction. Those articles rendered the authorization of the government indispensable, previous to the publication of the bulls, briefs, and rescripts of Rome; as also for the legitimate exercise of the power of the nuncios, legates, and other envoys of the papal court. They admitted of recourse to the council of state in case of the abuse of the pontifical power, nullified all exemption from the ordinary prelates' jurisdiction, and prescribed the rules of the four celebrated articles of 1682. The pope was irritated that the first consul placed obstacles to his scheme of absolute domination, declaimed against the organic articles as hostile to the holy superstitions, and contrary to the papal doctrines; and, therefore, he secretly promoted dissension among the French priesthood. By his instigation, thirty-six prelates presented a formal protestation against the measures adopted by the government relative to the diminution of the ancient number of prelacies. They energetically resisted the subjection of the spiritual power to the secular authority, and the organic articles. They denounced, by the title of *apostates*, the prelates who accepted them, and pronounced them excommunicated. They even attacked the papal bulls, and issued a manifesto in favor of the right of Louis XVIII to the throne; “rights,” they said, “which he received from God only, and which imposed on Frenchmen, by force of the law of religion, duties from which nothing could release

them." Those demands, issued as canonical, were designed to weaken the oath of fidelity to the established government, to produce an ecclesiastical schism, and to revive the ancient pretensions of the popes over France. But the *hypocrite* Chiaramonti was engaged with a man quite as determined, as well as much more dextrous than himself, and he was vanquished in the controversy.

Bonaparte, who, after the eighteenth of Brumaire, had been successively appointed first consul, consul for life, and, finally, emperor, instead of addressing to Pius VII re-eriminations on the conduct of the prelates, merely directed his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, the ambassador from France to Rome, to desire the pope to make his journey immediately to Paris, to crown Napoleon in his metropolis. The pope, not daring to resist the will of the modern Cæsar, assembled his conclave, and announced to the cardinals his resolution to cross the Alps; he nominated Gonsalvi to direct the political government of Rome, and departed from the city, November 2, 1804. At Turin, he found a numerous body of persons appointed by Napoleon to augment his attendants, and thus to render his journey more imposing. On the 26th, he arrived at Fontainebleau, where the emperor met him. There he remained for repose, until the 28th, when, with Napoleon, he made his entry into Paris. The refractory prelates imitated the conduct of the pontif and made their submission.

On the day appointed for the consecration, Pius VII appeared in the cathedral of Notre Dame, clothed in a glittering cope of jewels, the tiara on his head, escorted by a multitude of priests, and according to the Romish custom, preceded by an officer, who carried—august circumstance—the pope's slipper on a cushion; which highly excited the hilarity of the Parisians, edified their sceptical tendencies, and entirely spoiled the gravity of the *pious* procession. He had by his side, two cardinal deacons as assistants, Braschi, the nephew of Pius VI, and the cardinal of Bogano. A little in advance, were the cardinal prelate Antonelli, and the cardinal deacon Caselli. The pope was conducted to a throne which had been erected in the interior of the nave, to wait for the emperor.—As soon as his majesty entered, the ceremony began. Napoleon, with the empress, kneeled down to receive the consecrating unction; then he arose, and without waiting for Pius to crown him, he placed the imperial diadem on his own head, and then crowned Josephine.

This singular act was in keeping with the whole character of Napoleon. He was the architect of his own fortunes, and the pope in his presence was a mere puppet of the day. He would be independent of all sacerdotal patronage, himself the only patron of his times. The holy order of the succession, though founded absurdly in the grossest

usurpation and falsehood, however human dotage might still be its protection in the church, he knew his own interests too well to perpetuate by his own example in the state. The world were to see a new spectacle—an imperial autocracy in France, that could create its own precedents, issue its own patent of authority, and defend its own pretensions *per fas et nefas* whoever might oppose. The scene was novel, symbolical, comical, and yet impressive and august. The magnificence of his holiness was sensibly impaired in the contrast; and men wondered that the pope should cross the Alps for the sublime purpose of being a vacant and wonder-stricken witness of such an unparalleled ceremony. Here was a Leo III without his function as the authoritative Cæsar-maker; and a Charlemagne, who neither went to Rome to be crowned, nor needed the sovereign pontif to officiate authoritatively, or in any other way—except to see the pageant—on occasion of the self-coronation of the emperor of the French.—The splendor of the spectacle was imposing, its sentiment was original, its glory underrived, and the crowned monarch and his beautiful empress stood the centre of popular attraction and the theme of national acclaim, while the pope looked at it all, and wondered at his own diminished glory!

On the day after that grand solemnity, Chiaramonti, who secretly indulged the hope that his condescension would subserve the papal interests, demanded the abolition of the organic articles. Napoleon exhibited no disposition to sacrifice the rights of his crown, and refused to comply with the pope's desire. Pius was not discouraged, but returned to the point; and to accomplish his design, he adopted a method which he deemed to be infallible. He proposed to the emperor to canonize a poor wretched monk, named brother Bonaventure Bonaparte, who, it was fabled, had died in a monastery a hundred years before! To the pope's utter astonishment, Napoleon, far from being impressed with the signal honor thus proposed to be bestowed on his family, expressed his astonishment at the ridicule which would attach to him, and declared that he was strenuously opposed to the transformation of the monk Bonaventure into a *saint*! That second refusal highly estranged the pope from his host; although he dared not manifest his secret sentiments. On the contrary, he affected to exhibit with more prodigality his testimony of friendship; so that on the mere proposal of Portalis, the minister of worship, he gave the cardinal's hat to Cambaceres and to Belloy, and then appointed Ratisbon the metropolis of all Germany. It is also true, that the minister had promised the pope in exchange to sanction the demands which he had formally proposed in a memoir, and which comprised eleven principal topics—"The abolition of

divorce which was incompatible with the principle of the indissolubility of marriage taught by the Roman priesthood—the absolute inspection of the prelates over the manners and conduct of the subordinate priests dependent on them—the means to provide for the decent subsistence of the Romish ecclesiastics, and the perpetuity of that arrangement for the interest of the sacerdotal order; the renewal of the ancient laws for the observance of Sunday and the festivals—the exclusion from public education of all priests and married ecclesiastics—the submission of the French priests to the judgment of the court of Rome—the restoration of the monastic establishments and congregations, which had been abolished during the revolution—stations for the Lazarists, for the seminary of foreign missions, and an equivalent in value for the abbey of Clairac, given to Rome by the renegade Henry IV, at the time of his last abjuration.”

Some of those demands were instantly granted to the pope; others were deferred to a future period. Those first concessions induced the pontif to present a new memoir on Italian affairs. In that singular document, Pius claimed the title of administrator of Peter's patrimony, demanded the possession of the Roman domain which had been annexed to the French empire, or the Italian republic; and to excite the conqueror's generosity, he lavished on him every exhibition of the basest adulation. Napoleon continued unmoved by that excessive debasement. He did not even deign to reply to Chiaramonti, and only informed him by the minister that he should never consent to the proposition, to augment the state of an ambitious priest, to dismember his empire, and, much less, to diminish the territory of a people which had been so confiding by yielding to him. Without further anxiety concerning Pius VII, Napoleon left Paris, crossed the Alps, and went to Milan, there to be crowned king of Italy.

Although disappointed in his pretensions, Chiaramonti would not return from France without leaving traces of his route. At his call, the cohorts of the Jesuits arose from beneath the ground, formed a society under the name of Fathers of the Faith, and spread themselves in all the provinces. At length the pope resumed his journey to his own dominions. But in leaving the capital of France, Pius carried away with him a profound and implacable enmity, the *malign hatred of a Roman priest*, towards the emperor. Of that disposition he gave proof on the day of his arrival at Rome, by hurling his anathema against the maxims of the Gallican hierarchy, by the confirmation of the bull *Auctorem Fidei*; and by his political association with the British government.

Napoleon replied to the pontifical bulls by imperial decrees, and by gradually dismembering the Roman territory. The pope, in

his exasperation, called on the eldest son of the papacy to declare whether he purposed to despoil him of all his provinces. The emperor informed him by his ambassador, that he well understood the treachery of the pontifical court, and that he would pay no respect to the papal dominions, but on the condition that Pius would banish all Englishmen from his ports, and would adhere to the continental blockade. The pope, who was utterly opposed to those measures, and who, nevertheless, dared not begin an open collision with France, objected that religion obliged him in duty to preserve neutrality, and not to shut up his states against strangers.

To close all discussion, Napoleon placed garrisons in the ports of Ancona and Civita Vecchia, and gave to his brother Joseph, the kingdom of Naples, with the principalities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, which were included in its boundary. Afterwards, he enjoined on the pontif to proceed to the coronation of the new king of the Two Sicilies. Chiaramonti persisted in his refusal to comply with the will of the emperor, under the vain pretext of conscientious scruples. But the true motives of his conduct were these—Joseph had refused to receive the crown of Naples as a vassal of the Roman court; and the expectation which the pope indulged, that he should see his imperial enemy crushed by the coalesced armies of Britain, Austria, and Russia. The famous battle of Austerlitz, gained by the French, dissipated those illusions. He then endeavored to regain the favor of Napoleon, and addressed to him crafty felicitations on his victory. The emperor thus replied to the pontif—“If he would not expose himself to severe chastisement, he should move in an upright course, shun the labyrinth of politics, and not unite himself with heretical potentates, who were unable to protect him.”

In another letter, on the same subject, Napoleon added—“All Italy shall be subject to my law; but I will not touch in any way the independence of the Roman court. I will even repay the expenses which the movements of my army have occasioned to you, on the condition that the pope will maintain towards me in secular affairs, the same regard that I bear for him in spiritual things; and that their useless circumspection towards the heretical enemies of the popedom shall cease, as well as towards the powers which can be of no benefit to you. You are the sovereign of Rome; but I am the emperor of it. All my enemies should be yours. Therefore, it is not expedient that any agent of the king of Sardinia, or that any Englishman, Russian, or Swede, should reside at Rome or within your states, nor that any vessel belonging to those nations should enter your ports. I shall always have for the pope, the filial deference which, in every change of circumstances I have dis-

played. In return, you will recollect that I am accountable to God for the welfare of the people. How can I, without agony, see religion compromised by the backwardness of the court of Rome, under such miserable pretexts? They will answer for it before God—those who exhibit so much zeal to protect protestant marriages, and would oblige me to unite the members of my family with heretics. They shall answer for it before God, who delay the transmission of the bulls for my prelates, and who abandon my dioceses to anarchy. It has required six months for the entrance of the prelates on their duty, which might have been arranged in one week.

“As to the affairs of Italy, I have done every thing for the prelates. I have consolidated the ecclesiastical interest. I have interfered with nothing spiritual, either at Milan, or in Naples, or in any of the cities to which my power extends. I refuse not to accept the coöperation of men endowed with true zeal for religion, and to agree with them; but since God has committed to me the maintenance of religion, I shall act without the court of Rome, if they remain in criminal inactivity. If the pope had followed the counsels which I gave him at Paris, religion in Germany would be organized, and not left in its present wretched condition. In that country and in Italy, all would have been done agreeably and in concert with the Roman court. But I cannot permit that which might be done in two weeks, to be deferred for a whole year. It was not by sleeping that I so highly raised the state of the priesthood, the publicity of the ceremonies, and that I reorganized the Roman ritual in France, so that in no country is it more efficient, or more respected, and where it enjoys more consideration. Those who hold any other language deceive you, and are the cause of great misery.”

Instead of listening to the voice of reason, and instead of giving satisfaction to the emperor concerning the just grievances which he here defined, the pontif was filled with rage at the reception of that letter. He instantly assembled the conclave, and announced to the cardinals, that he would promptly enter on a terrible struggle with France, and it should never cease, until he had trampled under his foot, *le basilic*, that cockatrice—meaning, of course, Napoleon.

Napoleon, in reply, sent troops who occupied Rome as a military station; then he incorporated with his own regiments, the pope's soldiers, took possession of the post-offices and printing establishments, expelled the strange cardinals, notwithstanding the protestations of the conclave, and banished them from the papal territories. The pope, more and more exasperated, sent a comminatory brief to the emperor, threatening him with the pontifical thunderbolts, if he did not immediately recall his troops, and im-

plore forgiveness for his past conduct. Napoleon punished the arrogance of Pius by annexing to the kingdom of Italy, the finest provinces of the papacy, the marches of Ancona, and the duchies of Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino.

That rigorous act overawed the pope.—During some months, the court of Rome dared not to make any hostile manifestation towards France; but speedily after the intelligence was received of Napoleon's embarrassment through the war in Spain, the former audacity of the pope reappeared, and the intrigues were renewed with increased vigor between the cabinets of Britain, Austria, and Rome. Through those plots, war was kindled in Germany.

Napoleon rushed with all rapidity to chastise his enemies, obtained the victories of Abensburg, Landshute, and Eckmuhl, and made his triumphant entry into Vienna, May 13, 1809. On the 17th, he issued his famous decree, which declared the papal dominions united to the French empire.

As soon as that measure was known at Rome, the pope was in an unprecedented fury. He vociferated the most horrible imprecations against the emperor, France, the Italians, the English, all Christian nations, friends or enemies, who had aided him in his wars, or who had not conquered him in battle. When he had exhausted his rage by his powerless menaces, he determined again to awaken the popular fanaticism, and fulminated his bull of excommunication against Napoleon. His attempt was delusive. The Italians remained unconcerned. His development only served to show to Europe into what contempt had fallen the thunders of the Vatican, which were so terrific in the hands of Gregory VII, that is, Hildebrand, or *Hellbrand*! Besides the disgrace which the pope experienced from that course, he had the mortification to be seized in his palace, and was conducted as an exile to the city of Savona.

Speedily after, he learned that Napoleon, the conqueror of the Austrians at Wagram, had signed a treaty with Francis I, at Schœnbrunn, and had imposed, as the first condition of peace, his marriage with the archduchess Maria Louisa, the eldest daughter of the emperor. That intelligence deprived Pius of his last hope. Nevertheless, he would not submit. Armed with the concordat of 1801, which granted to him the right of conferring the prelature in France, he continued his warfare against Napoleon. The emperor then comprehended the enormous error which he had committed in so solemnly admitting the intervention of the pope as necessary to the nomination of prelates. But it was too late. The conqueror of monarchs was constrained partly to obey a superannuated fanatic, and to leave many prelacies vacant, because the man of sin refused to sanction his appointments.

Serious divisions among the high ecclesiastical dignitaries, and especially among the cardinals, were the result. Thus, when the marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa was celebrated, thirty prelates, twenty-six of whom were at Paris, were not present at the ceremony, under the pretext that the pontif had not authorized the divorce of the emperor from Josephine, but in reality to obtain the favor of Pius VII, the sole dispenser, as they pretended, of *grace* and *benefices*, as well as the arbiter of salvation.

To terminate that ridiculous dispute, Napoleon resolved to communicate to the pontif this declaration by one of his prefects, as follows—"By order of his imperial and royal majesty, Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederation of the Rhine, &c. &c. &c., we are directed to make known to Pope Pius VII, that he is utterly prohibited from holding any communication whatever with any ecclesiastics in France, or any other subject of the emperor, under the penalty of disobedience both on his part and theirs; advising him also that he is no longer the organ of the papacy, and that his majesty is now engaged in the proper arrangements for his deposition."

In fact, Napoleon seriously designed to assemble a national council to try the pope, to abolish the concordat of 1801, and dogmatically to establish the authority of metropolitans respecting the institution of prelates. The pope, reduced to moderation by the imminent peril, then offered to make concessions, consented to enter into negotiations with the French envoys, and sent a formally written note, in which he offered canonically to institute the prelates nominated by Napoleon; to extend the French concordat to Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; to insert in a special act a clause which should render legitimate the installation of prelates by a metropolitan, or by the senior provincial prelate.

These concessions being not satisfactory to the emperor, the prelates were enjoined to meet in council, June 17, 1811. Many preparatory meetings were held before the solemn session. Napoleon was strangely astonished at the violent opposition which was manifested concerning his edicts. He knew not that it is the habitual course of the Roman priesthood, and in its spirit of domination, to turn against its protectors the very power which the secular authority has been so imprudent as to bestow on it. Perceiving, therefore, that the majority of the prelates were imbued with ultramontane maxims, after the first session he disbanded the council, arrested the prelates of Tours, Ghent, and Tournay, who were the openly avowed agents of Pius VII. That procedure rendered the new meeting of the prelates more docile. They met in the palace of the archbishop of Paris, August 5, 1811. There the prelates decided the question relative to pre-

latical institution according to the desire of the emperor. It was supposed that the pope would resist the principles of the Gallican prelates. He did nothing. Pius declared that the opinion of the prelates was in conformity with his own. He joined to his brief, instructions concerning the manner in which the prelates should act in conferring institution on a metropolitan; and highly eulogized the prelates for the wisdom which they had displayed in that delicate affair.—Moreover, he addressed a special letter to Napoleon, called him his dear son, emperor and king, lavished on him the most laudatory and the most obsequious epithets, and closed by supplicating him not to oppose their reconciliation. Nevertheless, he avoided all reference to the causes of his disgrace, and particularly concerning the extension which Napoleon wished to give to the concordat in its application to the provinces of the French empire, to Rome itself, to the states annexed to the kingdom of Italy, to Holland, to Hamburg, and the Rhenish provinces.

The fox-like pontif had calculated that the step which he had taken would not compromise his position, and would coerce his enemy to liberate him. His expectation was deceitful. The emperor answered not his letters, but sent away the prelates to their respective dioceses, without even dissolving the council.

Napoleon then had far more grave subjects of apprehension than the submission of a pope. He was employed with immense preparations for war, in his gigantic project for the invasion of Russia. But before he commenced that brilliant but disastrous campaign, he sent an order to the court of Turin, to transfer the pope to France. Pius VII made not any objection, and journeying with an escort, he arrived at Fontainebleau, June 20, 1812, which place had been designated as his residence. The cardinals who resided at Paris, called the *red* cardinals, were permitted to visit him; but the *black* cardinals, so named because they had been deprived of their purple by the emperor, for having refused to assist at his marriage with Maria Louisa, were excluded from all intercourse with Pius VII.

After the woful retreat from Moscow, Napoleon returned to France, and immediately resumed his negotiations with the pope. He went to Fontainebleau and arranged a new concordat, which Pius accepted. The principal articles were these—"That Pius VII should exercise the spiritual functions in France and Italy, as his predecessors; that the ambassadors and other envoys at Rome should be considered as members of the diplomatic body; that the pontifical domains not yet severed, should remain the property of the pope, and be administered by his agents; that for the alienated dominions he should receive an annual income of two mil-

lions of francs; that the emperor should have six months during which to nominate to the vacant prelacies; that the metropolitans should obtain the necessary information respecting the merit of the new prelate-elect; that the pope should institute him within six months following the notification; that in the contrary case, the right of investiture should belong to the metropolitan, or to the oldest provincial prelate; that the propaganda, the penitentiary, and the archives, should be established where the pope might sojourn; and that the pope should withdraw from Rome, and transfer his throne to France." The two contracting parties solemnly signed the treaty, January 25, 1813. Feasts celebrated the happy event, and Pius VII embraced Napoleon, although he was not absolved from the prior excommunication! However, that agreement was but of short duration. The cardinal ministers having been restored to liberty, and having obtained permission to visit the pope, new intrigues began. Pacca and Gonsalvi intimidated the pontif concerning the consequences of the concordat, which he had signed, and induced him to adopt the extreme resolution, *to protest against his own acts, and to revoke that which he had agreed to fulfil*; thus exhibiting to the world the scandalous contradiction, a pope falsifying his own infallibility!

The pontif then wrote to the emperor, March 24, two months after his signing of the concordat, to make known his final determination. "The spirit of darkness" affirmed Pius VII, "Satan, breathed into me all the articles of that concordat! The most bitter repentance, and the greatest remorse lacerate my soul, which now has neither peace nor rest. I retract, as Pascal II retracted the promises which he made to Henry V, emperor of Germany; and I protest that I will not accept any treaty until I am reestablished in all my rights, spiritual and temporal."

Napoleon, irritated at the egregious dishonesty of the pope, disregarded that declaration, and issued a decree to enforce the concordat. Doubtless, that measure would have led to great disorder in the popedom, and produced a schism, if political events had not turned away the general attention from ecclesiastical affairs.

For the fifth time, strange sovereigns, tempted and paid by the gold of Britain, formed a new coalition, and prepared to invade France. Hordes of Russians, Austrians, Englishmen, Prussians, Swedes, Hollanders, Danes, Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Portuguese, united to crush the nation, and formed several armies numbering more than eleven hundred thousand men. Napoleon, perceiving the necessity of not leaving in the heart of his empire a fire of discord, and unable to overcome the fierce obstinacy of the pope, authorized the return of Pius to Rome.

Scarcely had the pontif arrived in his dominions than stupendous changes occurred in France. Napoleon had fallen. The Bourbons had returned in the baggage wagons of the foreign armies, and Louis XVIII was enthroned in the Tuilleries! Pius VII hastened to write to the new king, to compliment him on his happy accession. After which, he exercised all his severity on the Roman patriots, who were partisans of the French. He condemned some to banishment, others to the galleys, and many to death. The fanatical priests equally kept festival after their manner on the return of the pope. They proclaimed a crusade against the republicans; distributed *consecrated poignards* for the assassination of heretics; and in their outrageous exultation they held up the Israelites for public vengeance, and even dared to demand of the pope, that he would authorize them to **EAT A ROASTED JEW!** The intervention of the foreign ambassadors became indispensable to hinder those cannibals from executing their hideous project. The Israelites saved their lives, but not their property; for the pope confiscated their wealth, loaded them with taxes, and drove them, as a flock of unclean animals, into a separate quarter of the city, called Ghetto.

Pius then performed the act which the myrmidons of despotism regarded as the most important, the restoration of the odious society of the Jesuits. To that effect, he published his bull; stating that the papists demanded with a unanimous voice, the reestablishment of the Jesuits. He acknowledged the abundant fruits which those minions of the papacy had produced in all countries. The dispersion of the stones of the sanctuary in these last times of calamity, the overthrow of the discipline of the monastic orders, and the glory of the papacy, demand that we should regard the wishes of all people in reorganizing these monkish militia. "We should be criminal," said Pius VII, "in the sight of God, of prodigious delinquency, if in the immense dangers of the popedom we neglected the aid which the special providence of Christ afforded us!"—**IMPIOUS BLASPHEMER!**—"and if placed in Peter's bark, tossed and assailed by continual tempests, we refused to employ the vigorous and experienced rowers, who offer themselves to intercept the waves of the sea, which threaten, at every instant, the papacy with shipwreck and destruction. Determined by motives so powerful, we have decreed, of certain knowledge, by virtue of the plenitude of our papal authority, and to be valid for ever, that all the concessions, privileges, faculties, and rights granted to the Jesuits in the Russian empire, and in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, should henceforth be extended to those of our ecclesiastical states, and to all those of other kingdoms."

That bull was immediately transmitted to France with the Candelmas wax-tapers, which the pope sent for the royal family; but in the interval, most singular events had occurred. Napoleon had left the isle of Elba, which had been assigned by the allies for his residence. He had landed in France, and regained his throne. The Bourbons shamefully fled from Paris, and proceeded to Ghent. The sovereign pontif felt extreme dismay when he heard of Napoleon's anticipated restoration; and not believing himself safe at Rome, he hastened away with his court and sought refuge in Genoa. There the pope received a letter from the emperor, which is a model of clemency and wisdom. Napoleon thus wrote:—

“Most Holy Father!—You have heard during the last month, of my return to the coast of France, of my entrance into Paris, and of the departure of the Bourbons. The true character of those events should now be known to you. They are the work of a resistless power, the work of a great nation's unanimous will, who know their rights and their duties. The dynasty which foreign bayonets had imposed, was not adapted to the people. The Bourbons could associate neither with their opinions, nor their wants, nor their manners; and the people ought to be separated from them.—Their voice demanded a liberator, and I hastened. As soon as I touched the shore, the affection of my people carried me to the capital. The first wish of my heart is to repay so much attachment by the maintenance of honorable tranquillity! The reëstablishment of the imperial throne was necessary to the welfare of Frenchmen—and my most precious thought is this, to render it at the same time useful for the strength of Europe. Ample glory has emblazoned in turn the standards of the various nations. The vicissitudes of destiny have exhibited great reverses following marvellous success. A more beautiful arena is now opened for sovereigns, and I am the first to enter it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of prodigious conflicts, it will be more agreeable henceforth to know not any other rivalry than that of the advantages of peace, and no other strife than the holy struggle for the felicity of the people. France is pleased with sincerity to proclaim this noble end of all her wishes. Jealous of her own independence, the invariable principle of her policy shall be the most absolute respect for the independence of all other nations. If such, as I have the happy confidence, are your paternal sentiments, peace is long insured; and justice, seated on the confines of the various states, alone will suffice to guard their frontiers.”

Such were the sublime sentiments which animated the soul of Napoleon, but in which

the allied kings were far from participating; and war, more terrible than ever before, was recommenced. Britain made the most desperate efforts, paid with her taxes and subsidies all the inimical armies, opened her treasures for every species of treason, and drove a million of men on the territory of France. With the battle of Waterloo, the struggle ended. Napoleon, defeated by the treachery of his generals, abdicated the crown, and surrendered himself to the British. Magnanimous imprudence! which cost him his liberty and his life. Wretches! in spite of the rights of nations, they dared to retain him a captive, to transport him to a rock in the midst of the ocean, in a deadly climate, to torture and murder him!

At the first news of the reverses which the emperor experienced, the pope returned in triumph to Rome; and as soon as he was placed in his palace, he named his ambassadors to compliment Louis XVIII on his renewed return to France. The cardinal legate, Hercules Gonsalvi, and the sculptor Canova, were charged with that mission.—They also presented at the same time to the allied sovereigns, briefs to obtain the entire restitution of the provinces of which the pope had been despoiled, as well as of the paintings, statues, and works of art, taken from the Roman museum; and, besides, they were directed to solicit the recall of the Jesuits to France. All those demands were granted to the sovereign pontif. The provinces were speedily invaded by swarms of the obtrusive and nefarious disciples of Ignatius Loyola. At Bourdeaux, at Saint Anne, at Forcalquier, and at Montmorin, colleges were opened under the direction of those monks, and a little while after, their number was increased, by the accession of all those who were expelled from Russia by Alexander, and who came in a dejected condition to Dole, to Laval, to Vitry, and particularly to Paris.

Pius VII, gratified with the submission of Louis XVIII, supposed that he could extend his encroachments still farther, and presented to him a concordat drawn after the terms of that which was made between Leo X and Francis I, so that France by it retrograded three centuries. The king signed it; but whether he was not desirous to place himself under the feet of an ecclesiastical father, who so long had treated him as a younger son, or whether he dreaded the refusal of their sanction by the legislative chamber, or whether all regard for the public welfare was not totally extinguished, he would not render the concordat obligatory on the priesthood.

The pope, more and more encouraged by the success of his movements to rush in advance, intrigued most actively at the congress of Vienna, took possession of the three provinces, the marches of Ancona, of Macerata, and Zermo, of the duchies of Camerino, Benevento, and Ponte Corvo, and also

of the provinces of Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara, known by the name of the three legations, and demanded still some cities in that last legation, which were situated beyond the Po, as well as the city of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin.

Even then the accursed influence of the Roman court was diffused among the different kingdoms of Europe. The senate of Savoy had revived the ancient atrocious laws, and reestablished the afflictive penalties and infamous tortures of the barbarous ages, against the genuine Christians who opposed the Roman blasphemies. Bavaria signed a concordat with the pope. The emperor had also arranged a similar compact in reference to the kingdom of Poland. The king of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand VII, was coerced to make compensation to Rome for the suppression of the shameful tribute of the "haqueny." The protestant princes of Germany themselves were even vigorously urged, solicited, and even threatened, respecting their permission for the Jesuits to be domiciliated in their territories. In fine, *the restoration of Popism was every where proclaimed!* Happily, all the princes, both protestant and Romish, belonging to the general Germanic confederation were agitated by the advancement of the Roman court. To avoid all collision, they counteracted among themselves the principle of unrestricted freedom of worship, and proposed to the pontif a concordat established on that basis. Pius VII refused to adhere to it, under the pretext that such a treaty would compromise his spiritual and temporal jurisdiction; but notwithstanding his censure, the measure was enacted. The pope then proceeded most haughtily in the course of reaction. He rallied the monarchs of the "holy alliance;" declared a death-dealing war against all liberal opinions, fulminated his excommunications against the French democrats, the illuminati of Germany, the British radicals, and the carbonari of Italy. He also persecuted to the extreme, all independent authors, and exhibited his baseness in tormenting the venerable and virtuous Llorente, author of the History of the Inquisition in Spain, who had taken refuge in Paris. By the instigation of Mocchi, the papal nuncio, the minister of police was directed to intimate to the octogenarian historiographer, already in great suffering, the order to quit France within a few days, although it was in the midst of winter. Llorente obeyed, began his journey, and died before he arrived at the frontiers.

In return, God smote the pontifical persecutor. On July 6, Pius fell down in his room and dislocated his thigh-bone. All scientific skill and aid were powerless to effect a cure; and, on April 20, 1823, he expired in the eighty-first year of his age;

having reigned twenty-three years and five months. His funeral was celebrated with the accustomed pomp, and according to usage, his coffin was placed in the sarcophagus, where the body of the dead pontif reposes, waiting for the destiny which shall be publicly awarded him at the second coming of the Son of God.

To one, who has become acquainted with true Christianity, as exhibited genuinely in the oracles of God, it is ineffably monstrous and overwhelming to contemplate the orgies and the impieties of the papacy! *The man of sin, the son of perdition, that wicked, and other such designations of Holy Writ, are plainly fit and proper; and to a mind well informed and unprejudiced, or uncommitted to the interest of the Beast, their applicability and their truth are plain and indubitable.* No wonder the popes oppose the distribution of the Scriptures among the people! It is in their impartial and eternal light, that the abomination of the whole system, both foundation and superstructure, appear in all their lurid horror—the invention and the masterpiece of hell!

To include, in these sketches of the popes, all their public acts, or all the bulls, and briefs, and letters encyclical which they emit in the course of each pontificate, curious and perhaps serviceable in some aspects, as they might on various occasions prove, would be beside our plan, and indeed improper in a work of continuation like the present. Still, there are some exceptions, in regard to which we may furnish a few extraordinary examples. Pius VII was annoyed by Napoleon and his subalterns; and sometimes neither his hypocrisy, nor his general experience in duplicity and management, prevailed to keep him from overdoing the matter, to his own grudging responsibility and detriment. Of this we have a rare specimen in the document following. It is levelled mainly and irreversibly at Napoleon—who is, however, not named, though plainly described, in it. An instance of a miserable wolf or hyena in a cage, showing his teeth, and sometimes affecting a lamb-like attractiveness; as careful of his words—from an apprehension that he may possibly have to eat them all hereafter! Still, it positively *totidem verbis* excommunicates Bonaparte and all his aids, allies, and sympathizers; yet, in such a cautious and circumlocutory and reconnoitering way as shows no principle, no piety, no anything, but the wretched hypocritical and cowardly politics of that prince of usurpers and his perfidious court! It is a specimen of popery with its temporal principality and earthliness—that awful apostate power, abhorred of heaven and soon to be executed and banished from the earth.

BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION,

BY PIUS VII.,

AGAINST NAPOLEON AND HIS FAVORERS,

PUBLISHED AND RATIFIED AT ROME, JUNE 10, 1809.

WHEN, on the memorable day of February 2, the French troops, after having invaded the most fertile provinces of the pontifical sovereignty, hostilely presented themselves, with great impetuosity before the city of Rome, we could not but persuade ourselves that such audacity could only be attributed to the political and military motives which the invaders commonly affected; that is to say, the necessity to defend themselves, and to expel the enemy from the territory of the holy Roman church, or to punish our firmness, and our refusal to condescend to some of the propositions made to us by the French government. We plainly saw that the project extended farther than a temporary military occupation, or a demonstration of anger towards us. We saw that they revived, that they reanimated, and that they rescued from darkness, projects of impiety, which appeared, if not crushed, at least torpid, the cunning projects—of those men, deceived and deceivers, introducing sects of perdition, by a vain and fallacious philosophy, machinating for a long time, in an open manner, the ruin of the most holy religion. We saw that in our humble person, they encircled, they attacked, they took by force, the seat of the benign prince of the apostles; that once overthrown, if it were possible, in any manner, or by any means, the Catholic church, built on this seat, as on an imperishable rock, by its divine founder, must crumble and fall into dust.

We thought, we hoped, that notwithstanding, that the government of the French, instructed by the experience of the evils into which this powerful nation had been sunk, for having dissolved the restraints on schism and impiety, and admonished by the unanimous desire of a great majority of its own citizens would have been convinced, truly and deeply, that it accorded with its safety and public tranquillity, to render sincerely free the exercise of the Catholic religion, and insure to it particular protection and regard. Animated by this sentiment and by this hope, we, who fill on the earth, although unworthily, the place of him who is the God of Peace, scarcely have we discovered a way to repair the disasters of the church in France. The world will bear us witness of the unfeigned joy with which we formed treaties of peace, and how much it has cost us, and

the church herself, to conduct them to the issue which they have been permitted to attain. But, oh! eternal God, how much have our hopes been deceived! What has been the fruit of so much indulgence and generosity? From the promulgation of a peace thus obtained, we have been forced to exclaim with the prophet, "Behold, in peace my misfortune is still more bitter!" This misfortune we have not concealed from the church; and we, in addressing our brethren, the cardinals of the holy Roman church, in the consistory of May 24, 1802, announced to them that since the promulgation of the deferred convention, several articles have been added, unknown to us, and which we had at the same time disapproved. Indeed, according to the terms of these articles, they destroyed, in fact, the exercise of the Catholic religion, in points the most grave and important, the liberty which, in the commencement of the stipulations of the concordat, had been specified, agreed, promised as the base and foundation; but still they published some other articles which attacked the doctrine of the gospel.

Such has been very nearly the issue of our agreement with the government of the Italian republic; the stipulations have been arbitrarily understood, by a glaring and ingenious fraud; although we used every caution to guard them from all perverse and arbitrary interpretation.

The clauses of these two conventions having been perverted and violated in this manner, above all those which had been formed in favor of the church, the spiritual was put under the lay power, and very far from obtaining the salutary effects which had been promised by these agreements, we had to mourn over the evils and disasters of the church, crippling and accumulating each day. We shall not make a detailed enumeration of these disasters, as they are well known and sufficiently deplored by the tears of all; and which we have sufficiently exposed in two consistorial allocutions, one on March 16, the other July 11, 1808; and because we have watched, as much as it has been possible, in our anguish, the effects of the knowledge of these evils on the public.

Thus all the world shall take cognizance, and posterity shall know, what have been our opinions and our decision on so many

and audacious temerities of the French government in matters concerning the church; all shall know what has been our long-suffering and patience; all shall know why we have been so long crushed; it is that we offer nothing but the love of peace, and conceiving a firm reliance that a remedy will arise for so much evil, we deferred from day to day to elevate our apostolic voice. All shall know what have been our watchings, our efforts, our labors, in acting, in imploring, in supplicating, in mourning, that we might heal the wounds of the church. All shall know how much we have been beseeching that no new ones might be inflicted. But we have availed ourself of humility—moderation—gentleness, by which we have endeavored to defend the interests and the rights of the church, towards him who has compacted with the impious to destroy them entirely; him, who had contracted a friendship for them, only to betray them the more easily, and who feigned to protect them, in order to oppress them more surely.

We strongly hoped, above all, when our journey into France was desired and solicited; he then eluded our demands with scheming tergiversations, with subterfuges and replies calculated to deceive or to lengthen negotiations; he had no longer any regard to our demands, in proportion as the time approached, in which he had determined to execute the projects meditated against the seat and church of Christ; he annoyed us, and attacked us with new difficulties, immoderate and captious, which plainly showed that he was determined to place us between two dangers, injurious and incompatible to this seat and to the church; that is to say, to constrain us by an assent shamefully to betray our ministry, or, if we refused the demands, to furnish a pretext to declare open war.

And, as in consequence of the repugnance of our conscience, we could not adhere to these demands, he thought it a sufficient reason to send hostile troops into this holy city. You behold troops thrown into the citadel Saint Angelo, others stationed in the streets and squares, and our own palace, the Quirinal, assaulted and menaced by a large force of infantry and cavalry, furnished with artillery. But we, however, sustained by that God through whom we can do all, reassured by the consciousness of duty, we were neither moved nor disturbed by so great a terror, nor by this military spectacle; with the calm and always equal spirit which became us, we have celebrated the ceremonies and divine mysteries which pertained to this holy day, the Purification, omitting nothing from fear, from forgetfulness, or negligence of that which was demanded from us by duty in this crisis.

We remember, with St. Ambrose, that the holy man Naboth, possessor of a vineyard, ordered by a royal command to relinquish

his vineyard, where the king, after having uprooted the vines, commanded pulse to be planted, replied, "God forbid that I should deliver up the heritage from my fathers." From which we have judged it was far less permitted to us to deliver at his will our ancient and holy heritage, that is to say, the temporal domain of this holy seat, possessed during so many ages by the Roman pontiffs our predecessors, not without the evident will of Divine Providence, or easily to consent to that, whoever he might be who should demand it at the capital of the Catholic world, there to trouble and to destroy the holy system left by Jesus Christ to his holy church, and established by the holy canons founded by the Spirit of God; to substitute in its place a code not only contrary to the holy canons, but, moreover, incompatible with the precepts of the gospel; and to introduce in short, according to custom, another order of things, manifestly tending to associate and confound sects and all manner of superstition with the Catholic church.

Naboth defended his vineyard even at the price of his blood, as saith Ambrose. Can we not then in any event which may arise, defend our rights, and the possessions of the holy Roman church, which we are bound by the solemn oaths of religion to preserve, as much as it is in our power? Can we not vindicate the liberty of the apostolic chair, so strictly united to the liberty and the interests of the universal church?

For events prove, even if we should lack other arguments, and show too well, how necessary and important is this temporal principality, to insure to the supreme head of the church, the free and certain exercise of the power, divinely given him, over all the earth. For which reason, though we may never reënjoy the honors, the riches, and the authority of this principality, the desire for which has been removed, yet because of our character, and in consequence of our respect for the holy institution into which we entered in early age, and which we have always cherished, we have believed notwithstanding that it was absolutely our duty, to date from this aforesaid day, February 2, 1808, though reduced to a situation so critical, to cause to be published by our cardinal secretary of state, a protest, to explain the cause of the tribulations which we suffer, and to declare with what will we heard that the rights of the apostolic chair remain entire and intact.

As the invaders gained nothing by menaces, they resolved to adopt another system; they tried to enfeeble, little by little, by a species of persecution, slow, though painful, and consequently more cruel, our constancy, which they could not vanquish by a greater terror.

Also, we keeping ourself within our palace, as in a prison, from the day after the Calends of February, hardly a day has passed

which has not been marked by some new injury to our heart, or the holy chair. All the soldiers whom we employed to preserve order and civil discipline, are relieved and incorporated in the French troops; our body guards, men elite and noble, shut up in the citadel of Rome, and there detained many days, since discharged and dispersed; forts established at the gates and most frequented places of the city; the postoffices, and printing offices, and particularly the *De Propaganda fide*, placed under the force of military caprice; at the same time depriving us of the liberty to write, or to cause to be printed, the expressions of our will; the administration and tribunals annoyed and impeded; our subjects solicited by fraud, by stratagem, and by other perverse means to corrupt the civil troops to rebel against their legitimate sovereign; amongst our subjects, the most audacious and corrupt receiving the tricolor ensign of France and Italy, and protected by this emblem as by a shield, at times enrolling themselves into troops, at others acting singly, with orders or permission to execute the most iniquitous excesses against the ministers of the church, against the government, against all upright men; ephemeral, or as they say, periodical sheets published by the Roman press, notwithstanding our prohibition, and circulating amongst the people, or forwarded to strangers, filled with injuries, with reproaches against the pontifical power and dignity itself; some of our proclamations which were important, signed by our own hand, or by our ministers, and affixed by our command in the usual places, torn down by vile satellites in the midst of the remonstrances and indignation of the good, rent and trampled under foot; imprudent young people and other citizens invited to secret organizations, prohibited severely according to the civil and ecclesiastical law under the penalty of anathematization, drawn up by our predecessors, Clement XII and Benedict XIV, and then compiled and written; a great number of our ministers and officers of the city, as well as provincial, magistrates of integrity and faithful, vexed, thrown into prison, and banished; searches after papers and manuscripts of all sorts violently made in the private offices of the pontifical magistrates, without even excepting the cabinet of our prime minister; three of our principal secretaries of state, whom we had successively to replace, driven from our own palace; the greater part of the cardinals of the holy Roman church, that is to say of our *collaterals* and convokers, torn from our presence and from our side, by military force, and taken to a distance; these showing with so many others, the outrages so wickedly and audaciously committed by the invaders, against all rights human and divine. These are so well known, that there is no occasion to refer to or explain them further. We have not omitted to exclaim against these

attacks with force and courage, as demanded by our ministry, for fear of authorizing the suspicion of connivance, or of any assent whatever. Thus, almost despoiled of the attributes of our dignity and the point of our authority, destitute of all resources to re-instate our ministry, and to promulgate our solicitude among the churches, enfeebled by all manner of injuries, vexations, and alarms; oppressed, disrobed; each day deprived more and more of the exercise of our authority, we owe it solely to the singular and tried providence of our all-powerful Lord, that we have retained even the semblance of our authority, to our fortitude, and to the prudence of our ministers who remain, to the love of our subjects, and in short to the piety of the faithful.

But, if the shadow of authority was retained to us in the illustrious city of Rome, and in the provinces adjoining, all power was still wrested from us in the flourishing provinces of Urban, of the March, and of Camerino. To issue a solemn protestation against the manifest and sacrilegious usurpation of so many states of the church, and to premonish at once our dear subjects in the provinces, against the seductions of a government, unjust and illegitimate, we have not neglected to instruct our venerable brothers, the bishops of these provinces.

And this government, how little has it changed, as it hastened to prove by actions, that which, according to our instructions, we announced as pertaining to religion. The occupation and pillage of the patrimony of Jesus Christ; the abolition of religious houses; the banishment from the cloister of the holy virgins; the profanation of the altars; little by little the restraints thrown open to license; contempt of ecclesiastical discipline and the holy canons; the promulgation of the code and other laws, contrary not only to the holy canons themselves, but also to evangelical precepts and divine right; the debasement and persecution of the clergy; the subjection of the sacred authority of the bishop to the lay power; the violent attack, by every means, on their consciences; the expulsion from their thrones, their deputation, and other audacious and sacrilegious attacks against the liberty, the immunity and the doctrine of the church, put into execution in our provinces the same as in countries placed under the authority of that government; such are the startling alterations, the proofs, the monuments of the wonderful love for the Catholic religion, which he ceases not to this day to vaunt and profess.

As for us, loaded with these misfortunes by those from whom we did not expect them, and enfeebled by all sorts of afflictions, we are troubled less by our present state, than by that of the future of our persecutors; for if God's anger is lightly put on us, to chastise and to correct us, he will again be reconciled to his servants. 2 Macc. 7: 33. But he who

contrives malice against the church, how shall he escape the hand of the Lord?—2 Macc. 7: 31. God is no excepter of persons; he feareth not the power of the great, whoever they may be; for he has made both great and small. Wisdom 6: 7, 8, 9. The strongest are threatened with greater torments. Would to God that we could, at whatever price, even at the price of our life, to avert the eternal perdition, assure the safety of our persecutors, whom we have always loved, and whom we cease not to love with all our heart. Would to God that it was never permitted us to depart from this charity, from this spirit of solicitude (1 Cor. 4: 21.) implanted in us by nature, and which of our will we have practised, and to leave in peace this rod which has been committed to us in the person of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, with the care of the universal flock of the Lord, for the correction and the punishment of misled and obstinate sheep in their wanderings, and as an example and salutary terror to the others.

But the season of mildness is passed; he only who is willingly blind can mistake to what these crimes lead, what is their aim, and in what they will end, if we employ not in time the means to arrest these excesses; and, moreover, all the world sees that there is no longer any hope that the authors of these evils can be touched by the admonitions, the counsels, the prayers, and the representations of the church. Above all, they have precluded every means of access: they are deaf, they reply not, excepting in heaping injury on injury. This cannot be changed until they obey the church as a mother, nor until they listen to the mistress as disciples; they are those who undertake nothing, accomplish nothing, pursue nothing, but to subject the church as a servant to a master, and to crush it to dust from the foundation, after its subjection.

If we would avoid the risk of incurring the reproach of negligence, of carelessness, the stain of having shamefully abandoned the cause of God, what remains to us, if not to disdain all terrestrial reason, to reject all human counsels, and to execute this evangelical precept. That he who will not listen to the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican. Mat. 18: 17. Let them learn that they are subject to the law of Jesus Christ, and to our authority and our throne; for we also obey a command, and a power more elevated; unless it is right that the spirit should give place to the flesh, that celestial things should give place to terrestrial things.—S. Greg. Naz. Paris, 1778, 323. Formerly, many pontiffs, commendable for their doctrine and sanctity, were obliged to resort to this extreme against obdurate kings and princes, as the cause of the church required this exigency, for some one or other of the crimes anathematized by the holy canons; shall we be afraid to follow the exam-

ple of so many pontiffs, after so many crimes, so wicked, so atrocious, so sacrilegious, so well known, so manifest to all. Is there not more to fear that we shall be accused justly and with good right, with having protested too late, rather than with temerity and precipitation; above all, when we are warned by this last offence, the most serious of all by which our temporal principality has not ceased to be attacked, that we shall no longer be assured and free to accomplish the necessary and important duties of our apostolic ministry?

From these causes, by the authority of the all-powerful God, of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, we declare all those who, after the invasions of this illustrious city, and of the ecclesiastical possessions, after the sacrilegious violation of the patrimony of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, undertaken and consummated by the French troops, committed in Rome and in the possessions of the church, against the ecclesiastical immunities, against the temporal rights of the church and the holy see, the excesses, or any one of the excesses, which we have denounced in the two consistorial allocutions aforesaid, and in several protests and proclamations published by our order, we declare all those herein designated, and all others their commanders, favorers, counsellors, and adherents, and all who ordered the execution of the said crimes, or those themselves who executed them, have incurred the full excommunication and other ecclesiastical pains and censures, inflicted by the holy canons, by the apostolic rules, and particularly by the decree of the general councils, and above all by the Council of Trent, (Sess. 22. Cap. iv. de Ref.) and if needful, we furthermore excommunicate and anathematize them. We declare that they have incurred the pains and loss of all the privileges, favors, and indulgences granted in any manner whatever, either by the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, or by ourself. We declare that no one can absolve or release them from these censures but ourself, or the sovereign pontiff then existing—excepting by death, as they would again fall under these censures on convalescence—and they are disabled and incapacitated in their demands for absolution, until they have retracted, revoked, broken, and publicly abolished, in whatever manner it may be, these outrages, until they have fully and effectively reestablished all things in their ancient state, and furthermore until they have given to the church, to us, and to this holy see, the most ample satisfaction which is due on the points hereinbefore announced.

Accordingly, we ordain and declare, by the tenor of the said presents, that not only those who are worthy of special mention, but also their successors in office, cannot, in virtue of these presents, nor under any pretext whatever, think themselves free or re-

lieved from the retraction, revocation, and annulling, and the absolution they should undergo on account of the misdeeds above cited, nor from the satisfaction due to the church, to us, and to the holy see, satisfaction which ought to be real and effective; willing, that all these obligations retain their full force; and that otherwise they cannot obtain the benefit of absolution.

Finally, while we are constrained to draw the sword from the scabbard, in consequence of the persecution of the church, we do not forget that we hold on the earth, notwithstanding our indignity, the place of him who, whilst dispensing justice, remembers mercy. For this reason, we ordain, and hearing us, we address our subjects, and, further, all Christian people, in virtue of strict obedience, that no one presume to damage, injure, prejudice, or molest in any manner those whom this concerns, or their goods, rights, or prerogatives, on occasion, or under pretext of these letters present. For inflicting on those whom we condemn, the species of pain which God has placed in our power, and in avenging so many and so great injuries, against God and his holy church, we particularly desire to see those whom we actually torment, become converted, to be troubled with us, (S. Aug. 54. v. 1.) if happily God should grant them penitence, that they may know the truth. 2 Tim. 2: 25.

Thus, raising our hands towards heaven, in the humility of our heart, while reposing and committing anew to God the just cause which we defend, and which is much more his than ours—and we avow we are ready by his grace to drink to the dregs, for the church, the cup which he deigned to drink for her—we supplicate, we conjure by the bowels of his mercy, not to reject, not to despise the supplications and the prayers which we address to him, night and day, for their repentance and their safety. Certain it is that a more consoling and fortunate day will not dawn on us, than that on which we shall see the divine mercy forgive us and our sons, to whom we send this day so many tribulations and causes of grief, that they may find a refuge in our paternal care, and hasten to enter into the fold of the Lord.

We will, that the present letters, and all which they contain, shall not be attacked under pretext that the aforesaid and others whosoever, having and pretending in whatever manner to have interest in them, whatever estate, grade, order, preëminence, or dignity, appertains to them, any individual mention they contain, of any expression they are deemed worthy, will not be warranted, will not be mentioned and heard as the effect of these presents, and that their arguments will not have been sufficiently heard, ratified and justified; we will, that these letters cannot equally and without any cause, color or motive, be regarded as stained by the vice of subreption, or obreption, or from nullity

or from default of intention on our part or those interested. The contents of the letters cannot be under any pretext attacked, rejected, or retracted; put under discussion, or restraint as of right; it shall not be lawful to allege against them verbal protestation, the right of perfect restitution in its original state, nor any other remedy of right, of act, or of favor; this remedy can alone be exercised, after having been solicited, accorded, and emanated from our proper volition, knowledge, and full power; it is understood that they cannot make use of them in any manner, nor aid any one whoever he may be, in judgment or out of judgment. We declare that the present letters should exist firm, valid, and efficacious, and that they may have their full and entire effect, and that they be inviolably observed by all whom they concern, and whom they may concern hereafter, according to, and not otherwise, than as stated in these presents, they should be judged and defined by the ordinary judges, and by the delegated auditors of the apostolic palace, by the cardinals of the holy Roman church, by the legates *à latere* and the nuncios of the holy see, and all others enjoying, or who ought to enjoy any preëminence or authority whatever, intending that they or any of them shall not judge or interpret them differently, declaring null and void all which can be construed contrary to them, whether ignorantly or otherwise.

In consequence of the above, and whatever it may require, notwithstanding the rules of our apostolic office, on the conservation of acquired rights and the other apostolic constitutions and decrees, granted to any person whatsoever, and all the other statutes and customs corroborated by oath and the apostolic authority, or all other confirmation, notwithstanding the custom, usage immemorial, style, privileges, grants, or letters accorded to any person whatever, of any ecclesiastical or secular dignity with which they may be clothed, whatever their qualification, even though they should pretend and express special designation, in any form or manner whatever, notwithstanding they should foresee derogatory clauses, and other clauses more efficacious, very efficacious, unusual and irritating, and other decrees whether devolved contrary to the movement, knowledge, plenitude of power, and consistorial, or other manner, from concession of facts, written and often reiterated, approved, confirmed, and renewed. We declare that by these presents we do derogate these constitutions in an express and special manner, and we will that they be degraded, notwithstanding their acts, or any of them, have not been expressly inserted in these present, however worthy we might suppose them of a special express or individual mention; in such case, willing that these presents have the same force as if the tenor of the constitutions, or those to be ob-

served, were mentioned herein, and word for word explained; and, finally, that they obtain their full and entire effect, any thing elsewhere to the contrary notwithstanding.

As these present letters, being of notorious import, cannot be published in security throughout, and particularly in places where it is important they should be, we will that these presents, or copies of them, may be affixed, according to custom, to the doors of the church of the Lateran, and of the Basilisk of the prince of the apostles, to those of the holy office of the *Curia* general of Montecitorio, and at the entrance of the Campo de Fiori of Rome, and that thus published

and affixed, all shall be holden, and each one whom it may concern, the same as if it had been personally and by name intimated to each one.

We also will that all who are with us in all places, and in every nation, shall believe in every extract, or copy, or imprint of these presents, furnished under the signature of any person holding ecclesiastical dignity, the same as to the present, if they were shown and exhibited.

Done at Rome, by St. Mary Major, under the Ring of the Fisherman, the tenth day of June, 1809, and of our pontificate the tenth. Signed, Pius P. VII.

LEO XII, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH BISHOP OF ROME.

GEORGE IV, *King of England*.—CHARLES X, *King of France*.—JAMES MONROE, and JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, *Presidents of the United States*.

[Year of Christ, 1823.] The election of a pope is politically, perhaps morally, an affair of some importance. The factions in the conclave are, mainly, two, at all times—those conservative and considerate of things, and those zealously affectionate in the main for what they misdeem religion. The latter regard the papacy and its omnipotence, or its established pomposity and dominion, to be the supreme good, as connected with the religious orders, the conventual interests, the sacraments, the rites, the ceremonies; and the whole system and sympathy of the church. The former are more politic, forecasting, and philosophical; regarding the state of Europe, the relations of the governing powers to each other and to Rome, the history and the precedents of the past, the hopes of the future, and the unavoidable dependence of the whole pontificate and hierarchy—now increasingly in their servility—on the favor of the sovereigns. Hence, they care to propitiate them, knowing how much they are dependant on Cæsar, and obligated to him, the sword protecting the altar, and the tiara consecrating the throne. For this cause, as well as others, possibly, they have taken generally the position of Ganganelli against the Jesuits, as knowing how obnoxious the whole order has become to the European monarchs and their cabinets, as well as dangerous to all good government and society. Hence, in every conclave for the election of a new pontif, and, indeed, before it is constituted, there is an intense exertion of influence, a spirit of stimulated electioneering, counterplots, and cross-counsels of emulation, and the offer of liberal remuneration, often, for votes, indirectly or directly made, by the agents or representatives of different nations,

to the holy fathers of the princely mantle. They elect either by “scrutiny,” or by “accession,” or by “acclamation,” or, sometimes, by a composition and confusion of all these ways. By the first is meant, merely their regular and peculiar routine of voting, with its fairly ascertained result. By the second, that recusants of the minority, on some occasions, change afterward their mind, and accede to the will of the majority, voting with them, and so electing their candidate. And by the third is meant, that sometimes, they go through all the previous forms with no adequate result; till, at last, they make a loud demonstration in honor of the pontif elect, assume who he is, generally their own candidate, as it were incidentally, but often with premeditated concert, they cry his name, declare for him, and make such currents of acclamation in his behalf, that the contagion spreads, prevails, and all join in it, from hope, or fear, or some other motive, and the man is elected by magic, metamorphosed and transubstantiated—he is pope, and the wonder is finished and superhuman and published to the world! Of later times, it is thought to be a growing usage, that the sovereigns and their wishes are more and more consulted, and properly potential with the politic conclave, in the selection and elevation of the successful candidate.

In the present sketch of Leo XII, we purpose to be somewhat minute and descriptive, in reference to his personal history, his election, with the mode and the ceremonies of his investiture. Truly, this whole business of the pope is nothing but the resurrection and reconstruction of the old pagan PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, with some large additions and modifications of worldly and sen-

suous splendor. It is the costume and the mythic gorgeousness of genuine old heathenism, absurdly baptized and lifted, like a pageant of glorious worldliness, high in the air, to the gaze and the adoration of the multitude; thus obscuring and eclipsing the light of heaven, and, at the same time, besotting and infatuating all the earth. It is a captivating and brilliant spectacle of the mock sublime, the very master-piece of organized ethnic idolatry. Who would not incline too easily, too naturally, too criminally, to behold it, as a curiosity and a wonder and a *mystery* of abominations, if he could? And is it a wonder then—because it is a grief and a sin—that *all the world wondered after the beast?* or that *they worshipped the dragon*—the impersonation of the system of heathen idolatry and polytheism with its cruel absurdities—which gave power to the *beast*—the symbol of pagan political power, armed with the sword of magistracy, persecuting, unscrupulous, and iniquitous—or, that *they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like to the beast? who is able to make war with him?*—See Revelation 13: 3—10. Let protestants learn, in spite of Oxford and its sympathizers in the Anglican, or the Anglo-American, or the Greek, or the Armenian, or any other apostate church, oriental or occidental, let them learn wisely to compare all these usages, organizations, authorities, and spirits, with the eternal standard of the Word of God, *which liveth and abideth for ever*—with its unearthly glory, its simplicity, and sublimity divine—since they can escape the infection, the “intoxication,” (Rev. 17: 2. 1—6,) of Rome, in no other way known to philosophers or Christians! Our country can be enlightened, and our countrymen saved—in no other way! In this there is hope.

Take from the pope, their official subalternary god, only the things that are factitious and circumstantial, the flattering nicknames and pomps that disguise and that surround him, and you see a poor mortal man, a “cadaver,” as Leo XII said, a sinner, an impostor, a fool! Alas! for poor humanity. We pity the miserable, the deluded fellow-creature; having—God is witness—no ill will towards him; but rather the deepest commiseration and dismay, when we think of his prospects and his doom, as portrayed, with no uncertainty, in the Scriptures of truth, in the everlasting oracles of God!

Every pope is a victim, as well as a deceiver. The system to which he belongs has made him, not he it. But he is accountable to God and man for the self-sacrificing facility and recklessness with which he has abandoned himself to its influence. God has never required such service at his hand. Nay, he has required the very reverse. The evidence of the will of God is written, is abundant, and is serenely neglected and despised. Hence God waits, in this probation-

ary world, while all these monstrosities are enacted, knowing that the day of account will soon arrive with its retributions.

Annibal Francis Melchoir Jerome Nicholas della Genga, next became pope, with the title of Leo XII. He was sprung from a noble family, indebted, in a measure, for its elevation, to Leo XI, Octavius Alexander de Medici, who died in 1605, after being but twenty-five days in the pontificate.

A reverence for his memory, on account of the obligations of his house to his influence, it is supposed, was the origin of his title. Leo, that is, lion, is a designation more fit for a pirate or a ravager of the earth, than a shepherd of the sheep of Christ. Yet from the middle of the fifth century, to the first quarter of the nineteenth, we have the apostolic number, twelve, of these Roman beasts; though lions, not tigers, bears, wolves, or hyenas, seem to be in vogue with them.

Leo was born at the chateau de la Genga, situated in the territory of Spoleto, August 22, 1760. His father, Hilary, Count de la Genga, and Maria Louisa Periberti de Fabbriano, his mother, had ten children: Marius, Antoine, Asdrubal, Philip, Atalante, Annibal, Catharine, Stephen, Matilda, and Flavivius. Arrived to the age of thirteen years, Annibal was placed in the college of Campana d'Osimo, governed by Stephen Bellini, whom Pius VII named archbishop of Fossombrone, and afterward of Loretto. There Annibal received, during the space of five years, an education worthy of his birth. At the age of eighteen years, he removed from the college d'Osimo to the college Piceno of Rome, and shortly afterwards to the ecclesiastical academy. The cardinal Marie Antoine Colonne, vicar, ordained him sub-deacon, December 21, 1782. Subsequently the same cardinal elevated him to the degree of deacon, April 19; following which, he was ordained priest by the cardinal Gerdil, dispensing with age, June 14, 1783.

Pius VI, visiting the ecclesiastical academy, remarked the noble bearing of young della Genga. This pontif loved the noble and deserving manners, the assured tone, the prompt replies, and the opinions which the youth so frankly expressed. He interrogated Annibal, and designated him, on the spot, as chamberlain. Favors did not cease with this first one. Annibal, already learned, and possessing a good knowledge of the Latin language, was charged, in 1790, to pronounce in the Sixtine chapel, in presence of the pope and the sacred college, the funeral oration of the emperor Joseph II.—This was a difficult task; the utmost caution was required in speaking of this prince; of the visit of Pius VI to Vienna; of the stern reception given to his holiness by the minister of the emperor; of the promises brought back, and still remaining unexecuted. The orator showed that he understood the discussion of these important affairs, the suppres-

sion of the Belgian convents, without wounding the Austrian cabinet, and without betraying the truth. It was mournful at that time to see princes themselves preceding, in the career of reforms and secularization, those unquiet spirits, born far from the throne, and in hatred of the throne, who ought to have banished from them those who had first provoked these inopportune subversions, and certainly without any immediate necessity. They could have left the useful virtues in peace, works of good example, and sought elsewhere for money.

Active and laborious, Joseph could certainly have promoted the welfare of his people; but he was deceived in the means which he undertook to attain this end. But kings, who have so much to lose by the derangement of public order, ought never to cease to be kings. Above all, it becomes them to show themselves rulers; if not, as it has been remarked, soon diverging into the broad road of innovations, they receive themselves some violent blows; because, in the end, they have left some institutions standing; and to retain, or spare, any thing, after commencing to revolutionize, is not to be sufficiently revolutionary. In revolutionary times, under pretext of ameliorating and reconstituting society, they always led to destroy. "Joseph II enslaved the church," says M. de Sevelinges; "he diminished the respect due to the laws by their multiplicity and extravagance; he alienated the hearts of his subjects, whom he thwarted in their affections, and disdained their complaints; in short, he planted the seeds of trouble and irreligion in his kingdom; which, happily, did not develop themselves, nor will they ever." Whatever he may have been, his last moments will do eternal honor—so to speak—to his memory; and the orator could laud a monarch, who, in the face of death, was willing to be dressed in his grand uniform and in his orders, for the purpose of taking a solemn farewell of his generals and the army, by all of whom he was particularly cherished. He was a noble, independent sovereign—as the pope regretted always to remember.

His words, collected with avidity, were in every mouth; they evidenced a great power of thought and profound sensibility. "I do not regret the throne," he said, "one single recollection weighs on my heart: it is, that after all the trouble I have taken, I have made but few happy, and many ungrateful." Frenchmen must not forget, that he, in this last moment, was concerned for his sister, the queen of France, who was at that time calumniated, and who was destined to be so much more unfortunate. "I am not ignorant that the enemies of my sister have dared to accuse her of having passed to me considerable sums of money. Ready to appear before God, I declare that this accusation is a horrible calumny." Why was this not

sufficiently published at the time; this important dying testimony of the emperor Joseph? for this calumny, and that which the august princess so energetically recalled before all the mothers present, with a direct appeal to them, on the day of her condemnation, which figured so shamefully and unwarrantably three years afterward, in the trial of Maria Antoinette, where the emperor Joseph was called the *man qualified king of Bohemia and of Hungary*.

Young della Genga received well deserved felicitations; and in contemplating the deportment of the orator, the fire of his countenance, in listening to his firm and sonorous voice, we can, in advance, recognise that one day he would be a faithful friend of kings, and a quick and ardent appreciator of the duties, in the midst of which, it is imposed on princes to preserve a thoughtful and reserved conduct.

Annibal found himself, in 1792, one of the most distinguished prelates of the court of Pius VI, at once private secretary of the pope and canon of Saint Peter's. He sometimes amused the pontiff by his witty sayings. One day the young secretary appeared with a *mantellone* very long, which descended to his shoes. The pope said to him, "Your *mantellone* is too long." "It is nothing," replied the secretary, "your holiness can shorten it as much as you please." This was an allusion to the *mantelletta* of the prelates of a superior order, which was a much shorter vestment—or to the princely mantle of the cardinals! This also occurred. In 1793, the pope nominated della Genga prelate, and afterwards archbishop of Tyre; he was consecrated in the church of Frascati, by the cardinal duke d'York, and sent in capacity of nuncio to Lucerne. The year following, he was transferred in the same capacity to Cologne, where he succeeded Monsieur Pacca, at present dean of the sacred college.

In 1805, accredited by Pius VII as nuncio extraordinary near the diet of Ratisbon, he was intrusted to go and receive the complaints of the German church, which the continual new pretensions and claims of the protestant princes troubled in her prerogatives.

The nuncio of his holiness, already accustomed to public affairs, transmitted a report to his government of the obstacles which he encountered, which ably depicted the position of the pontifical agent. The embarrassments of the German church were attributed, at Paris, to the bad intentions of the pope; but these embarrassments proceeded from another cause; the changes ordered by the recess of Ratisbon, became the sole cause. Extraordinary subversions presented immense difficulties. War aggravated them.

In 1805, Monsieur della Genga arrived at Rome to confer with the cardinal Consalvi, respecting these interminable German con-

troversies. Napoleon profited by this occasion to induce the pope to send another nuncio; and to this effect he designated Monsieur Bernier, bishop of Orleans. It is unnecessary here to pause to remark how much the pope was astonished at this intermeddling. Bernier had rendered services at the concordat of 1801; at that time he assuredly upheld, by his experience and advice, the intentions of the first consul, and the wishes of the pope; but Rome had found this ecclesiastic cold and almost hostile, at the time of the discussion of the organic articles. A pontifical nuncio is not thus taken by surprise. It requires a man of reserve, profoundly religious, devout, without any particular national spirit, and educated in Roman casuistry and usages; the ancient curate of Saint Laud d'Angers, could be nothing in Germany but a French envoy, who might, perhaps, enjoy every confidence of the cabinet of Paris, but who could never obtain that of the office of secretary under Consalvi. The cardinal knew the danger, and to allay it, he thought it necessary that Pius VII himself should write to the emperor Napoleon. We shall recall the words of Pius VII; they are an honorable testimony to the reputation already acquired by the prelate della Genga. Happy man, some would say, who could furnish to future ages such declarations, written by his own proper sovereign, to say nothing about his spiritual supremacy, infallibility, and all that sort of thing!

“Dear Son in Jesus Christ:—Receive, by the present occasion, the news of our return”—as the pope had just returned from the ceremony of the consecration, which had been held in Paris in 1804. “We shall also write you in relation to another matter. We found on our return, a despatch from our cardinal Caprara, which arrived at Rome a few hours in advance of us. The cardinal informs us that the elector, arch-chancellor, has manifested a desire that we should send, in character, as our nuncio to the diet of Ratisbon, the bishop of Orleans, which would contribute, he says, to the settlement of the ticklish ecclesiastical affairs of Germany. The cardinal assures us that your majesty being informed of the disposition of the arch-chancellor, approves of it, and agrees to its execution. On ascertaining which, we were surprised, as will be your majesty when made acquainted with that, which, in our usual confidence, we shall proceed to explain. The elector arch-chancellor was the first to declare to us, some months since, that no one was more suitable for such a mission than Monsieur della Genga, our subject, who had so often been nuncio in these countries, to general satisfaction. We consented to take part with the elector, to send this prelate to the diet. The elector expressed the greatest pleasure, and placed himself in correspondence with him.

We could not suppose that the elector had changed his opinion, as this morning even, Monsieur della Genga received an autograph letter from this same arch-chancellor. We send you a copy, and your majesty will see with what persistence he continued to consider this prelate as the nuncio who ought to reside at Ratisbon, and as the person most likely to succeed, in preference to all others, in the end proposed.

“How could the same arch-chancellor suppose that he had reason for another nomination, inasmuch as we had announced, some months since, this nomination to Monsieur della Genga, and of which we had given information to the emperor Francis II, and to various other princes of Germany, who manifested satisfaction with it? How could we at present, without sacrificing the reputation of a person who does not merit such an insult, how could we, *without ourself presenting a figure little desirable* before all these princes, change our opinion and look towards another prelate?

“To which, we shall add, that Monsieur della Genga, during the long sojourn which he has made in Germany, has acquired a great experience in public affairs, of localities and of persons.

“Since his return to Rome, he has occupied himself with the care of examining these questions in their most minute details, and in their relations, and in seeking light and information from skillful persons who have presented themselves at Rome. We, ourself, we have often spoken to him concerning them, and we have communicated our sentiments to him. Finally, we have him near us. We are ourself interested with him in these matters, and we could, in despatching him, more easily give him our complete instructions.”

Pope Pius VII preferred with reason, for this mission, his proper *subject*, the prelate della Genga. Besides, Consalvi had brought from Paris, in 1801, an impression little favorable of the bishop of Orleans; and on the occasion of this contrariety, the Roman court learnt from an old French royalist, resident in Rome, the bailif of la Tramblage, that the Vendée was still indignant at the cruelty, in relation to which, a chief named Stofflet had been chiefly culpable, in causing another Vendean chief, named M. de Marigny, to be shot, at the instigation of the abbé Bernier.

Nothing is ever lost at Rome, this *salon* of Europe, nothing is ever lost in the lives of men who find themselves in her path.—The Roman court has constantly been the best informed of all the courts, and of a truth, the pope and his minister acted wisely in rejecting a perilous intervention that the bishop of Orleans had solicited from M. de Talleyrand, and by which the latter thought to weaken in Germany, the rights of his holiness, and to augment this disorderly in-

fluence, furious and unstable, which the French imperial policy so much misemployed.

It is at this period we must recall the sojourn of the archbishop of Tyre at Munich, where he merited, during his nunciature, the entire good feeling of the Bavarian court, though it was momentarily tried by a spirit of innovation, which was not always approved by the sovereign.

The prelate della Genga, after a mission in which he could not but deplore, in advance, the misfortunes about to fall on the holy see, found himself, in 1808, at Paris, where he was received very coldly. There, united with the cardinals Caprara and de Bayane, he was charged with the settlement of some matters of the holy see with the emperor; but the conferences were speedily broken. On his return into Italy, he was a witness of the persecutions endured by Pius VII, and after having in vain exhibited the most filial sentiments of devotion, he retired to the abbatical parish of Monticelli in the diocese of Fabriano, of which Pius VI had endowed him in perpetuity. He had to flee the world after the carrying away of the holy pontiff, who resisted the violence of the soldiery with so much courage. In this abbacy the prelate took pleasure in teaching the Gregorian chant to the peasantry, who had fine voices. He also taught them to play the organ. Subsequently, he erected a tomb to the memory of his mother, modestly interred in the church of the chateau della Genga, and since he caused his own proper vault to be excavated. He descended into it for the purpose of giving the exact measure of his body, as he thought he was destined to die in this obscure retreat; and in one sense, if not in the best sense, he was thinking about death, and was preparing for it. Poor man!

At the period of the restoration, della Genga was empowered to convey to Louis XVIII, letters of felicitation in the name of Pius VII. A political party, little favorable to the cardinal Consalvi, counselled this mission to be given to the archbishop of Tyre. He ought, perhaps, to have refused it. The cardinal Consalvi was accredited near all the united sovereigns at Paris. It should be here said, notwithstanding the reputation of affability, and the elegance of manners a cardinal should evince, that his eminence treated the prelate della Genga with a blamable severity. There was a very reprehensible, lively scene, in which the prelate heard such vehement words, that the secretary of Consalvi was moved to the point of shedding tears. The prelate returned not a single word to so much violence; it was expedient to defer it till somewhat later.

The recriminations of Consalvi had, certainly, some reasonable excuse. He knew

the course of the public affairs. He guided them anew since the commencement of 1813. He could efficaciously interpose in every occurrence, and decide of himself many questions. He had a European name.—Already the princes manifested a deference towards him; but with all these advantages, he was not disposed to show regard for a Roman prelate, although this prelate had been subordinate to him; for a man who had so well served his country, whose legation in Bavaria, and some contests in which he had manifested the presence of spirit and firmness, rendered him assuredly worthy of more consideration. At all events, Consalvi could nobly say, “I have imprudently pushed Pius VII towards the precipice. I have caused an old man to embark on the high seas who ought never to displace himself; yes, but I have replaced in the true way, the bark of Saint Peter. What have you just demanded? What have you done of good, or of evil, to compare yourself to me? The evil can be good—they say—when followed by a master-piece of talent. I have conducted to the lowest depth, but since I have sounded it, I know the abyss from which we can no farther fall. Perhaps you will recover the pontifical government in accusing it; I shall restore it maintaining that it has always been in the right. The affection, the remembrance, the clemency of Pius VII, will listen to my protestations; I believe that you ought to withdraw yourself.”

After an audience of leave, Louis XVIII, who is said to have possessed in so great a degree, the knowledge of politeness and of reparation, soothed, in part, the mortification of della Genga, when he returned to Italy sorrowing, but charmed with the goodness of the king. The prince sent M. de Perigord, archbishop of Rheims, several times to Montrouge, to ascertain news respecting the archbishop of Tyre, who fell sick, and had retired to this village, in consequence of his altercations with the cardinal Consalvi.

At the end of October, this prelate retook the road to Monticelli. He remarked, during his journey, that his encounter was avoided in the public houses. He was so much preyed on by suffering, that his presence appeared to inspire compassion and terror. This feeling, which he perceived in others, filled his soul with alarm. He often thought it well that he was approaching Monticelli, the place of his sepulture. There, at least in the midst of beloved persons, known and attached by benefits, he could visit the well-measured spot, where he could repose in peace, awaiting the will of the Lord. But God, who delays not in doing good to those whom his foresight destines to high missions, had not disposed of his servant, and that servant will often see this proof of affection manifested, which providence desires and intends to accord to him.

In 1816, della Genga was the first cardi-

nal of the numerous promotion of the 8th of March. A friend of the prelate, Monsieur Vidoni, a man of rank of the states of the emperor of Austria in Italy, also named a cardinal, was sought after by all the societies of Rome, where he constantly diffused his good temper, and a wit, both very piquant and singularly agreeable. The people loved him for his riches and benevolence. The foreign ladies, and, above all, the English ladies, had requested him to allow them to see the ceremony of the presentation of the insignia of the purple, which are brought in by a *Segretario d'Ambrasciata* of the pope, and accompanied with a discourse to which the new *Porporato* replies, to testify his acknowledgments. He then delivers a present, more or less rich, to the prelate delegated to offer these insignia. It was arranged that the cardinals della Genga and Vidoni should receive the *Segretario d'Ambrasciata* in the same palace, and that strangers should attend at the ceremony. A great number of the nobility were invited, and the cardinal della Genga replied with so much dignity, that the audience, even those who held a different faith, complimented him, and assured him of the gratitude which his complaisance had inspired, in admitting them and their wives to a ceremony so interesting, and from which ladies are ordinarily excluded.

Still later, the cardinal della Genga was appointed bishop of Sinigaglia. He governed this diocese during five years; nevertheless, he was a non-resident. He could not go there to reside.

The celebrated cardinal Litta discharged the functions of vicar of his holiness. This charge, as is known, embraces the spiritual administration of Rome. In 1820, the cardinal della Genga succeeded to his eminence. None but a member of the sacred college distinguished for his enlightened and strict piety—of their sort—was ordinarily called to fill the functions of cardinal-vicar. He was, besides, arch-priest of the Basilic of *Saint Mary Major*, and prefect of the congregation of the residence of bishops, and of ecclesiastical immunities.

Sometimes complaints arise against the administration of the cardinal-vicar; he who wishes particularly to keep watch on morals, will often find occasion to employ a necessary severity which wounds the vanity, and opposes the desires of many, in wishing to arrest or rectify their defects; but the cardinal della Genga saw every thing of himself. He employed near him none but fellow-laborers, chosen men, and who enjoined an incorruptible probity. In the exercise of this administration, so useful in presence of a large city, which appears not to be inhabited by her citizens alone, and which, in winter, is peopled in every quarter by a crowd of strangers, more tormented with the desire to amuse themselves than inclinable to be in-

structed, the cardinal manifested a spirit of supervision at once mild and amicable; he arrested, in advance, the omissions which then were no longer punished; he counselled, he warned, he alleviated suffering, he affirmed the virtues *pericolanti*, and in consequence of the relations which he so rigorously maintained with the diplomatic corps, we recognise the man of the world, the polished gentleman, and one who had resided in courts; it can be recognised in the noble and Christian dignity attached to his labor; thus, though the forms of the higher circles, and the care to avoid scandal and dissatisfaction with the administration of Consalvi, altogether occupied in pleasing, in attracting, and sometimes in giving to Rome a celebrity perhaps more mundane than absolutely requisite; after these forms and cares had, moreover, presided over the public affairs, duty was, invariably, the last to be heard, and when the vicar labored, according to his right, with Pius VII alone, the testimony of the pontiff's satisfaction was renewed with a constancy which was never interrupted.

The cardinal della Genga assisted at the festival of the king, on the day of St. Louis. A French Trappist monk essayed to engage him respecting the object of his journey to Rome; we have heard the cardinal reply to him in a touching voice: "My father, you come here to solicit new rigors for your order. You do not know the meekness and wise reasoning of the Roman court. I shall never speak to the pope respecting such solicitations."

He agitated the imposition of unnecessary mortifications on the Trappist monks in England.

The health of the cardinal could not be entirely recovered; he employed the baths of Aquasanta, near to Saint Jean-de-Latran, from which he had occasion to become acquainted with the administrator of these baths, so often mentioned in history.

The moment had arrived in which the captive of Savone and of Fontainebleau was warned to appear before his God. He was sinking under the effects of a disaster always fatal in advanced age. Attention was directed to whom the heavy burden of the pontifical mantle should fall. Two parties divided the sacred college, but without introducing disorder. One party wished to feel assured of the termination of the power of Consalvi, whom they desired neither as pope, nor as secretary of state. He had kept rather obstinately, but from the force of circumstances, many cardinals of merit from the participation of power, men very capable of governing; such as the cardinals della Somaglia, de Gregorio and others. The cardinals joined with the zealots, to those who believed that the policy of Rome should

be more often than it had been, strict to its tenets, demanded a pope who would re-establish the ecclesiastical power. Some other eminences, in accord with the crown of Austria, Naples, Sardinia and France, sought to elect a Pope, moderate and prudent, who, profiting of the good feeling which Consalvi had acquired for the holy see, throughout Europe, should pursue a somewhat similar system of government, already as they said completely proved and superior to suspicion or doubt. All were animated with conformable though diverse views. The first party were inclined to the cardinal Severoli, bishop of Viterbo, who had been nuncio to Vienna. He was a quiet man; but a great reputation for obstinate severity was ascribed to him. The second party adhered to the cardinal Castiglioni, bishop of Frascati, whom the French had formerly persecuted, while he was bishop of Montalto, and who made it a glory at this time to cherish him. The cardinal della Genga, by a crowd of relations and by sympathy, pertained to the first party.

Nevertheless, at the commencement of 1823, some difference had existed between this last cardinal and Monsieur Cristaldi, treasurer general or minister of finance, known as being one of the most determined of the prelate zealots, and who, although not admitted to the conclave, could still exert some influence.

Cristaldi held the keys of the treasury with a firm hand. He held as a principle, although he maintained complacency for the opinions and the decisions of the cardinal Consalvi, that, without perhaps an excessive vigor, it was in the nature of a government like that of Rome, when the sovereignty is conferred by the cardinals, recognised electors by right, to see all the cardinals imprudently drawing on the treasury. Animated with this zeal, the Roman Sully had dared to resist, even violently, the cardinal-vicar, who nevertheless had demanded but an act of simple justice for a creditor, who was treated with a sort of partiality. The altercation having assumed so lively a character, it was generally thought, that, if the voice of the majority some day should call the cardinal della Genga to the throne, the treasurer would immediately lose his department. It will be seen how this cardinal, who had been already twice highly offended, construed his revenge.

Pius VII., as already mentioned in his history, expired the 20th August, 1823. This life, by some considered so pure, so wise, so firm in many circumstances, and so corrupt in others, was just closed. Immediate attention was given to the duties succeeding the novendiali, that is, the funeral ceremonies, lasting nine days, and prevailed specially on such signal occasions.

After the death of the pontif, the cardinal Camerlingo assumed the authority in Rome,

in concert, however, with the three cardinal chiefs of the order, as will hereafter be explained, and next with those who should be designated in their rank in the three orders of cardinals.—

On the 31st of August the following letter was addressed to the absent cardinals by the chiefs of the three orders.

“Most reverend father and lord in Jesus Christ, brother and very dear colleague, greeting, and sincere charity in our Lord.

“No event could excite in us more profound grief, and cause to all good people a greater mourning, than the information we communicate to your most reverend lordship, according to the practice of our ancestors and in conformity to our charge. The sacred college is deprived of a father so worthy of affection, Christianity of its chief ornament, the church of her visible spouse and chief on earth.

“Our most holy father and lord in Jesus Christ, whose wisdom and virtue was for us a haven of safety, an asylum of repose, was yesterday returned to the earth, or rather he exchanged, as we trust, the labors of this transitory life for the joys which will never cease. Although this Christian reflection should be for us a great cause for consolation, we cannot nevertheless divest ourselves of the painful feeling of mournful regret, when we recall to mind the rare and singular qualities which we admired in this pontif. His mild manners, his tender piety towards God, his ardent zeal for religion, his admirable good feeling towards all, and especially towards our sacred college, and finally the firmness, the priestly fortitude which the times could not efface, are things which will never escape our memory. But as we are all linked in the bonds of one and the same mortality, we ought to subdue our grief and rather return thanks to the great goodness of the All-powerful, in that he gave such a pastor to his church, during such extraordinary circumstances, and that he was preserved so long a time to our regard.

“However, turning our attention to the state of widowhood in which the church finds herself, we hasten to discharge the duties incumbent upon us. After we have acquitted ourselves towards our father and our excellent sovereign, as it is just, and according to our ancient custom, we shall withdraw ourselves to the apostolic conclave, to engage in the important matter concerning the election of a new pontif. For this reason we invite the Lord, and we require your most reverend lordship to rejoin us, at the earliest moment possible, consistent with your convenience, to commingle with our own, his counsels, his authority and his solicitude in an affair of this importance.

“Above all, your lordship being united with us, although absent, by the ties of the same charity, will not cease to solicit for us,

by fervent prayers, the assistance of heaven, to the end that our motives and our suffrages may follow the salutary inspirations of the Divine Spirit,

“Given at Rome, in the apostolical palace of our congregation, under the seal of our three chiefs.

RAPHAEL MAZIO,
Secretary of the Sacred College.”

The three chiefs of orders of which mention is made, were, 1. The cardinal della Somaglia, dean of the order of bishops. 2. The cardinal Fesch, in the absence however of the cardinal Firrao, first in the order of priests, and then of the cardinals Ruffo, Scilla, Brancadoro, and Caselli, older priests than the cardinal Fesch. 3. The cardinal Consalvi in the absence of the cardinal Fabrice Ruffo, first of the order of deacons.

It may be useful to mention some circumstances attending the usages, the rights, and the pretensions which are often signalized in the conclaves. France, Spain, and Austria, independently of the estimates of the exclusive or of the inclusive, recognised the right of exclusion apart; that is to say, when the votes appear to be directed on a candidate not agreeable to any one of these courts, each one of them exercises the right to exclude a candidate, and but one only, who should be near having two-thirds of the votes required; provided, however, he was not already elected. This exclusion was established on a probability which appeared to be well founded and reasonable, and not on a certainty. The exclusion of this nature, which in general is not regarded in Rome as a positive right, as, being once employed by one of the three above-named powers, this power is obliged to accept the choice which may be afterwards made, unless one of the other privileged courts should offer another exclusion; but still this exclusion could be directed towards a subject whom the other two courts would not reject. It is rare that the motives of repugnance are the same by the three courts; and unless the votes are united, it might be remarked that they wage war in peace. It is here repeated that this pretension of exclusion is contested at Rome; but it is there respected.

The cardinal Albani, interior ambassador of Austria to the conclave in question, exercised this right against the cardinal Severoli, and in favor of the cardinal Castiglioni. The greater number of the Italians united, as it is said, on the cardinal Severoli. It was pretended that he knew the plans, and the intrigues of the court of Vienna, having there resided as nuncio; but the duties of a pope are quite distinct from those of a nuncio. On September 21, Austria opposed the exclusion to this cardinal, because he had received twenty-six votes in the morning, and that at the election in the afternoon there was room to believe he would obtain

the requisite number of votes, without including the vote of the candidate, which could not count for himself; and in short, when ascertained that a cardinal has received two-thirds of the votes, the ballots are opened to see that the candidate has not voted for himself, a thing which never occurs.

Previous to the scrutiny of the afternoon, there had been a reunion of the opponents, among whom were found the cardinals Albani, Fabrice Ruffo, Solaro, and Hœffelin; they thought there was not a moment to lose in declaring the exclusion in the name of Austria. The cardinal Albani transmitted a note at the moment they were about to sign the schedules; it was thus conceived:

“In my character as ambassador extraordinary, near the sacred college in conclave assembled, the which character was duly notified to your eminences and brought to their knowledge, as well by means of the letter addressed to them by his imperial and royal majesty, as by the declaration made to your eminences by the imperial and royal ambassador of Austria, and still further by virtue of instructions to me given, I discharge the unpleasant duty to declare that the imperial and royal court of Vienna cannot accept for sovereign pontif, his eminence, the cardinal Severoli, and in consequence give him a formal exclusion, this, September 21, 1823.

“Signed, ALBANI.”

The immediate effect of this exclusion was to exasperate nearly all the sacred college, and above all, the Italian party. The cardinal Castaglioni was sensible of it, and instead of seventeen votes which he received in the morning, he had in the evening eight votes at the scrutiny and two by accession.

The French cardinals made some representations on this subject to the ambassador. They remarked that the evening of the 21st, della Somaglia had eight votes, Arezzo seven, della Genga seven, Severoli eight; and the other votes were divided at random. The motives of delicacy, which the ambassador was more capable than others of appreciating, and the extreme rigor of the surveillance, did not permit their French eminences to essay to transmit the daily inspection of the votes at the scrutiny.

Their eminences the cardinals de Clermont Tonnerre, and de la Fare, had attached themselves perseveringly to sustain the party of the cardinal Castiglioni, and even in causing it to prosper; but they had to combat strong repugnances. It was the same in that which concerned the cardinal-dean.

One and the other had been specially recommended by the king and his minister; but after this indication, it was generally confided to the zeal of their French eminences.

ces, to their prudence, and to the knowledge they should gather in the conclave.

From September 20 to 28, other Italian chiefs appeared to govern the election. The cardinal Castiglioni had not forfeited the esteem of any one, but the interest of strangers, apparently unappreciated, did him injury, as on the evening of the 21st, he had no more than eight votes. The Italian *inclusive* was dextrously employed.

September 27th, although the choice indicated by the excluded cardinal, Severoli, had been arrested, to whom, by a prudent compromise, they had nobly deferred the right of naming a cardinal to replace him, and he had named della Genga; they could count for the cardinal della Genga but twelve votes in the morning, and thirteen in the evening. The *exclusive* slept in peace; but the *inclusive* could not resign himself to the same repose; they labored during the night, and combined thirty-three votes, solicited the voice of the cardinal Clermont Tonnerre, who detached himself from the *exclusive*, and obtained on the morrow, most unexpectedly, the thirty-four votes which elected the cardinal della Genga. The *exclusive*, weakened, without knowing it, by the withdrawal of one French vote, left but eight votes faithful to the cardinal Castiglioni; the others were lost. The faithful votes were not, perhaps, absolutely opposed to the cardinal della Genga, a prelate of so much merit; but, influenced by the reputation of integrity of the cardinal Castiglioni, they acted, although composed of divergent elements, with a French cardinal, M. de la Fare, and the Austrian partisans, in this feeling of constancy, which is the absolute rule, when freely promised. The Austrians, above all, showed themselves immovable. They had cause. Never could an opposition allege a more honorable excuse; the cardinal Consalvi, the great man of the state, who had for so long a time directed the affairs of Rome, was one of those who had given their suffrage to the cardinal Castiglioni. It was the first time there had not been unanimity; as it always happens after long debates, and no one wishes to remain dissident, after the *exclusions* are dispensed with or neglected, and a nomination appears to be affirmed. Louis XVIII had not enjoined a formal exclusion in the name of France, and the Spanish minister, M. le Chevalier de Vargas, had not sufficient influence to cause his own to be highly respected; and, besides, he pertained to the party zealots, and appeared to partake of the opinion of the cardinal de Bernis, respecting the exclusives.

The victory, such as it was, was a good event for the Roman court; but they had not foreseen the difficulties interposed by the cardinal elected. Here commences the free and generous development of the character, and the faith of the cardinal della Genga,

called to accept the triple crown. The cardinal della Somaglia, and the cardinal Camerlingo Pacea, approached him, and said the first: "*Acceptasne electionem de te canonice factam in summum pontificem?*"—Do you accept the election which has been made of you as sovereign pontif?" The cardinal della Genga, bursting into tears, reminded them, that during an interview, he had raised his robe to show them his inflamed limbs: "Do not insist on it," he said, "you elect a cadaver." Felicitations and encouragements, from parties on every side, interrupted him. They then proceeded to arrange, in order, behind the altar, the garments prepared to invest the pope elect. There are various forms, and it was necessary to select the largest, as the cardinal della Genga had a stately figure. He declared, at length, that as they wished to see him accept without hesitation, he obeyed. The dean and the cardinal Camerlingo then asked him what name he intended to assume as pope. The elect ordinarily takes the name of the pope who created him cardinal; nevertheless, the choice is unrestricted. The cardinal della Genga still further moved, replied, that he took the name of Leo XII; and then addressing the cardinal Castiglioni in courteous terms, in which again breathed a sort of regret that he should have been preferred; and he added, that he was unhappy, they had not followed the wish of Pius VII, who styled his friend Castiglioni, Pius VIII; which, in fact, he afterwards became; and that, moreover, the new pope being overwhelmed with infirmities, and having but a little time to remain on this earth of bitterness and suffering, the cardinal Castiglioni would be indubitably Pius VIII, his successor. There was, in consequence, a movement of exquisite delicacy in the choice of the name the pontif should assume. The choice being known, the chief master of the ceremonies prepared a record of the election and of all its attending circumstances. This instrument being finished, the pontif elect, accompanied by the two first cardinal-deacons present, Ruffo and Consalvi, turned towards the altar, at the foot of which he knelt, and offered a short prayer. Then passing behind the high altar, he there left his cardinal habiliments, to be invested with the pontifical garments; which consist in white hose, shoes of red velvet, the uppers of which are decorated with a cross embroidered in gold; cassock, white tabby, like mohair; girdle garnished with golden tassels; lawn sleeves, pallium, stole, and white cap. Thus a puppet becomes a pope, *showing himself that he is God.*

His holiness, invested with his pontifical garments by his conclavists, the abbe Marfani, as secretary, Nicolas Moccavini, as chamberlain, and Vincent Conti, Romish priest, who assisted the master of the ceremonies, reconducted by the two first cardinals,

nal-deacons, Fabrice Ruffo, and Consalvi, advanced towards the altar, placed himself in his seat and received the first "obedience," or "adoration," of the cardinals, with the kissing of the hand, and the embrace on each cheek. All the cardinals, then numbering forty-eight, presented themselves one by one, attired as he had been, with the violet cassock, lawn sleeves, pallium, and short cloak. When the cardinal della Somaglia had made his obeisance, the new pope said to him in an under tone: "Your eminence will serve us in character of secretary of state." This first act of Leo XII was admirable. Della Somaglia, although instantly devoted to the election, had been, perhaps, more against it than favorable. In the first moment, thus to vanquish a repugnance not yet extinct, is an effort of the soul, belonging not ordinarily to great minds.

The cardinal Pacca Camerlingo, after having made his obeisance in turn, placed the fisherman's ring upon the pope's finger, which the pope handed to Monsieur Zuccché, that he might cause the name of Leo XII to be engraven on it. In the mean time, the cardinal Fabrice Ruffo, first deacon, requested permission of his holiness to go and announce his exaltation, and accompanied by a master of the ceremonies, who bore the elevated papal cross, presented himself at the window of the great gallery, which overlooks the square of the Quirinal, and recently opened by the masons of the conclave. Having placed the cap, his eminence announced the election in a loud voice in these terms: *Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum: papam habemus Em. Ac. Rev. D. Annibalem, tituli S. Marice trans Tiberim, presbyterum, S. R. E. cardinalem della Genga, qui sibi imposuit nomen Leo XII.*—That is, "I announce to you a great joy. We have for pope, the most eminent, and most Reverend Annibal, of the title of Saint Mary beyond the Tiber, priest of the holy Roman church, Cardinal della Genga, who has assumed the name of Leo XII."

The whole square of the Quirinal was filled with people and carriages, and the news was rapidly spread throughout the city. It may be remembered that one of the revolutionists, who accompanied the general Radet at the time of the carrying away of Pope Pius VII, July 6, 1809, said to him at this same door, underneath which the cardinal Ruffo had announced the *gaudium magnum*: "General, we remove the last pope; there will be no more." This fatal augury was publicly contradicted the 28th September, 1823, fourteen years and some months afterward.

The nobility and the people blended their acclamations, to which was joined the discharge of artillery, the musketry of the guards stationed at the Quirinal, and the sound of the bells of the churches in the city.

The cardinals being liberated, returned to their respective palaces. In the evening, under notice of the prefect of the ceremonies, forty-six cardinals, two were somewhat indisposed, presented themselves at the palace of the Vatican, and placed themselves according to rank in the Sistine chapel.—The cardinals Opizzoni and Gravina, who had as habitual neighbor, the cardinal della Genga, could not prevent themselves from smiling, on seeing that their constant neighbor was no longer at his post. During this time, his holiness arrived from the Quirinal, having in his carriage the cardinals della Somaglia and Pacca. After having taken his pontifical habits, presented to him by the cardinals Ruffo and Consalvi, in the contiguous vestry, the pope entered this chapel, made a short prayer, and placed himself on the altar. There the second homage, or "adoration," was held, the kissing of the feet and of the hand, under the chappe, and the embrace on the cheeks.

Monsieur Bofondi, auditor of the Rota, arrived with the cross, and the procession, composed of all the prelates, placed itself in motion, to descend to the basilic of St. Peter; the musicians chanted *Ecce Sacerdos magnus*. After the prelates came the cardinals, each in his rank, minus the two chief deacons; then the conservators of the Roman people, Monsieur Bernetti, governor of Rome, who was worthy of applause for having so wisely maintained the police of the city, during the twenty-five days of the conclave; the prince Altieri, senator of Rome, and the first two cardinal-deacons. At last appeared the holy father, carried on the *sedia gestatoria*, surrounded by the noble guard, the Swiss guard, his officers, and the commandant-general Bracci, honored for some time by Louis XVIII with the red cordon of France. The procession was terminated with the auditor of the chamber, the treasurer Christaldi, the major-domo, the *maestro di camera*, the assistant prelates of the throne, and the apostolic protonotaries.

His holiness, being entered into the basilic, was conducted to the altar of the holy sacrament, where he descended from the *sedia* and made a short prayer. The procession lost no time in diverging towards the pontifical altar. The pope remounted the *sedia*, retook the mitre; arrived at the altar, he again prayed, and seated himself on a cushion. The cardinal dean sang the *Te Deum*, during which, the holy father received the third "adoration." The *Te Deum* was followed with verses and orisons for the new pontif. The pope then descended from the altar, and standing on the steps, gave his first apostolic benediction to the immense crowd which filled the basilic. It is known that during these ceremonies, a master of the ceremonies burns three times, before the pope, tufts of hemp, and saying to him in a loud voice: *Pater Sancte, sic transit gloria*

mundi—"Holy Father, thus passes the glory of the world."

The morrow after the third adoration, there reigned at Rome a sort of prejudice relative to the concerns of the treasurer-general.—This office is there, as elsewhere, mainly, the most important. By the feelings which Leo XII should display in respect to Monsieur Cristaldi, some opinion could be formed on the character his holiness would manifest as pope. The credit of the prelate ought to be shaken. He had, unquestionably, addressed the cardinal della Genga in terms little becoming. Power having rapidly devolved on the offended, added still more to the intensity of the insult; at least, so said all his flatterers. It was difficult for the offended not to remember it. He, indeed, did remember it; but the unwavering integrity of this functionary, his correct views, all wise and religious, his assiduous care of the gates of the treasury, above all this maxim of severity for all the demands which could, at one time, be just, but which, at the same time, could not always be so, a tone of liberty, of assurance, and frankness, which well becomes all honest men; these thousand considerations delayed not to awaken in the pope other sentiments. That which eminently distinguished his holiness, was his love of the public weal, and of which he found a noble defender in the treasurer, who had no cause to fear any member of the sacred college. The pope plainly declared, that it appeared to him evident, that, during the quarrel, the cardinal della Genga had suffered some wrongs. He detailed these wrongs, perhaps aggravated them, and Monsieur Cristaldi retained his place, *papa non inquit*.

In his accounts with the French, relative to the interest due on the donations, funded by Napoleon, Cristaldi was sufficiently yielding, and would not adopt any oblique or diverted way. He announced his propositions, and did not withdraw from them after they were accepted, and we have had occasion to praise his exactitude, and, also, what is rare in this country, his celerity.

After such proceedings with Cristaldi, those who were familiar with affairs, said: "Consalvi will answer for both of them!" It will be seen hereafter that which should happen, and, in the mean time, to satisfy the curiosity of the impatient, it may be mentioned that the conduct of Leo XII was eminently vindictive. So little does a man in a fog, or a halo, know himself, or seem what he is! Alas! for man.

At the same time, all eyes were turned towards the leisure moments of the cardinal Consalvi; he employed them in a manner worthy of his great and lauded magnanimity. Determined to erect a monument to his master, Pius VII, he conferred with the celebrated sculptor, Thorwaldsen, the worthy competitor of Canova. His eminence had

ordered of this illustrious Dane, the mausoleum for the pope. The pontif was to appear seated on the pontifical throne. Two figures were at his side: one represented Wisdom, and the other Power, in allusion to the two principal virtues which were said to have characterized this reign, during both good and ill fortune. It was not, however, Wisdom that came and placed a crown at Paris; but it was really Power which had resisted in fetters, and which had vanquished the conqueror of so many kings. Thorwaldsen received from his eminence, a very considerable sum for this extended work.

At this time, the pope gave an astonishing proof of his gratitude to the cardinal Clermont Tonnerre. The viscount, brother of the cardinal, was proclaimed a Roman prince, he and his posterity to enjoy this title in the order which it pleased the titular to establish. He could thus leave the title of prince to a younger, in place of the elder member of the family.

We have thus far spoken very little of the cardinal Fesch, the maternal uncle of Napoleon. He resided at Rome, and had been mainly inactive during the conclave; in the first moments, almost alone, he had shown much zeal in the defence of the cardinal Consalvi, whom all his enemies attacked nearly at the same time. In the midst of the debates, a solitary voice was elevated to give, as was said, the means of dispensing with the exclusion of France; "Let us cast our votes for the cardinal Fesch, France will apply her exclusion to him, after which we shall have nothing more to fear from this resistance." But he was victoriously answered at this menace: "Make the attempt; nominate the cardinal Fesch, establish a government which will mourn for Napoleon and his faults, which will intervene to excuse him in all the affairs in which his memory is compromised; irritate the ancient jailers of this illustrious man; embarrass yourselves with a master of whose character you are at the same time aware; abandon the dogmas to vexations; overwhelm with an intolerable weight the bark of Saint Peter, and you will not delay in recovering soon the punishment of your petulance. Be fearful also that France, well advised, spares not her exclusion, and gathers not up the glove; then will you lament doing that which none of you desire." The solitary voice prevailed, and France had not to employ a rigor more or less inimical to concord, and spreading the seeds of trouble and discontentment.

This fault, as it certainly was, in having listened to this advice for a single day, had nevertheless an unexpected result. The government of the king thought to reprimand once for all the zeal, full of dangers to Rome and to us. Louis XVIII, wrote to the pope a wise and strongly reasoned letter, which explained the anguish of Lyons, deprived

by invincible necessity of her archbishop. Let us read the monarch's letter—

"Most Holy Father,

"Serious circumstances, well known to your holiness, have estranged for several years from the metropolitan church of Lyons, her chief pastor. As it becomes each day more urgent to provide for the spiritual wants of so important a see, we have deemed it suitable to have recourse to the authority of the holy apostolic see, to terminate this grievous situation, in supplicating your holiness to appoint a person capable of healing and administering the said archbishopric of Lyons, until it can be filled by a titular of our choice; in consequence we supplicate your holiness to accord with good will the request we make, to appoint in character as administrator of the said archbishopric, Sieur John Paul Gaston de Pins, bishop of Limoges; and as this prelate could not exercise these new functions without being previously invested with the character of archbishop, we also beseech your holiness to have the goodness to accord to the said bishop of Limoges, a title of archbishop *in partibus infidelium*, in causing to be sent to him, the letters, bulls, and apostolic grants requisite and necessary, according to the most ample memorials which will be presented to him to this effect. The intimate knowledge which we have of the integrity of the life of this prelate, and of his morals, piety, doctrine, capacity, experience, and other recommendable qualities, assure us that he will employ all his zeal and application to the service of the new church over which he will be called to preside; and that we shall have reason to applaud ourself of the favor, your holiness will deign to accord to our recommendation. In soliciting this new testimony of the paternal goodness of your holiness, we hasten to renew to him the assurance of our sincere affection and of our filial respect. Above all, we pray God to keep you, most holy father, many years in the rule and government of our holy mother church. Written in our palace of the Tuileries, the tenth day of December, in the year of grace 1823, and of our reign the twenty-ninth.

Your devout son,

The King of France and Navarre.

Countersigned, CHATEAUBRIAND."

The pope was at times in a state of suffering which was alarming. Some persons proclaimed that this chronic affection was not serious, and that his holiness would still survive two or three years; other observers, saying they had keener vision, and alleging that they had frequented the society of the holy father while he was cardinal, pretended that the fatigues of the pontificate attacked more keenly this delicate nature which would have preserved more chance of life in another situation. But let us return to the ambassador.

In relation to some dissidences which had arisen in the last conclave, the duke de La-val, who in many points wrote the history of Leo XII, thus expressed himself:

"Besides, it is necessary to establish that, in the month of September last, the union failed between our cardinals. Leaving Paris with a recommendation to do that which should be best, according to their consciences, it might happen that this sublime monitor, which governs firm and wise and generous minds so well, could have excited impulses tending to different ends. Taken altogether, the most experienced negotiators are selected; that they should be supposed just entering, already aged, and with the faculties almost obliterated with infirmities, in the midst of a crowd of men more or less skilful, but on their own ground, knowing why they esteem each other, why they hate, why they should cease to love or to hate, speaking the language, which has as much expression in countenance and in gesture as in words; to suppose that the most experienced statesmen called to mediate in all the questions which may be agitated upon the merits or demerits of a cardinal whom it is necessary to elevate to the first dignity in the world; it is not possible to believe that these statesmen, sagacious as they are known to be, should not fall into error, as not having heard, or as having wrongly seen, or as having misunderstood; or for some other cause of mistake and evil influence.

"What can be the guide of such ill-assured experience, more dangerous than ignorance? The natural guide is the representative of the king, who lives in the midst of these debates, who is courted as a direct and hidden party of the local government; he who perceives the false steps of each one, who discovers the schemes of ambition in the birth, receives the revelations of confidence without divulging; who, in short, as the vigilant sentinel of his master, knows everything, and renders an account of all, and should be responsible for all.

"This representative is either he who is at the time in Rome, or he who is sent, it matters not. The present question relates to the duties and the rights of him possessing the confidence of the king, and not to the success of any particular vanity.

"In principle, the general in this war, is he earliest arrived, who has managed the affairs, swayed the minds, and studied the elements. If this principle is accorded, there can be no need of sending to this general independent troops; unless it may happen he should be obliged to combat as well with his natural enemies as with the opposition of his own army.

"On the approach of the last conclave, they commenced by saying: '*We shall not commingle ourselves with any thing. We desire a moderate opinion*;' and since they wished to act, direct, and dictate—

"It is more candid to say, *'We shall interfere for the benefit of Christianity, for our political interests, for the glory of our church, for the lustre of the French clergy, whom eminent virtues place in such a high rank in Europe amongst the ministers of the Gospel.'*

"The next consideration which presents itself will be, of the two parties, which to choose. Is it necessary to be availed of a peculiar position, acting alone and without dependence? or is it requisite to enter with a constant determination into the party of the crown?

"I do not hesitate to declare, that it is better to enlist with the party of the crown.

"Europe was never connected by more extended political links; never were the interests more bound together; never was misfortune to one, nearer becoming ill-fortune to the other; never was the good of one, nearer becoming the positive good of the whole.

"Some years after an election, it may be deemed advisable to select a new pope.—This choice becomes difficult, above all, at times when pride is generated, by reason of the elevation obtained by talents of mediocrity. There is cause, therefore, in this age, to show ourselves united in wishes and intention, regarding this act of religion and politics. If, at all times, the accord of Europe was necessary, it is still more advantageous to this nation so happily governed, which has received so decided an impulse, and which entered on a career of victory, is destined to travel over all its phases, with a celebrity not less brilliant. It is not necessary, that on a point in reference to which all the passions which indispensably accompany an elective government could be developed, this nation should expose itself in wishing to act alone, to do wrong in acting for others rather than herself; to create an inner party, and to find herself diverted from the spirit of her general administration; truly religious, just, and temperate. France, victorious in a conclave, could have conquered against her; beaten by Europe, France could smile at her defeat and cause the weight of her credit to be felt. This point attained, the party should be connected between France and the powers which loudly demanded a moderate government. The ground-work of the project is already in the sacred college; and is, at present, composed of about ten cardinals. It is not, however, suitable to say that the powers which accord with us at present—December 14, 1823—will bring out all their strength. Austria alone allows no dissidence; she has brought the most resolute attention to this point and does not regret a single defection. Naples came unprepared; but, besides that, her treasury did not more amply endow her cardinals; she was urged between the national impulse of some friends of the king, the caressing system of Austria which attracted

others under a thousand pretexts, and, finally, between those and a feeling of independence maintained by some of the Neapolitan cardinals who might, in consequence, pretend to the papacy, without the direct support of their master. Sardinia has at this moment an army, but in name, as she does not pay them; and these ranks become the *Condottieri*, who attached themselves successively to Pisa, Florence, France, St. Mark, in the wars of the fifteenth century. Spain has but one wounded soldier, but strictly obedient. On this account, the minister of this nation, M. De Vargas, is the most proper to fulfil the wishes of his Catholic majesty; he keeps his secret for him alone, he renders no account of his movements; he repairs his faults without meeting with accusers. Furnished with ample instructions, he hears, he supports, he consoles, he abandons, he builds on the work of others, speaks loudly that he is himself, inters the dead, and sleeps on the field of battle.

"In what does this European concurrence consist? It is necessary to commence with ourselves, as, in the end, it is our will, our rights, our interests, our counsels, every where full of wisdom, politeness and noble sentiments of Christianity, which should be the rule, useful to all, good for all, and the quality most capable of separating in diverse channels, which affords to each one the advantages which every locality could desire. That we may march worthily at the head of the party, the French cardinals should be sent unpledged to any one whatever, without recommendations, and we may say *without conscience*, taking this in the sense which expresses a self-conceit occupied with itself, more than the interests or the sentiments of the king. Instructions addressed to the ambassador, could be read in common by him and their eminences; and each one of them should promise not to act without the others; each one of them, impressed with sentiments of fidelity due to the king, should consent to *deceive themselves* with him, if he should *deceive himself*; that is to say, not to maintain that in eight days we may learn that which ten years would hardly permit us to know; it could be established that the conclavists would be approved by the king. The instructions of his majesty being communicated, the changes conveyed therein might be promptly brought to the knowledge of each of their eminences; and, finally, they should declare that they did not intend to solicit any reward for any one whatever, on the termination of the labors of the conclave, without the consent of the king. In communication within the conclave with the cardinals of powers whose preferences are known, they should labor like them in the work desired by the king, and recommend to their care and their *veritable conscience* the prelates placed there by the king, and who

would not have been admitted without the king. As to the choice to be made, it is all arranged. That which they intended to follow, must be continued. It is a moderate pope, without extraordinary robust health who should be preferred.

"They must, then, remind themselves that to conquer alone with the party of the *zealots*, is uselessly to irritate Austria, who has the means to make herself considered otherwise than by a defence in an election; it is to risk the charm of a gratitude which circumstances might render impossible, and which a character little sure, might render more doubtful; it is, on the other side, to prepare for the government of the king, stratagems, to importune and divert the influence which he alone has a right to exercise on the policy of Rome."

The demands of the ambassador engaged the lively attention of the council at Paris.

But God did not as yet take Leo XII from the earth; attended and served in due form on Christmas Eve, he felt himself comforted; a salutary crisis at the same time appeared to sooth his afflictions. But still the untoward signs of the grievous infirmity which he had to combat remained, and continued to inspire an involuntary dread. The condition of the holy father, nevertheless, permitted him, December 26, to cause the despatch, 1. of the state-warrant which appointed M. de Pins administrator of the diocese of Lyons; and 2. the brief which gave information to the chapter of this nomination. It was a sick pope who replied so obligingly to the king of France. The demand made December the 10th, was accorded in sixteen days; from which it is known that the cardinal della Somaglia had taken a great interest in this affair.

The cardinal Consalvi had retired to Porto d'Auzo, to enjoy a purer air; and, more especially, to avoid speaking. M. le Comte Appony, the ambassador of Austria, visited him, and was received with kindness. M. Appony, a man of discrimination, could not, except in a delicate manner, interrogate an invalid on political matters, to whom they had lost their interest.

The amelioration in the state of the pope continued to make some progress. When he felt himself better, he manifested a desire to entertain the cardinal Consalvi; the latter left the country of the Porto d'Auzo, and sought the apartments of the pontif. The new sovereign and the ancient minister, both in a manner ready to quit the world, commenced to make inquiries respecting their mutual sufferings. The cardinal, born in the year 1757, was three years older than the pope, and said on this subject things calculated to encourage the holy father, to be careful, and to flatter himself that nature would re-confer at least the little relative

health which he had at the time of his accession to the pontifical dignity.

From these preliminary details which could not suffice for such elevated minds, the discourse reverted to the political interests of the holy see. Between them, the statesmen of Rome have yet their wishes to direct towards heaven, even to the approach of the fatal end, and these wishes are for the prosperity of the holy see. Nothing is more uncommon at Rome than an expression of coldness for that which concerns the advantage of religion; it seems that the honor of having become the depot of the affairs of Christianity, draws together even the most diverse dispositions. Rivalries may have existed; these rivalries may have given birth to offences; but generous hearts can pardon everything. That the return to a mutual good feeling should be complete, it was not sufficient that the enlarged soul of the master forgot injury; it required that a just spirit, the devotion of the interests of the metropolis of the world, attachment which also characterized Consalvi, should at one respond with tenderness. The effort of the sovereign had in it something grand; the assent of Consalvi was not less worthy of praise; and refuted Tacitus, who says: "*Odisse quem læseris.*" The interview lasted more than one hour. The cardinal questioned the various interests of the holy see, declared that he had reflected on all to which he was called to reply, that in his replies he would express the sentiments to which he had adhered for a long time; that, forcibly impressed with the importance of a conversation so solemn, he had modified ancient opinions; which he should also present such as they then appeared to his mind, and that thus he should approach the feet of his holiness to give utterance to his reflections and present thoughts after the most mature deliberations with himself.

When the interview was finished, the pope said to the cardinal Zurla, "what discourse! Never have we had with any person more important communications, more substantial, and which can be more servicable to the state. We have offered to the cardinal Consalvi the place of prefect of the Propaganda; we have explained to him the position in which he placed us by his course in the conclave; we have told him a thousand times how happy was Pius VII to possess such a minister; that the same happiness had not been reserved for us. The cardinal della Somaglia has waited forty years for the office of secretary of state, which he possesses; he ought to retain it. We desired that the cardinal Consalvi should accept the prefect of the Propaganda; he did accept it; and we are overwhelmed with joy. We shall often labor together; it is only necessary not to die at present."

On his part, the cardinal Consalvi, charmed with the overtures of the pope, who had

not spoken a word relative to the scenes of Paris, and who, from delicacy spoke still less of the consolations offered in the name of the king of France, and by the king of France himself, testified a sincere satisfaction which may be recognised in the following words. A Frenchman more bold and less discreet than M. Appony, spoke to the cardinal of the *Zelantisme*, and asked of him what he intended to do in the future; he replied: "I grant you that the *Zelantisme* at Rome is more a means than an end; the difficulties of the times has rendered it systematic and politic. The true, the veritable *Zelantisme* is to be found among you; but it is represented by only three or four individuals. As long as that lasts, which will be short, as these persons love the king and will yield to him, we shall here form alliances. It is by your troops we shall attack; but do not doubt that the holy see, and above all, the pope, *such as he is known at present*, will conduct himself according to the wisdom and disposition which guided us under the last pontificate."

Rome applauded these words of concord, so powerful from the lips of the minister of Pius VII. The various oppositions, disarmed by such happy occurrences, did not wish any longer to utter anything but exclamations of joy; but after all these preparations, all these acts of human grandeur, all these auguries of peace to Christendom, and in particular, in the *zealousness* of France, there seemed to be not a single bad spirit; it required the sanction of the Master of masters.

The pleasure on this occasion brought on Consalvi an increased fever; a delusive amendment seemed to bring a little calm to the invalid; but the sensibility, the tenderness, the recollection, the happiness which follows a pardon almost beyond hope, the ardor, the uneasiness, the new projects of a mind so long inactive, restored to public affairs; the return of favor, the first, the single want of those who have long known it, all these circumstances confusedly re-united, produced a relapse, and the intensity of the evil did not permit the least hope of restoration. In the midst of these afflictions, the cardinal did not think of himself; notified by the chevalier Fatlinsky, the Russian minister, that the emperor Alexander had the intention to visit Rome, the cardinal requested the minister to go with all haste and communicate this news to the pope. It is known that it had been a question between his holiness and his eminence respecting the approximation so much desired of the two churches, an approximation which would be more useful than prejudicial to the interests of Russia, and which would greatly civilize this great empire.

New occurrences suddenly dismayed the physicians of Consalvi. He hastened to invoke the pontifical benediction, which was conveyed to the palace of the *Consulta* by

the grand penitentiary, the cardinal Castiglioni, the same whom Consalvi sustained so warmly in the conclave. "This holy benediction," said the duke of Laval in one of his despatches to M. de Chateaubriand, "this benediction emanating from the bed of a sick pontif, resting on the head of a dying cardinal, is without doubt the most imposing and pathetic which religion can offer." Yes! such paganizing religion!

In some stages of this scene at the Quirinal, the holy father appeared to be in a situation not less deplorable; above all, since a courier, arrived from Spoleto, had brought despairing news of the health of the cherished sister of the pope, Catharine della Genga. On this intelligence, the pope said to a prelate near him, "I can sustain it no longer, *non ci reggo*; death surrounds me on all sides; my beloved sister; the cardinal Consalvi in extremity! How endure so great affliction!" The duke of Laval thus closes his despatch: "Such is, M. Le Viscomte, the miserable state of the past and present magnates of the pontifical government."

Some time after, the will of the cardinal Consalvi, who had died, was conveyed to the pope.

He instituted Monsieur Buttaoni, a friend of twenty years, his fiduciary executor. He left funds to finish the façades of the churches of Saint Andrew, *della Fratte*, of the *Consolation*, and *d'Araceli*; It is from this last church emanate the monks called *Guardians of the Holy Land*. He assigned a part of his estate to the Propaganda, which he could have caused greatly to prosper; he devised souvenirs of friendship, such as rings and paintings to the pope, to the cardinals Spina della Somaglia, to several Roman ladies, to the countess of Albany, widow of the last Stuart, to the duchess of Devonshire, to the sisters of Lord Castlereagh, and to the marquis Brignole.

Leo XII shed sincere tears at the loss he had sustained in the cardinal Consalvi; and it pleased him to say that Rome ought to shed tears at the death of a minister so accomplished and so esteemed; for whom the king of England himself professed a tender friendship, and to whom he intended to send his portrait, painted by Lawrence; a minister who possessed the particular good will of the emperor Alexander, and who entertained an amicable correspondence with the prince Metternich. Consalvi had placed all these royal affections at the feet of his holiness; and in his place he was preëminent above his peers, and celebrated for his great qualities.

The only blow which Providence had permitted to the angel of death had just been struck. Leo XII was insensibly restored. There is no repose at Rome, by reason of the affairs which accumulate from all parts of the world.

In March, 1824, the holy father terminated

with the baron de Reden, minister of his Britannic majesty, in the character of king of Hanover, the organization of the Catholic clergy of this kingdom; the negotiation was conducted on the basis proposed by the cardinal Consalvi. They reconstructed the bishoprics of Osnabruck and Hildesheim; the king would not permit them to leave unless to go to Rome, which would be the metropolitan see.

Among the illustrious guests residing in the eternal city, and whom Leo XII, illustrating the ancient virtue of hospitality, treated with the respect due to their rank and their misfortunes, was the Infanta dutchess de Lucques, formerly queen of Etruria, elevated to the throne by Napoleon, who instituted himself the protector of this branch of the house of Bourbon; and who, nevertheless, did not show himself constant in these professions of affection, as the Infanta appeared to reign only seven years on this throne, to prepare the way for the sister of him who wished to reign over all Europe, either in person or by his own creatures.

A malady showed itself in consequence of the detention of this princess, enclosed by Napoleon in a Dominican convent at Rome, where she was not always permitted to see her son and her daughter; who were rarely brought to her, and who could not approach within ten steps. Her son one day had made the accustomed promise to his guardian; he spoke to his mother, seated at a distance from him; she exhorted him to patience and obedience; but at the same time she made a gesture so full of tenderness, that the child, forgetting himself a prisoner, escaped the arms of the guard, ran and precipitated himself at the knees of his mother. The chief dignitary, governing in the name of Napoleon, was present, who did not dare to interrupt such legitimate embraces. The child was, however, taken less frequently to the convent of the nuns, who sought to mitigate, by a thousand kindnesses, the misfortunes of the queen.

The malady, of which she complained, was incurable. Leo XII was obliged to witness the death of all his friends; the queen expired on the 13th of March, at the age of forty-two years, instituting as testamentary executors, her brothers Ferdinand VII and Don Carlos—she loved the latter with a lively tenderness—the prince de Lucques, her son, and the cardinal Cesari. The pope ordered the church of the Holy Apostles to be placed at the disposition of the Spanish minister, in which was constructed an immense catafalco, where the queen was exposed, habited as a Dominican. He wished to evince this proof of gratitude to the ladies who had loved and served her with so much respect during her misfortunes.

The people of Rome, who were informed of the improved health of the pope, wished to see and felicitate him; this natural curi-

osity, on the part of faithful subjects, was participated by all the strangers flocking to Rome. At this time there were four royal princes in Rome: the prince royal of Sweden, son of Gustavus IV; the prince royal of Prussia, son of the king, Frederick William III; the prince of Bavaria, son of the king Maximilian I, and the prince royal of the Low Countries, son of William I. It was announced that on the 19th of April, Easter day, the pope would be in state to pronounce the benediction from the gallery of the Quirinal, the same from which the cardinal Fabricius Ruffo had announced the *gaudium magnum*, and which had not since been opened.

On May 24, appeared the encyclical letter which the popes publish on their accession to the pontificate, at which time they address an exhortation to all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops of their obedience. This composition was written in the purest Latin, as follows in English:

“Venerable Brothers, greeting and apostolical benediction:—From the moment we were called to the pontificate, we commenced by adopting the sentiments of Saint Leo the Great; ‘Lord, I have heard thy voice, and I am afraid. I have considered thy works and have been seized with terror. What, in effect, more extraordinary or more dreaded than labor for the weak, elevation for him who is in abasement, or dignities for him who is unworthy of them! and nevertheless we do not despair or lose courage, as we rely not on ourself, but on him who worketh in us.’

“Thus spake this pontif in humility, which can never be sufficiently praised; but with us it is, in truth, we apply these words and make this avowal.

“We ardently wish, venerable brothers, to communicate with you as promptly as possible, and to develop the sentiments of our heart, to you who are our crown and our joy; and who, we delight to think, also find your crown and your joy in the flocks that have been confided to you. But, at times, the important labors of our apostolic charge, at others the afflictions of a long-enduring malady, above all, have prevented us, until the present, to our great regret, from satisfying our wishes. However, the God who is rich in mercy, the God who has given us the desire, has permitted us, this day, to realize our intentions. Yet the silence which we have been obliged to maintain until the present, has not been altogether without consolation, as He who comforts the humble, has consoled us by your devotion, by your attachment and your zeal for us, sentiments in which the advantage of Christian unity are so well recognised; so much so, that our joy should increase without ceasing, and we should render more and more to God our thanks. Consequently we

address you this letter as a proof of our affection, to the end of exciting you farther to walk in the paths of the divine commandment, and to fight more courageously the battles of the Lord, in which the solicitude of the pastor will be promoted by the progress of the flock.

"You are not unaware that the apostle Peter instructed the bishops by these words: 'Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: neither as being lords over God's heritage; but being ensamples to the flock.'

"By which, you clearly learn the kind of conduct proposed, by what kind of virtues you should enrich the soul; with what abundant knowledge to adorn the mind, and what fruits of piety and love you should not only produce, but, moreover communicate to your people. It is thus you will attain the end of your ministry, and in heart become the pattern of your flock; and giving to one the milk, to another the solid nourishment, you will not only lead your sheep to the good doctrine, but, in a measure, will cause them, by your works and example, to lead a tranquil life in Jesus Christ, and acquire with you the eternal beatitude, according to the words of this same chief of the apostles: *And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.*

"We wish to remind you, in detail, of these salutary considerations; but we shall barely touch on several points, before alluding more copiously to the more important subjects which the deplorable necessity of the times in which we live requires.

"The apostle in writing to Timothy, '*Lay hands suddenly on no man,*' has instructed us with what wise precaution and strict examination it is necessary to elevate to the minor orders, and above all to the holy orders; as to the choice of pastors to establish in your diocese, for the care of souls; and as regards the seminaries, the Council of Trent has given rules which have been elucidated by our predecessors; but as all these things are so well known to you, there is no necessity to dwell any longer on them.

"You are well aware, venerable brothers, of how much consequence it is that you should personally reside in your respective dioceses; it is an obligation which you have contracted in virtue of your ministry, as seen in several decretals of the councils, and by the apostolic constitutions which the holy Council of Trent confirmed in these terms: 'Since it has been ordained by the divine precept to all those who are charged with the care of souls, to know their flocks, to offer for them the holy sacrifice, to nourish

them by the preaching of the Divine word, by the administration of the sacraments, and by the example of good works, and to give a paternal attention to the poor and other persons who are in affliction and misfortune, duties which can never be fulfilled by those who do not watch over their flocks, but who desert them like mere mercenaries; the holy council requires and exhorts them to recollect the divine precepts, to render themselves the model for their flocks, to nourish and guide their sheep in the path of justice and of virtue.'

Leo XII continued to insist on the duties imposed on the bishops in regard to their residences and pastoral visits. It is to the bishops, and not to their ministers, the care of their flocks has been confided. The pope cited this excellent maxim of Saint Leo the Great: 'In the struggle against the enemies of the church, no victory is so felicitous as that in which there are no more combats to succeed the triumphs.' The pontiff recalls the scintillation of St. Jerome, which, though scarcely appearing, becomes a flame, in their construction and use of it, threatening to consume cities, forests, and entire regions.

"There is a sect which cannot be unknown to you, injuriously arrogating to itself the name of philosophy, that has resuscitated from their ashes the scattered phalanxes of every species of error. This sect, outwardly presenting the flattering appearance of piety and liberality, professes *toleration*, thus it is named, or rather *indifference*; and extends not only to civil affairs, of which we do not speak, but even to those of religion, in teaching that God has given to man a perfect liberty; in such wise that each one may, without endangering his salvation, embrace and adopt any sect or opinion as best pleases himself, according to his private judgment. What shall I say more? the iniquity of our enemies has augmented so much, that besides the deluge of pernicious books, opposed to the faith, they have attained the point of wresting the Holy Scriptures, to the detriment of religion, which were given from on high for general edification.

"You are aware, venerable brothers, that a society, vulgarly called *BIBLE SOCIETY*, audaciously spreads itself over all the land, and that in contempt of the traditions of the holy fathers, and against the celebrated decree of the Council of Trent, they aim, with all their strength and by every means, to translate, or rather to corrupt, the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue of every nation, and which gives a just cause of fear that it may happen with every other translation, as it has with those already known, namely, 'that it is therein found, by a bad interpretation, instead of the Gospel of Christ, they give the gospel of men, or rather of devils.'

"Many of our predecessors enacted laws to divert these streams. Pius VII, of blessed

* Such orders—"ordines"—as in the days of Peter, were Pagan and military alone!—S. H. C.

memory, despatched two briefs, one to Ignatius, archbishop of Gnesna, the other to Stanislaus, archbishop of Mohilev. In these briefs, we find testimony drawn as much from tradition as from the Holy Scriptures, and digested with care and wisdom, to exhibit the pernicious effect of this subtle invention on the faith and morals of the people.

"For you, venerable brothers, do not lose courage. On every side, as we aver again with St. Augustin, the waters of the deluge are roaring around us in all directions; that is to say, in the multiplicity of doctrines; we are not in the deluge, but it encircles us; its waters press on us, but do not overrun us; they follow us, but do not overwhelm us.

"We, therefore, again exhort you not to allow your courage to abate; you will have for yourselves, and we expect it with confidence in the Lord, the power of secular princes, who, as is proved by reason and experience, defend their own proper cause in defending the authority of the church; as otherwise it will never be possible to render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, if they do not render to God that which is God's. To speak again with St. Leo, you will have all the good offices of our ministry toward you. In your disappointments, your doubts, and all your necessities, have recourse to this apostolic see; as God, according to St. Augustin, in the seat of unity.

"Finally, we conjure you, by the mercy of the Lord, to aid us with your voice and your prayers, to the end that the spirit of grace may dwell in us, and that you may not waver in your judgments; since he who has given you the inclination for a union of sentiment, works for the common good of peace; that all the days of our life, prepared in the service of the Lord, and disposed to lend you the support of our ministry, we can with confidence address this prayer to the Lord: 'Holy Father, in thy name preserve those whom thou hast given me.' As a pledge of our confidence and our love, we send you with all our heart, the apostolic benediction, to yourself and to your flock.

Given at Rome, near Saint Mary Major, May 5th, 1824, and of our pontificate the first. LEO P. P. XII."

These documents of the pontifical autography, so claimed and construed, we value as peculiarly definitive of the character of the papacy. They evince what the system is—specious usurpation, saintly hypocrisy, false benevolence, self-deification, most execrable assumption, organized antipathy to the truth, sincere enmity against God, and a politic 'unity' of hostile measures against the circulation of the Holy Scriptures. The "vulgarly called Bible Society" fills his unholiness with a panic. He faints at the very idea, like Ahab in the presence of Elijah—

Hast thou found me, O mine enemy! Again, the doctrine of personal responsibility, and the consequent duty, as well as the right, of private, that is, personal judgment in religion, puts altogether into disarray his dignified equability and his affected indifference. He purposely mis-states the doctrine however. No one supposes that God has given to man the liberty to pervert his truth, in private or official spheres; this was tantamount to the idea that God gives us the right to do wrong, or the privilege of irresponsible action. This, however, is the truth, that God has kept the human conscience in his own power; requires each of us to honor him as our Lord Paramount in all our ways; commands us to *prove all things, to be not the servants of men*; obligates us individually to do what is right, and forbids any created power to usurp his place as Lord over us, or by intervention to eclipse his light, and shade the spirits of his people. Even his apostles disclaim the power which their pseudo-successors so gloriously usurp; saying, *not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy; for by faith you stand*. But the most distinguished protestant symbols have set this great question in a proper light; witness the following, which deserves to be registered on the firmament of heaven in stellar capitals—or, better engraven on the immortal tablets of the human heart, especially the first sentence:

"GOD ALONE IS LORD OF THE CONSCIENCE; and hath left it free from the doctrine and commandments of men, which are in any thing contrary to his word, or beside it in matters of faith or worship; hence the rights of private judgment, in all matters that respect religion, are universal and inalienable. Nor do we wish to see any religious constitution aided by the civil power, farther than may be necessary for protection and security; and which, at the same time, may be equal and common to all others."

Here are the principles of civil liberty, of genuine republicanism, and peculiarly of American constitutional freedom. Here they are—based immovably on the adamant of God, principled, impartial, and eternal!

The malady of the pope had not entirely suspended his labors; it had apparently only suspended their publication. The 17th of the same month of May, the holy father made public a brief relative to the Jesuits. In this brief, which commences thus, "*Cum multa in urbe*," the pontif recollects that the foundation of the Roman college was due, originally, to the munificence of Gregory XIII, and to the zeal of St. Ignatius Loyola; that the pope confirmed this college to the regular scholars of the Society of Jesus, and that they happily acquitted themselves of this charge as long as they subsisted. Pius VII, who reëstablished this college, August 7th, 1814, had principally in view the instruction

¹ What a wonderful solace, what a pious resource! S. H. C.

of youth, and the reigning pontif declared he knew that his predecessor had it in view to recall the Society to the Roman college. In effect, in the month of May, 1821, this pontif said to the cardinal della Genga, that such was his intention, and that by reason of this determination, he confided to his eminence the spiritual direction of this college. His holiness, Leo XII, having since occupied himself with the same project, determined to give it a prompt execution. In consequence, the pontif ceded and assigned in perpetuity, to the Society of Jesus and to its general, the Father Louis Fortis, the Roman college, with the church of Saint Ignatius, the oratory contiguous called the Pere Caravita, the museum, which, unhappily, was despoiled of a part of its ancient riches, the library and the observatory, with every thing pertaining to it. The Jesuits had to sustain the same classes in the college as there had been in 1773, nearly fifty-one years before, to which the pope wished them to add a chair of sacred eloquence, and one of physics and chemistry.

"We recommend," said the holy father, "that, besides the zeal for religion, which it is proper should animate the fathers, and conformably to the end of the Society, which is to labor for the salvation of souls, not only that they should strive to instruct the youth confided to them, in literature, but that they should form them to the exercise of piety in the established congregations, and also watch over the faithful in the oratory of the Caravita."

His holiness granted to the fathers twelve thousand Roman crowns annually, to be paid them by the treasury, to date from the month of October following. The pope maintained the rights and privileges of the college to confer the degree of doctor of arts and of theology, and to aggregate to the Congregation of the Annunciation of the Holy Virgin—called, *Prima Primaria*. The Jesuits were to publish, as occasion required, astronomical observations, and other information beneficial to education.

The cardinal Pacca was charged to place the fathers in possession of the college in the month of October, to the end they might commence their lectures in November, under the auspices of the Holy Virgin and of the other saints. His holiness had further resolved to erect a college for the nobility, and to confide it to the Jesuits. For this purpose, he gave them a house at Tivoli, which had been built for the ancient college of nobles. The holy father finished by addressing prayers to heaven for those intrusted with such difficult functions, that they might acquit themselves worthily.

The indefatigable zeal of Leo XII knew no repose. His holiness reviewed, corrected, and extended daily, the brief he was about to publish, announcing the jubile of the year 1825, and the opening of the sacred gate.

June 13th, the pope published a bull called, *Cum nos nuper*, to suspend the indulgences during the approaching jubile, which thus commences:

"Leo, bishop, servant of the servants of God, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*: We have, recently, with the consent of our venerable brothers, the cardinals of the holy Roman church, announced to all Christian people the celebration of the jubile, which is to commence at Rome on Christmas Eve next, and to continue until the close of the following year."

The pope maintained the indulgences granted under the head of death; he maintained those which Pope Innocent XII, and others, have accorded to the faithful who devoutly accompany the holy sacrament when taken to the infirm. Then follows the nomenclature of all the indulgences to which he adheres.

Since he suspends all the other indulgences and concessions emanating from the apostolic see, without ceasing, as stated at the head of the bull, to provide with paternal care for the spiritual wants of the faithful dispersed throughout the world, to preserve and nourish in the hearts of Christians, a proper zeal for works of religion and piety, and, finally, to maintain the efficacy of prayers and suffrages for the dead, according to the false doctrine of that false see.

The pope deemed it necessary to publish this important bull, desiring the assembling at Rome, in the unity of faith and religion, all the faithful, who, with suitable dispositions, should visit the basilic of Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint John de Lateran, and of Saint Mary Major.

The bull had been given at Rome, near Saint Mary Major, the 12th of the Calends of July, 1824, and of Leo's pontificate the first.

On the 8th of September, the cardinal Severoli, succumbed under his sufferings. This cardinal had, moreover, been calumniated in the conclave. He appertained to the party of the *Zelanti*; but his opinions were not extreme. He had the weakness, perhaps, to say, and to believe, that the pope, Leo XII, had received immense obligations from him, and that he could ask every thing of him; and thus, in this spirit of intoxication, he demanded, as cardinal, more than he would have granted as pope. But before harshly judging such matters, it is requisite to examine the circumstances. It was impossible, that which occurred after the conclave, should not assume the color which it has been attempted to reproduce. It is quite certain that such incertitude was not destined long to continue, and that the veritable authority, legitimate and responsible before God, should not delay in showing itself in place on the throne, and there assuming a shape of power which no obstacle could destroy.

The emperor of Austria, on the 10th of September, returned his reply to the notifi-

cation of the jubile; it was conceived, he said, in sentiments which proclaimed great benevolence. The cardinal della Somaglia evidenced sincere joy at this news; he, perhaps, expressed too much; as he found at the end of the letter some expressions which restricted the effect produced by the first words. The cardinal thus acted, probably, because the remainder of the diplomatic corps, except the charge d'affaires of France, exhibited an extraordinary propensity to censure the measure of the jubile.

The minister of Naples, the marquis de Fuscaldo, expressed himself in regard to it in strong terms, which he imbibed from the despatches of his court, and from the questionable or ill-founded prejudices of some Roman societies. This minister went so far as to say that the emperor would not give his consent to the celebration of the jubile, which he reiterated even when the letter of his imperial majesty was in the hands of nearly all the world; since, at that time, the contents of the letter were distinctly known. His imperial majesty regretted that the cares of his crown did not permit him personally to visit Rome; but he was ready to second, with all his power, the measures relative to the jubile, so far as they were compatible with the laws and interests of the state. These expressions having been communicated to Fuscaldo, he did not refrain from his opposition, but replied:

"It is certainly very well for Rome and Austria, who are both embroiled; but at the same time, though the promise is flattering, to second the measures relative to the jubile, there is a malicious little proviso to add, *which may be compatible with the laws and interests of the state.* The laws of the state are every where written; the interests of the state are neither written nor published. The interests of the state is a thread which may be drawn out at pleasure."

Naples was emerging from a revolution which she did not wish recommenced. All displacement of her subjects seemed to menace it. Naples wished to remain tranquil. One must not disapprove of every thing in the conduct of M. de Medici, who gave nearly one-third, perhaps more, of the revenues of the kingdom, to nourish and pay the numerous Austrian battalions advanced to his support, and who did not speak of departure, although the maladies of the climate decimated those unfortunate troops every month.

It was generally agreed that the gist of the communication made by M. de Gennotte, charge d'affaires of Austria, in the absence of M. de Comte Appony, might be considered in the light of a reconciliation after the exclusion given hardly a year previous; but at the same time the last paragraph was inserted as a harbor of safety to introduce difficulties in the way which might be judged necessary.

In September, the fatal news of the mala-

dy of King Louis XVIII were received at Rome. Letters from the nuncio announced the grief of the French court, and of the whole nation. On reading these letters the pope said to his secretary of state, "What! have you no better news to report to us?" and burst into tears.

The pope had shed sincere tears for the condition of the king; at the same time he placed the most entire confidence in the sentiments which animated his august brother, whom he called the happy father of the duke d'Angouleme, so much had the successes in Spain penetrated his holiness with respect for such useful victories!

The insurrections of the subjects of his Catholic majesty, became consolidated. The government of Columbia judged it proper to send Don Ignatius Texada to Rome, charged to ask of the pope, bishops, or apostolic vicars. M. le Marquis de la Constance—M. de Vargas had received this title from King Ferdinand, in recompense for services rendered to the royal cause—presented himself before the pope to exact that Don Ignatius should not remain in Rome. The Spanish minister, on this occasion, spoke in respectful terms to the pope, but at the same time forcibly, which troubled his holiness. He had occasion to recollect a part of the words which he had heard from the mouth of Consalvi; but the term assigned by this great minister, the term in which resistance ought to commence, had not yet arrived.

The positive demand of Don Ignatius was eluded: it was shown that he had come to obtain only rescripts in matters of conscience. He handed a note of some favors which he appeared to solicit for his own family, and he promised, on obtaining them, that he would leave the papal states.

It was particularly for the republic of Columbia, which this agent wished to treat. He gave effect to an argument which moved the Roman court; he restricted himself to say: "I simply pray you to apply to this state, the indirect acknowledgment which has been the rule of the holy see under Innocent X and Alexander VII, at the period when the house of Braganza finished by succeeding in its revolution against Spain." M. de Vargas, born at Badajoz, and one of the most rancorous and proud Spaniards to be found in all Spain, did not relish this policy, and demanded anew the removal of the revolted Columbian.

M. de Vargas, in his conversations with the Roman court, endeavored to lead them into a system of rigor against the insurgent Spaniards.

September 23, the pope was apprised of the death of Louis XVIII. At the audience granted by his holiness relative to this mournful event, he remarked, "We experience a sincere grief; but, in the loss of a good king, you have the consolation of having acquired another good king."

September 28th, the anniversary of the election of his holiness, was observed. The marquis de la Constance, in the character of oldest minister, addressed a discourse to the pope in Italian, remarkable for the warmest and most open sentiments of filial tenderness. Leo, after having listened to him with particular good feeling, replied in a manner the most tender and affecting. He expressed in this reply, how much he was touched with the wishes avowed on the part of the courts, and he assured him, that since God had spared him a longer life, there should be no doubt as to his zeal for the interests of Christianity and the peace of the world. He felicitated M. de Vargas on finding himself the head of the diplomatic corps, and the worthy interpreter of the sentiments of the courts; and, in short, he acquitted himself with much nobleness, dignity, and magnificent words, duties which, in pleasantry, he called his *universal monarchy*.

The consistory announced they had just held the vigil. The pope had created as cardinal, the archbishop of Milan, Monsieur de Gaisruck, which the malady of Pius VII had then prevented; the archbishop d'Evora, in Portugal, who had not been proposed by M. de Vargas, and the bishop of Saluces.

All declared in the most imposing manner that Leo XII governed by himself; since applications were made to him alone to obtain positive decisions. It had been spread about, that the cardinals, ultra *Zelanti*, had formed a ladder, as it were, to circumvent him, that he might not escape their importunities; but to be just, after the death of Severoli, none of the *Zelanti* showed any more pretension to this authority than had been exercised by the bishop of Viterbo. Besides, the countenance of Leo XII proved that if they had not the virtue to importune him no longer, he possessed the courage to command, and which did not recognise importunate demands. All which might have been said respecting the incertitude of the government, henceforth had no further cause; if Leo acted unwisely, it was only himself who was deceived. We can thus, at this moment, exclaim, "Glory to God and to his vicar; Christianity and Rome have no further reproaches to address, the one to its author, the other to its sovereign."

These feelings of independence manifested themselves in a thousand circumstances.—Already the pope had unexpectedly visited the prisons. He went to see, without being attended, those of the capital, where prisoners for debt are detained; his holiness interrogated several of the prisoners, whom he caused to be set at liberty, after listening to them with affection; at the same time giving directions for the payment of the debts for which they were confined.

A few words may here be said respecting the police of Rome; and no where—from whatever cause of virtue or policy—do they

show more regard to strangers. If there is, as is to be found in all places, the spirit of observation more or less vigilant, which tends to the security of citizens and strangers; none are more discreet, more polite or deferential, than an agent of the Roman police. Near the common father of the faithful, it is said, every one is at home; furthermore, it may be said, even the *separated brothers*, who are not always just, *are also at home*, and enjoy this liberty, notwithstanding the extravagance of the demands and customs they bring into the states of a prince, who, in fact, is sovereign at home, and of whose power all other monarchs whatever might be jealous; as some of his philosophic flatterers love to represent it. Thus, vanity and pride favor each other.

It has been shown that Leo XII had nominated M. de Pins administrator of the diocese of Lyons; it still remained to complete a formality. M. de Pins might die—what becomes of the episcopal authority on the death of a bishop, is well known. It became necessary to provide for M. de Pins, in case of his decease. A brief, containing the requisite authorization, was sent to the government of the king.

The pope wished also that an official note should be addressed in reply to that in which he was notified of the death of the king, as follows:—

"You could not have given to the cardinal-dean, secretary of state, more dolorous news than that of the death of his most Christian Majesty, Louis XVIII, king of France. The virtues which adorned the august monarch, the moderation and wisdom with which he has governed his kingdom, in such difficult times are, with reason, deplored by France, who, after the vicissitudes of so great lustre, has regained her ancient estate, when she flourished with so much splendor. This death has keenly excited the sensibility of his holiness, who well knew and admired the profound religion of this most Christian king, and who consoles himself with the reflection of the luminous piety which has always distinguished his august brother, who has succeeded him under the name of Charles X.

"The undersigned, in expressing his acute grief for this afflicting news, in reply to your note of 23d instant, renews the assurances of his high esteem.

G. M. Cardinal DELLA SOMAGLIA."

The pope wished himself to manage the progress of the affair which called Don Ignatius Texada to Rome. It may not be useless to add some new particulars, which tend to exhibit still further, the character of the Spaniards, who, after having been subjects of the same master, were divided on the question of the legitimacy.

Don Ignatius had just taken his departure for Bologna. He had seen the pope, and

the secretary of state, by whom he had always been treated with reserve, as a political agent, and with good feeling when he simply called himself a son of the church. The Columbian contended, that after he had sojourned some time at Bologna, he would return to Rome. The marquis de la Constance replied, that it was not credible that this minister could reside at Bologna, since he had orders to quit the states of the holy father, and as to the rest, it was not impossible, but *very difficult*.

Without the great resistance which M. de Vargas opposed to this affair, it is probable that the Roman court would not so soon, nor so openly, have had a rupture with the Columbian government. The pope tenderly cherished M. de Vargas, and he suffered once more against his will, but in another order of duties, the subjection which friends sometimes know how to impose, and which a sensitive soul cannot always repel, without experiencing the most insupportable lacerations. Don Ignatius wished to see M. de Vargas, but the latter felt obliged to refuse all intercourse. How could they see each other? M. de Vargas passionately loved his king; he found the most *imperative duties* in this name of *Marquis de la Constance*. Don Ignatius had been, or rather then was, an exalted revolutionist; we have seen in France these disorders of the imagination, this despotism of insanity, which, happily, is now healed in many brains for a long time diseased. M. de Vargas and Don Ignatius, in the presence of each other on the same soil, would have been like the meeting of two volcanoes. "What," said M. de Vargas with a chivalrous eloquence, "speak in the same language for and against the interests of the Catholic king! It does not appear to me possible. The inhabitants of the union, and the English, it is true, curse each other in the same language; I do not wish the Castilian language to receive a similar affront." Alas! it has suffered this affront, and will for a long time. Still, it is proper to explain briefly, that which appeared a rudeness in M. de Vargas; who, with all his petulance, was a very skilful statesman.

Don Cienfuegos, who had arrived at Rome in the name of Chili, had published such extraordinary and false reports respecting his communications with Pope Pius VII, the cardinal Consalvi and M. le Chevalier Aparici, charge d'affaires of Spain, that M. de Vargas feared to be cited for the shortest interview, and had the wisdom to refuse any conference.

M. de Vargas would have been very much embarrassed if Don Ignatius, after having passed the *Porta del Popolo*, in coming from Leghorn, had contented himself with visiting the monuments; had abstained in the commencement from all affairs, from any communication with troublesome spirits, to-

wards whom a strict watch was already observed; if he had not wished secretly to be heard and honored by the papal government, if he had not constantly demanded to display his extensive credentials; as in digesting the form of new governments, who think the exaggeration of their local affairs constitutes every thing; finally, if he had shown more tact and intelligence, which he much required to succeed. From such a course of conduct, added the minister of his Catholic majesty, he could not expect to obtain any thing.

Thus, Don Ignatius, who brought a tribute from the Catholic persuasion in an important part of the new world, and who, in this respect, had hoped to interest the holy father, a pontiff, quite surprised at not being free to love and assist his children in Columbia, fomented, without wishing it, and without knowing it, troubles in the heart of Rome, and in the provinces of the pope, who should also, as temporal sovereign, watch over the political tranquillity of his own states at home. It was natural that they should continue to entertain the question of the jubile. We shall thus see the character of Leo XII developed with as much firmness as address.

The marquis de Fuscaldo had made, repeatedly, to the pontifical government, overtures relative to this question. This minister did not confine himself to objections, although it was said to him, among other arguments, "Europe, during twenty-two years, has been living in a sort of general expectation; it was impossible to hold a jubile in 1800. Europe, at present, is at peace, let us, then, celebrate the jubile." It was seen that M. de Medici, prime minister of Ferdinand, king of Naples, was at this time extremely opposed to the measure. Afterward, he showed more complaisance.

In the name of the king, his master, but without a written notification, M. de Fuscaldo represented that from his great age, he had personal knowledge of that which occurred on the occasion of the jubile of 1775, published by Clement XIV. At this period, to prevent a sort of invasion by the pilgrims of Calabria and Sicily, it was permitted to the archbishops and bishops, to celebrate particular jubiles on Palm Sunday, and to accord the same indulgences and favors which they would have obtained in going to Rome. The pope addressed briefs to this effect, and not one third of the pilgrims, who had manifested a desire to undertake the journey, visited the capital of Christendom.

The legation of his Sicilian majesty had, at that time, to attend to the least urgent wants of this restricted number of individuals, and the treasures of the sacred year were not less scattered throughout all the states of King Ferdinand.

It was said that Austria, to concede what was due to her laws and to the interests of her people, had induced the Neapolitan go-

vernment to adopt the words, which the secretary of state audited with so much tranquillity, in restricting himself to reply that he would refer them to the pope.

M. de Fuscaldo, meanwhile, went to see the ministers, his colleagues, and appeared to hope that his representations being known by the other sovereigns, they would produce a favorable impression on the mind of Leo.

The pope, on the other hand, affected to decide, in not publishing any modification, that he had not received the reply of the kings of France and Sardinia; these two princes being masters of the two great routes through which the pilgrims would pass from England, from France, from Spain, and from lower Italy.

The government of Turin, without entering into the least detail, wrote to the charge d'affaires respecting the manner in which the French pilgrims, or others, should be received into the country; he had been written to watch the conduct of the Piedmontese, either in going to Rome, or any other city of the Roman states, for example, to Loretto.

Notwithstanding, preparations were made for the accommodation of six thousand pilgrims; but this provision might not be sufficient, as it ordinarily happens that there are thirty thousand pilgrims present on the opening of the sacred gate.

The Austrian legation expressed itself with moderation, and M. de Gennotte obeyed his instructions with punctuality. The principal opposition, which admitted scarcely any compliance, was manifested by the legations of Russia, Bavaria, Prussia, Wurtemberg, and Hanover. Of these five legations, Bavaria only had the right to speak, and this right was to be exercised by the cardinal Hoffelin. However, M. de Fuscaldo consented that a certain number of Neapolitan pilgrims should come to Rome.

I was charge d'affaires for Lucca, says our historian, and I connected these functions with those of charge d'affaires of France. At that time the minister for foreign affairs at Lucca, to whom the pope had sent no notification of the jubile, consulted me as to what he should do; I answered, that it was impossible to reply to notifications which had not been received; that the reply of France, solicited by me, was about to arrive, and that it would display good feeling to observe the spirit of it, and to display concord among the different branches of the house of Bourbon. The duke Charles Louis, son of the queen of Etruria, ought not to separate his policy from that of France.

As regards the opinions of the pope's counsellors, they were not all so determined as the pope.

The governor of Rome, Monsieur Bernetti, feared that disturbances should break out in consequence of the arrival of so many pilgrims, and that the liberals of Rome should trouble the public tranquillity. It pertained

to Monsieur Bernetti, a man so judicious, to know the danger, incurred in this respect, better than any one else; he knew all the secrets of the agitators, and it was his duty to call the attention of the government to such important considerations.

The treasurer, Monsieur Cristaldi, a pious man, and strict administrator, was divided between his religious sentiments, which drew him one way, and the austerity of his financial principles, which feared for the expenses to be supported by the state. The treasurer relinquished with regret some sums for the preparations already commenced.

The cardinal della Somaglia expected the replies of France, and with reason, as nothing highly religious can be effected without France! These replies could no more be those which had been written the 20th of July. Charles X was full of health; the project of the indemnity, entirely approved, would follow in due course. A reparation, made in honor and faith, would nobly evince itself in a pious manifestation; no formidable obstacle could, for a moment, prevent the expression of sentiments of devotion to the holy see on the part of this monarch, another Saint Louis, above all, under such solemn circumstances.

If the council of the papal government entered, with reserve and indecision, into the designs of the pope, he himself did not hesitate an instant in declaiming his sentiments.

It was gratifying to hear him say: "The jubile of 1775, was not accompanied with any difficulty. Every thing was calm in presence of the silver mallet with which his holiness opened the sacred gate. We shall speak of the difference between existing circumstances at that time, and those of the present day. There had been no jubile in 1800. It was impossible for it to be announced in 1799, on Christmas Eve; as the holy see was vacant. Italy, in the month of May, 1800, was covered with French troops, brought thither by the vicissitudes of war. We will not say that the jubile could not have been extraordinarily announced still later; some misunderstandings appeared in the commencement of 1805, and the disasters, from 1809 to 1814, are well known; we do not criminate any one, and Consalvi has given us on this point the most convincing reasons: all has been well. God has not less manifested his love for his church; but, in 1824, the latest moment for its publication had arrived; we have fulfilled this duty. There did not exist any reasonable excuse for deferring the jubile. The prescriptions enjoined by our predecessors since the beginning of the fourteenth century, and since perfected, shall be performed. Several sincere friends offer us useful lessons of caution; some of them testify their fears; others represent to us an exhausted treasury. They all have cause.—They are all the faithful servants of the holy

see; but it is not on them that strict history will fasten its censures. Leo XII did not blindly assume this name, so eminently signifying courage. We do not think that the liberals, our only enemies, will disguise themselves as pilgrims, and come here with concealed arms under their cloak of piety, or with an assassin's dagger sheathed in the pilgrim's staff. We should intrepidly present ourself before them, and as it is said we are without soldiers, appear with the single authority of our person. Will they, on the journey, retain the secret of a culpable intention? Most assuredly, our children, the Catholic kings, and even the separated sons of our care, will close their gates, and impede the continuation of a criminal journey. We have announced the jubile. We have listened to those who wished us to modify some expressions they deemed imprudent; but which we do not regret, as the cardinals and prelates who possess our confidence, distinguished them by their eminent wisdom. At present, the sacred trumpet has sounded, the Christian nations are convoked; we shall accomplish our duty, we shall fear no danger. If there is any thing to hazard, this hazard will be our joy, our happiness, our palm. We should transmit the example such as we have received it."

At this time reports, unfavorable to the cardinal secretary of state, were in circulation; it was announced that he was to be superseded, and that he would accept the place of datary. On this subject I will mention a fact to give an idea of the power of the diplomatic corps at Rome. I was waiting for audience with the secretary of state, when one of these gentlemen approached me and said that it was with the cardinal himself it was necessary to contest when he wished to withdraw himself; and went so far as to say, "Gossip with him and *encourage him*; if he will not leave this, let him remain."

It was thought that the place of datary had attracted the cardinal. In truth, the duties of secretary of state are scarcely remunerated; and it will hardly be believed, yields perhaps not one thousand dollars. That of datary is the most lucrative of all.

I then said, in a pleasant way, to his eminence, intending well both towards France and Rome, "Monsieur, after having been ambassador near four princes, near the duc de Laval, and, subsequently, sole ambassador at the court of Saint Louis, it is requisite that your eminence should at least attend to these letters of recall."

The conversation then became more intimate, and some complaints were slightly touched. To extricate myself from the step in which I was engaged, and to finish without inciting a reply, I rose and said to the cardinal, "behold, my lord, that which we all see. Since this letter of the king, of June 4th, which was so badly received, to whom

the pope did not write, I am certain, until forced by an interference which he will not, and ought not to avow, he has resolved to govern alone. He could not receive in good part some indirect reproaches on this subject, which had resulted in injuring him. Actually, he wishes to be master; he wishes to separate from the counsellors who abused his confidence, and with whom he does not see clearly into that which is past. It is necessary to submit; he calls himself *Lion*.—You are aware of his adherence to the jubile, and he will overcome all opposition. I have a presentiment which induces me to believe that the king will write him an affectionate letter, regarding the jubile, and that he will applaud his courage. Pius VII was a pope who required a minister; Leo XII will not retain a secretary of state who leads him; but he requires to have near him a man of experience and research, of whom he could seek counsel without fear."

The 25th October, conformably to the orders of Charles X, the day on which the obsequies of Louis XVIII were celebrated at St. Denis, a funeral service for the same object was observed in the national church of Saint Louis. The mass was sung by Monsieur, the ancient bishop of Senez, and four others, assisted in the ceremony of the absolution. What trumpery! What impiety! And what an illustration of the "successors of the apostles!"

The absence of M. de Vargas was very much regretted, who died the previous evening from an attack of apoplexy. This worthy minister, so famed for his sentiments of fidelity, and by the proof of acknowledgment on the part of his master in creating him Marquis de la Constance, had himself arranged a part of the ceremonies of Saint Louis. Before his death, he manifested to his friends, whom he had convoked, his ardent affection for the house of Bourbon, which he passionately loved wherever it reigned, and his profound recollections of the sacrifices made by Louis XVIII to save Ferdinand: he recommended the French and Spanish to remain perpetually united, to lean one on the other, declaring that all wars, in which the two nations should be engaged, under the same flag, would be of easy prosecution, and could not but command the peace of Europe. Naples, in such circumstances, should be the vanguard in Italy, particularly charged with the care of the states of the holy see, as the Bourbons could not cease to be Catholics.

It was natural that affairs should remain suspended for a moment, near the approach of the jubile. The project of organization presented by the governor, although very wise, had not been entirely approved. Nevertheless, the secretary of state said to the agent of France: "Let us rejoice! There is no cause for fear at present; this affair, from all accounts, is more regarded by France

than ourselves. You will arrange the method of reception. You are skilful organizers when you wish; nothing shall be exacted here from any of the ministers for the support of the pilgrims; we would sooner sell the silver in the churches."

These last words were attributed with reason to Leo XII, the man reputed at once the most firm and the most disinterested.

At the same time, the conduct of the treasurer Cristaldi was observed, who had become a sort of favorite with the pope.

With greater display than had been before made, Cristaldi seemed to manifest a third instinct. He complained to the pope of the backwardness in the receipt of imposts, and of the low price of provisions, and cattle.—"It is your fault at present," replied the pope; "you do not admit that the necessity of feeding so many pilgrims should tend to elevate the price in the markets." In fact, it was the duty of a provident administrator to protect the movement of commercial affairs. Thus Cristaldi, proclaimed as pious as heretofore, as economical as ever, placed in arrears, to sustain the credit, found that he had two reasons for one to acquiesce in the suggestions of his master. The treasurer allowed an assent to be drawn from him, through piety, and the obligation to accomplish the duties prescribed by the interests of internal policy; but he repeated withal: "I give notice of almost empty coffers, which have not absolutely six millions of Roman crowns, net revenue, for the ordinary wants of the government." And he disapproved of the generous measures of the governor; this latter, after he had returned, wearied of war, announced that he wished to be placed in a condition, by the outlay of sufficient means, to preserve the security of the routes, and in preventing the pilgrims, at all hazards, from committing excesses.—Nevertheless, no one dared openly to oppose Leo XII, who daily renewed before God, in the sacrifice of the mass, the engagement to accomplish the work of the *sacred year*; a master-piece of odious will-worship!

What troubles, what torments for the pontiff! But it was necessary to follow the torrent of affairs in which the court of Rome could not be long interrupted. Prelates, experienced juris-consults, had digested a *motu proprio* on the reform of public administration, civil procedures, and judiciary taxes. The pope, having learnt that this code was prepared, read it, caused it to be examined in his presence, and approved of it. Some parts of the work presented a new system, which merited the acknowledgments of the governed. On his first appearance, the pope was thanked in acclamations which sensibly affected him. One very remarkable thing, which proved the justice of the holy father, was, that this code overthrew the prerogatives of a tribunal called the *Uditorato Santissimo*, which, in the name of the pope,

could annul all judgments. This great and immense power, which greatly exceeded that of the court of Cassation in France, had been accorded to an authority less dependent on the sovereign. Leo XII appeared always first in the path of strict justice, and of a wise liberty. And, in short, the cardinal della Somaglia, sole author perhaps of a magnificent project, about to be mentioned, thus explained in diplomatic reunion: "Gentlemen, a project has been brought before the pope; it is to make, according to the example of Paul III, a spontaneous promotion of foreign cardinals. One day, Paul III surveyed all Christendom, and caused a statement to be made of the merits, talents, doctrines, and writings of many ecclesiastics. Among them he selected a sufficient number, to whom he sent the hat himself. It is certain that the pontiff derived good from it; that would not be an ordinary promotion. Well, the pope highly approved this project. It would be the promotion of virtue in all ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the entire world."

November 12th, the rumor was spread that M. le duc de Laval had returned to Rome, and that he had brought the reply of the king to the letter respecting the jubile. We cannot defer the publication of this letter, which was expected with so much impatience.

The duc de Laval Montmorency, was received with the honors due to his rank. He attended at a semi-public audience to present the letter to the pope, which was conceived in the following words:

"Most Holy Father:—The apostolic nuncio of the holy see presented to the late king, our well-beloved and much honored lord and brother, the brief which your holiness addressed to him, inviting him to the capital of the Christian world, to the end that he might benefit, by the favors which the church should distribute with abundance, on the occasion of the jubile of the sacred year. Your holiness, who knew the piety of this prince, and of his love for religion, ought to be persuaded that he had regarded it as a great benefit to repair to Rome from such a holy motive, if his prolonged sufferings, to which, at last he succumbed, had permitted him to undertake such a serious journey. The paternal goodness with which your holiness has always loaded our family, causes us to regard the invitation as made to ourself, which had been addressed to our august predecessor, and cannot doubt the disposition we have to enjoy a similar kindness, and to encourage our subjects by our example, if the imperative duties imposed on us at the moment of accession to the throne, did not render our person indispensable in our kingdom. Nevertheless, we embrace the occasion to testify to your holiness that we shall neglect nothing to assure the advantages of religion in our states, and to cul-

tivate with care the relations which happily unite us to the holy see. We beg your holiness to accord to us, as well as to our family, the continuation of your good-will. There is reason to believe that we shall always seek to obtain it, by the attachment and filial respect, which we shall constantly entertain for your holiness. Above all, we pray God to preserve you, most holy father, in the rule and government of our holy mother church.

“Given in our palace of the Tuileries, the 23d of October, 1824, and of our reign the first. Your devoted son,

The King of France and Navarre,

CHARLES.

Countersigned, the Baron de Dumas.”

This letter filled the heart of the holy father with joy. He expressed to the ambassador his great satisfaction; and on the occasion the latter renewed the demand of the hat for Monsieur de Croi, and the ambassador, in his account of what he had done, in a despatch to M. de Dumas, thus incidentally expressed himself: “The cardinal della Soma-glia remarked that justice and his duty warranted him in saying, that the demand had been made with great tenacity by the charge d’affaires of France, and that in general the papal government had constantly to flatter itself on its intercourse with this diplomatic agent.”

The pope, when reverently accosted respecting this request, said: “As to Monsieur de Croi, great is our fortune to have it in our power to do a single action agreeable to two of the kings of France.”

The first had demanded the hat, the second had renewed it. The pope ever remembered Louis XVIII for sending the cardinal de Perigord to Montrouge to ascertain news of the archbishop of Tyre.

The 2d of December, the duc de Laval presented his credentials. The formalities of the ceremony were observed with all the rigor of ancient times. The pope placed his hands on the ambassador, embraced, and prayed him to be seated on the chair prepared near the throne.

After which, his excellency rose, and presented all the members of the embassy, pronouncing their names, except that of the recent charge d’affaires, who had become principal secretary of the embassy. The duke, in a discourse, recalled all that might be expected and hoped in the church, on the part of the puissant monarch, to whom, since the Saint Louis, the august title of the most Christian king, had never been more justly applied. The holy father replied, in Italian, that he was happy to receive anew the testimony of the filial affection of the king, and he was further gratified that this noble mission had been confided to the duc de Laval Montmorency.

Previous to the ambassador retiring, the

pope inquired anew respecting the indemnity expected by the emigrants; the duke replied that the minister gave it all his care, devoting his days and nights to this great affair. His holiness expressed his lively satisfaction.

The marquis de Villena, son-in-law of M. de Vargas, discharged, to general satisfaction, the functions of charge d’affaires of Spain *ad interim*, when a courier arrived, who announced that Chevalier Courtois was appointed minister of his Catholic majesty at Rome, and that M. de Villena, with whom they were satisfied, would fill the functions as titular charge d’affaires at Lucca, which was an advancement in grade. The king of Spain was well pleased that they had not consumed, as had been desired by M. de Vargas, the royal correspondence with this minister, and the letters written by the Infant Don Carlos. These last were signalized by some eminent Spaniards as concealing a political secret, and they wished to read these letters at Rome, which would have been a punishable indiscretion. M. de Villena had, moreover, thought it better to send them to the king; the reputation for wisdom, the devotion to his brother, shown by Don Carlos, banished all cause for injurious suspicion.

To withdraw these letters from the knowledge of persons unacquainted with the political affairs of Spain, and more especially as those persons were Spaniards, it was proposed to place these papers under the seals of both legations; to which I assented with so much more alacrity, as I knew these letters, a part of which M. de Vargas had communicated to me. Those of the king were in a familiar tone, expansive and *delivered in confidence*, they treated of the evils of the times before the prison of Cadiz, of the hopes of Ferdinand in his allies, and principally on France. Those of Don Carlos, were tender, polite and amicable, as became letters addressed to the best friend of the king and his cause; each line evidenced prudence, sincere affliction, the love of Spain, the devotion of the subject for the king his lord, and tender expressions of religion. He revered his unfortunate brother, as the count d’Artois revered Louis XVIII in exile. I know, that since I saw those letters, I have felt a sentiment of admiration for Don Carlos, which I have since had no reason to relinquish. The king, who had been, perhaps, influenced to unite in absurd suspicious, had promptly demanded his own letters, and those of his brother. On their arrival, he hastened, a little after the manner of Philip II, to break the seals of this depository, which we had covered with lilies without number, and on a perusal of the latter, it resulted in increased esteem for the Infant. As a consequence of this affair, M. de Villena was recompensed; and the charge d’affaires of France was nominated a commander of the order of Charles III.

The duc de Laval, who had profoundly

studied the court of Madrid, charged a friend to write to M. de Villena: "Sir, you have shown yourself a man of mind; you well know the character of your master; you have contributed to preserve peace in the royal family."

Will this spirit of conciliation always exist between the two brothers, as it lasted between Louis XVIII and the count d'Artois? Before ascertaining this fact, we shall have terminated the narrative undertaken.

In the history of Leo XII it is necessary frequently to fix the eyes on Paris. At this moment, the news was received at Rome that the question of the indemnity to the emigrants was publicly discussed in Paris; this news was confirmed still later in a letter from M. le Count Ferrand, to all the journals.

After having presented his respects to the valiant Mareschal, MacDonald, Duc de Tarento, who proposed the indemnities in the month of November, 1814, he said he owed it to the memory of the wise monarch whom he lamented, that the first ideas regarding the indemnity, belonged to him. When M. Ferrand had the honor of proposing to him the restitution of all possessions not sold, the king lent himself readily to the proposition. At the same time this prince understood the natural regrets of the ancient proprietors, and was grieved that he could not simultaneously assign to them the indemnities; but as he had the intention, and as he hoped to have one day, he or his brother, with whom he lived in such perfect union of sentiment, the means to accomplish it, he wished that this desire should be presented in the expose of the intentions of the law, respecting the restitution of goods unsold. "His justice," wrote M. Ferrand, "loved to prepare for this event, his wisdom refused to prescribe any terms." He loved to give hopes, which we have seen realized in 1825, and which would have been realized in 1815 without the disastrous event of 1814, which cost France more than sixteen hundred millions of francs, for the single pleasure of restoring, during a hundred days, the phantom of the empire; that moral cadaver, which ought to have only the appearance of life, as history, after having written so nobly on an eternal glory, will one day punish this disobedience to the laws of death.

At the moment in which the Roman lords, interested towards France, vaunted this vast project of Louis XVIII, for the purpose of confounding the two brothers in their admiration, the following fact was told: In the presentations of the academy of sciences to his majesty, M. Arago, this prince of the savans of Europe, deputed to speak, and confused by his emotion, allowed the words, *my lord*, to escape; and endeavored to correct himself: "Go on," said the king, with kindness; "I would like to bear this title again." Thus should brothers love each other, even on the throne.

His holiness represented that he could not regard with indifference the condition of the church in the Spanish possessions in America, the dioceses of which were deprived of bishops, and the faithful loudly demanding pastors. The pope, desiring to retain a perfect harmony with the king of Spain, did not deem it expedient, for the moment, to accede to these wishes, but he made it a duty to engage the Spanish government to make efficacious efforts to restore the colonies to her authority, or to take such measures as would permit the holy see to fill the vacant churches.

At the same time a reply was addressed to the president of the Mexican republic, who had offered his homage in a respectful letter to the pope, regarding various objects relative to religion. This reply naturally finds insertion here:

"Dear Son, greeting and apostolic benediction:—We have received with the utmost satisfaction, the letter you were pleased to address us, under date of 30th October last, as also the various documents accompanying it. Our peculiar character, and the dignity to which we have been elevated, without being merited, requires of us that we should not intervene in any affair not relating to the church. We shall, therefore, content ourself to express to you our acknowledgment for your devotion, and to congratulate you for the peace and concord you assure us is at present enjoyed by the Mexican nation. Your constancy in the Catholic faith, and your veneration for the holy see, so strongly commend you to us, that we have with reason regarded you among the first to love in the Lord Jesus Christ. As to your affection for our person, to the sacred emblems, and to your promise to remain firm in sustaining the church, believe as certain that we have received the assurance with extreme pleasure, and we pray God to inspire and assist you in this most holy determination. At the same time, in proof of our love, not only for yourself, but for every Mexican, we send you our apostolic benediction, with all the warmth of a paternal heart.

"Done at Rome, the 20th June, 1825, and of our pontificate, the second.

LEO P. P. XII."

This step appeared worthy of the solicitude of the head of the church, who wished to prevent the consequences of such a long vacancy. The common father of the faithful could not but regard with inquietude the hazards of religion in all these new states, and if he admitted the rights of the king of Spain, he could not remain insensible to the wants of souls, and to the future destiny of a numerous population entirely reared in the Catholic faith.

The advanced season had not yet arrested

the concourse of the pilgrims at the jubile, and in the month of November, the hospital of the Confraternity of the Trinity had lodged thirty-nine thousand two hundred and five persons; namely, twenty-three thousand and ninety men, fifteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-four women, three hundred and eleven confreres, and fifty sisters.

At last, December 24, the day on which the sacred gate was to be closed, had arrived. The health of Leo XII was sustained, as it was said, by a special protection of Providence. The pope read in the morning, and approved the bull for the extension of the universal jubile celebrated in Rome, to all the Catholic world; a document which was to be signed on the morrow, Christmas-day. We shall recur to this publication, which had been solicited by several sovereigns.—The 24th December, after the first solemn vespers of the festival, celebrated in the chapel Sixtine, the cardinals and prelates being invested with the garments and ornaments of their dignity, the holy father also took his pontifical garments in the chapel Sixtine, and descending by the interior stairs, which led to the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, they entered in procession into the church of St. Peter. After venerating the relics therein preserved, and adoring the holy sacrament, his holiness, clothed with the pluvial, and holding a lighted torch, sang the anthem, *Cum jucunditate*. Then walking with his cortege, they emerged by the sacred gate, and ascended the throne prepared in the portico. When each one had taken his accustomed place in these ceremonies, the pope descended from his throne, and blessed the lime and tiles prepared to close the sacred gate, arranged on a *safe* with the implements to be used in the affair. After calling on the name of the Lord and reciting the prayers of the day, he caused himself to be girded with an apron by the master of the ceremonies, and kneeled on the sill of the gate, receiving from the cardinal grand penitentiary the silver trowel, and placing a trowel full of mortar on the centre of the step, said, *By faith and virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God,*—placing another trowel full to the right, he continued, *who said to the prince of the apostles, Thou art Peter, and then again to the left, continuing, and on this rock I will build my church.* On each of these he placed a brick, saying, on laying the first, *We place this first stone,* on placing the second, *To close this sacred gate,* and in laying the third, *Which is to be opened on each year of the jubile. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.* At this moment, the pope placed medals, and pieces of coin, struck during his reign; among these medals were some in commemoration of his restoration to health.

Now, let us pause at this termination of the jubile, and ask—what Christianity is

there in all this mummery? Mortal men, immortal, who read it, have you read also the Scriptures? Is it like the religion there described, or like Paganism, and the ostentatious fooleries of men! Oh! how silly, how abominable!

The fifth year of the pontificate had elapsed, and already had the first two months of the sixth been accomplished, on the approach of 1829, and it was not expected that the health of the pope would suffer, as the month of January witnessed but few ceremonies, and allowed time for repose.

On the day of the Purification, the pope assisted throughout the office in the chapel Sixtine. He blessed and distributed the wax tapers, according to custom, ordered the procession, attended the grand mass, and chanted the *Te Deum*, which is customary on that day at Rome, to thank God for having preserved this capital from destruction by an earthquake in 1703.

On the 5th of February, the pope descended by his private stairs to the apartments of his secretary of state, the cardinal Bernetti, and conferred with him some time. Returning to his apartments, he resumed his labors. In the evening, he experienced the attacks of a strangury. The malady increasing during the night, his physicians were summoned, who administered the ordinary remedies. However, the evil increased on the 6th and 7th. On the 8th, there was some relaxation, which inspired a wavering hope; but in the evening, the danger redoubled, and on the following morning, being more alarming, the sovereign pontiff himself requested the holy sacrament, which was administered to him by his private chamberlain, Barbolani. Shortly afterward, he wished Monsieur Soglia, archbishop of Ephesus and secret almoner, to administer the extreme unction, and he replied with courage and spirit to the accustomed prayers. The cardinal Bernetti, secretary of state, notified their eminences, the cardinals Somaglia and Zurla, and the diplomatic corps, of the situation of the pope. The sacred college hastened to the Vatican to ascertain the health of the holy father. The cardinal Castiglioni, grand penitentiary, entered the chamber of the august invalid, and assisted him, according to the duties of his office. The cardinal-vicar, who had caused the holy sacrament to be exhibited in the basilic of St. Peter, St. John Lateran, and St. Mary Major, commanded the priests to recite the prayer for the dying pontiff. All public exhibitions were closed. In the evening of the same day, the 9th, the holy father, who seems previously to have enjoyed his presence of mind, fell into a profound torpor, and breathed his last sigh, the 10th February, 1829, about half-past nine o'clock in the morning, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

The news of his death was rapidly promulgated, and Charles X of France, was

one of the first to testify his homage for his friend. The minister of ecclesiastical affairs, by his order, addressed the following letter to all the bishops:—

“The king, whom the closest ties attached to the holy father, and who had received the evidences of particular esteem, confidence and affection, deviating in this instance from the ordinary custom, has charged me, in notifying you of the death of Leo XII, to announce that it will be gratifying to him for you to ordain prayers to be said for the repose of his holiness’ soul.”

Having thus presented to the admiration of all Christendom, a pontif who is thought to have merited so much from the cause of the Roman religion, we shall proceed to a review of the principal events of this short reign.

In 1823, Pius VII, after having escaped so many misfortunes, departed full of years and of pontifical glory. The conclave was assembled, and foreign interests excluded a comparatively virtuous subject, injured by misrepresentations, and who would, without doubt, have made a venerated pope.—Without bitterly complaining, he resigned himself to his fate, and declared that the cardinal Annibal della Genga, former nuncio at Cologne, Munich, and at Paris, and cardinal-vicar by title, appeared to merit the tiara, which obstacles, difficult to overcome, had removed from the head of him who had been the first choice of the college. The cardinal della Genga was elected, and from the first moment exhibited a generous character, desiring that they should make choice of one of the colleagues who was not afflicted by such habitual suffering, and renewed his strongest refusal. But many of his colleagues persisting, he no longer refused.

The finances of the state of Rome were confided to the hands of an administrator of integrity, and alert in the exercise of his arduous functions. This prelate had estranged, by a course of conduct wanting in circumspection, the cardinal, now become pontif; but the pontif no longer remembered the insult of which he might have complained as cardinal, and hence he confirmed in his place the faithful administrator.

The former minister, who ruled during so many years, had also offended the nuncio, since elevated to such high degree in the ecclesiastical hierarchy; the pontif forgot the griefs a nuncio might remember, and manifested dispositions which were not slow of development. On the other hand, Consalvi had, perhaps, retained some censurable hostility, without, however, exposing himself to hatred.

A French cardinal, before taking leave of the pope, to whom he had given his vote, although another choice would have been dictated by France, before leaving Rome, published a pastoral, in which he took notice

of some complaints, regarding regulations observed in his country. The pope appeared to arrest the return of the French cardinal by his condescension. The pontif, contrary to the Roman custom, went to the church of St. John Lateran, vaunted as the mother and head of all the churches in the world, to chant the *Te Deum*, to attest the satisfaction felt by Rome for the glorious country of the French. Other ceremonies also succeeded the first, but the malady, which was enfeebling the pope reappearing, the subject of another conclave was agitated in Europe. Some revived their defeated hopes; others sought for counsel under the circumstances which might be developed. The pope, finding himself convalescent, wished to have an interview with Consalvi, who had fallen sick. The latter divulged to his master the most important state secrets. The pontif was moved, and with much sensibility accorded a pardon to Consalvi, which had not been sought. Death, who had his hand on two victims, smote but one. Consalvi succumbed, honored with the friendship and marks of the greatest confidence of Leo XII, valued much above par!

The question of the jubile met with its opponents, even at Rome. But the pope resisted like a twelfth lion. He consented to measures of precaution, of rigor even, but he was intent on the celebration of the jubile. This trait of strength will be an immortal glory—in the estimate of Romanists—for Leo XII. The pope united his tears with those of France for the wise Louis XVIII, and, at last, every obstacle to the opening of the sacred gate being overcome, they were opened, and the benedictions of all popish catholicism were liberally poured on a great number of infatuated fanatical pilgrims, hastening to receive them.

During the year of jubile, all the churches of Rome are renovated; the Romans welcome strangers; abundant alms are distributed; the wicked are restored to more gentle feelings; the true thoughts of the Roman court impress all minds, and those who come to be informed, return, it is said, healed of all misconceptions.

The papal and French governments were piously engaged in ascertaining and defending the interests of Romanism in the East. Leo XII diminished the contributions paid in the Roman states, and accomplished all the promises he had made to relieve the people from a great part of the weight of imposts. The hour in which the sacred gates were to be closed had struck. The jubile was extended to all Christendom, and the hospitality due and constantly accorded to the great, favored by fortune, was gloriously maintained by the pope. He concluded a concordat with the king of the Netherlands; the good faith of the Roman negotiators and of the envoy of Holland, was not imitated by the council of King William, and this con-

cordat is unacknowledged, without any blame being acknowledged as chargeable to Rome. Gifts for the rebuilding of the church of St. Paul continued to flow; Holland, Austria, and France sent considerable offerings. The first relations of Leo XII with the emperor Nicholas, were amicable and reciprocally benevolent. The French artists testified their gratitude to Leo XII, who had destroyed the brigands, so long notorious in the environs of Rome, and who closed the access of the painters to the forests and the ruins.

Attention was directed to Russia, where religion sustained a loss in the death of the senior archbishop, Stanislaus, archbishop of Moscow. Charles X was advised to sign some ordinances against the Jesuits, to which he resisted, saying, he was urged to submit to chimerical fears; but at last acceded. The ancient minister of the pope had resigned his functions, and was succeeded by a younger minister, who declared that his master wished to know every thing, to engage in and dispose of all. Rome lent her attention to the circumstances which led France to solicit, in common with Spain and Portugal, the destruction of the Jesuits. It is evident that in this matter, the duke de Choiseul acted only through complaisance to Charles III, cousin of Louis XV, and it is easy to see that if the duke had retained the minister, the policy of France would have been changed. The same minister, who ought to have foreseen the invasion of Poland, continued to pursue a system of compliance of which he had to repent. Leo XII was much embarrassed by the situation in which he was placed, on one side, by the little success of his representations to Louis XVIII, who had repulsed them, although he had done every thing to prove his desire to maintain the most profound peace between the holy see and France; and on the other hand, that sort of arbitration solicited by Charles X, to have the power of replying to the solicitations of his minister and to the just rights of so many useful instructors established in the kingdom. "The truth is mournful, if hatred, the poison of friendship, should be born of her; but compliance is still more melancholy, when, indulgent to faults, the friend is permitted to proceed to his ruin." What a precept, drawn from the most exact appreciation of the human heart! to quote the Roman orator, "to warn, and to be warned, is peculiar to true friendship. One must be assured that there exists not in friendship a greater pest than adulation, fawning, and assent." It is conformity and policy, not friendship.

Thus we have seen these two admirable princes addressing mutual good wishes, recalling the chivalric times when such magnificent presents were interchanged, mutually recommending their merchants and literary men; we have seen these two sovereigns

drawing on each other at sight, in a delicious commerce of suavity and tenderness. Charles X was the protector of the pontifical commerce. Leo XII thus wrote, "But how have you forgotten to reward the ineffable erudition of Champollion?" At Rome, the Legion of Honor was promised, or conferred. Paris would have distributed the cross of St. Gregory, if the idea of placing on the breast of men of religion, devotion, and civilization, the image of this great pontif had not been reserved for a successor of Leo XII. That which the triumphant arms of Napoleon could not obtain, the affection of Rome and her devotion to France, from simple letters dictated by the heart, obtained and imposed in a country where a strict duty, nevertheless, ordains an equal love for all, and defends the most restricted preferences. The two friends had some old accounts to adjust. When Henry IV, the ancestor of Charles, had entered into the bosom of the church, he presented the abbey of Clairac to St. John Lateran, the revenues of which the latter had received from 1599 to 1789. The revolution had swallowed the gift and the revenues, which exceeded the sum of sixty thousand francs. "It appears to us without doubt," said Leo XII, "that after so many just reparations, the church, *mother and head*; *mater et caput*, will have something to claim. What thinks your majesty?" "Yes," replied Charles, "I am your debtor. I have ordered twenty-four thousand francs to be sent yearly to my embassy, to be paid to the *mother church*. The state of the finances does not permit to offer more, and it is with a good heart I restore a part of that which I owe." What piety, how obsequious, how exemplary, this same Charles to that same Leo!

In short, this prominent feeling of friendship, so enthusiastic, subsisting between these two princes, was not always sufficiently encircled with the precaution necessary to be observed towards a tenderness too much given to self-denial and to the *assentation*, so truly discovered by the great philosopher of Tusculum. And, finally, if Charles X demanded too much, Leo XII, although a *lion*, was not sufficiently severe. How much sincerity of heart is there, in the sight of God, in all these regal courtesies and smiles?

We have never ceased to believe that the misunderstandings existing between the holy see and Russia, might possibly have a termination. A daughter of the emperor Nicholas, being at that time at Rome, she could not but follow, like her grandmother, the evidences of respect for the holy see, which signalized the journey to Rome, made by the good Empress Mary.

The care formerly taken to ornament the churches with beautiful monuments, was not neglected by Leo XII, and the sumptuous font constructed in the church of St. Mary Major, was much admired. Leo became popular with the Romans, by reason

of his care for his subjects and his occasional liberality to their wants. He remitted some of their taxes, and personally inspected the public institutions for the poor, in one or two instances, as also the prisons, the hospitals, and the police. When he announced the jubile, on Ascension-day, 1824, his encyclical letter to the nations of Christendom contained a characteristic and vehement attack on the "wicked" Bible Societies! as if the chief malaria of the world was owing to the crying sin of reading and distributing the Word of God! He gave to the Jesuits and their general-in-chief, Louis Fortis, the Roman college, which they had possessed as their own peculium till 1773, the oratorium, the museum, the library, and the observatory, for their filial encouragement, and that, with such a *donum paternum et solatium sanctum*, they might pursue their avocations with more advantage, and addict themselves with increasing zeal to the education of the young. Leo also strengthened the connection of the see of Rome with the Spanish American republics, particularly with Chili, and with Columbia in 1828, by recognising with such facility the bishops of Bolivar. He was surely bold, too, and leonine in asserting his prerogatives, in maintaining the rights of the church—as they are called—by a felonious misnomer. Hence the occasional disputes with the sovereigns, especially those of France and Austria, in which he was involved, not without considerable perplexity to the serene sea of his bosom, and quite

probing to the foundations of his awful infallibility—official though it be, as is now the subterfuge, and not personal! In 1825, he did another pontifical act, as showing him of the true apostolical succession, and showing us Americans too what he would do here, in our happy country, were he only as powerful as he is pious: HE RESTORED THE PRISONS OF THE INQUISITION! This ineffable benediction is still experienced in its effects under the government of his worthy successors; and will be granted to the United States of America, as soon as we are all so tired of liberty and law, and *the glorious Gospel of the blessed God*, as to desire or to endure it!!

His attention was particularly directed also, but with little ultimate efficiency, to the proper remedy of numerous abuses—their name was legion—in the departments of the Roman government; for example, in the *camera apostolica*—but the curtain here may fall on scenery which no human history shall portray, and which, in the day of judgment, will be first fully divulged by God himself to the astounded universe! *O my soul, come not thou into their secret; to their assembly, mine honor, be not thou united!* And may God preserve our incomparable country from the insidious potations of their sacerdotal influence and rule; that here at least and at last the truth may flourish, *the truth as it is in Jesus*, with all its natural concomitants of freedom and order, peace and piety, salvation and glory, unalloyed!

PIUS VIII, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIRST BISHOP OF ROME.

GEORGE IV, *King of England*.—CHARLES X, and LOUIS PHILIPPE *Kings of France*.—ANDREW JACKSON, *President of the United States*.

[Year of Christ, 1829.] The brief career of this pontif is also singularly vacant of historical incidents. He was about twenty months only gloried with the tiara and the adorations of the faithful. In the honors and the powers of the pontificate, he seems to have done little, perhaps only as restricted by his circumstances and without much opportunity to act, in any notable or eventful way, for the interests of the Roman state or the Roman church. His predecessors had weathered the devastating storm of the revolution, with its reverberations of terror and confusion, peeling through all Europe, insular and continental, and often discharging its inundations, with especial vengeance and dismay, in Italy. The age of blood and fury had subsided into comparative tranquillity. Fifteen years subsequent to the great battle of Waterloo, its consequences were felt, and

any semblance of its repetition was contemplated with religious or sentimental horror: and now (1846) when twice fifteen and more have extended the halcyon interval, the whole civilized world seem more averse than ever to the wanton trade of war. Well for them, and well for posterity, if so long an oasis of peace, interposed in the dreary and the bloody deserts of ages, shall have pacified the public sentiment of the world, and taught the nations *a more excellent way* than that of wholesale carnage and legalized murder, resulting from the rage of the passions and the wilfulness of boastful wickedness in the spirits of mankind! *Rebuke the company of spearmen, O Lord; scatter thou the people that delight in war!*

The popularity of this pontif and the general amenity of his manners and character, suited the times. He was a scholar, accord-

ing to the criterion of Rome; and by many esteemed as a philosopher. His views appear to have been contemplative, abstract, and generalized; and the softness of his carriage was conciliating, while it was qualified with the influence of reserve and an air of dignity, as well as with a pervading sanctity, which was esteemed by his favorers as a halo of celestial glory around him! In politics his principles were moderate and not inclinable to partisan affinities. He was hence considered as safe in his power, and as inclined alike to please the friends of the church and the powers of Europe. His promise was deemed signally good, and his career anticipated as fortunate. But there are other powers than those terrestrial and human. Heaven had ordained for him a very limited term of office, and death soon heralded him to the judgment-seat of Christ.

But we must survey more particularly some few passages of his life, as a man and as a pope; albeit our materials have little to satisfy curiosity, in reference either to the personal history of his life or to the minuter events, and more intimate motives, of his pontifical administration. In his public career, indeed, every sovereign, or other public person, is necessitated often to act on the advice of others; while, what belongs to the wisdom or to the folly of ministers, is officially adopted by the monarch, sometimes passively and as a matter of course, when doubtfully approved or possibly not understood. Pius VIII seems not to have so much lacked principles or plans of public action, as to have postponed their operation to some future occasion—that never occurred.

Francis Xavier Castiglioni was born at Cingoli, near Ancona, November 20, 1761, of a noble and honored family of the province. He made great progress at an early age in the study of the sciences, and especially in the canon law. From his earliest years he evinced a desire for the study of the Roman theology; to which all ecclesiastics, who repair to Rome to assume the prelacy, unite a reserved and submissive demeanor, contracted and painfully habituated from their earliest years. The Abbé Castiglioni deprived himself of the ordinary recreations, to which he had to be instigated by his masters. The scholar, and afterwards companion of Monsieur Devoti, he took part in his famous and beautiful work, entitled *Canonical Institutions—Jus Canonicum*—and Castiglioni is recognised as the author of copious and erudite notes, which accompany and complete this work, forming a continual and almost oraculous commentary. From this happy alliance, Castiglioni excelled in all the knowledge of the ancients, and especially in numismatics, as connected with the numerous specimens of coins, medallions, and obsolete medals, in the famous maga-

zines of antiquarian research and curiosity belonging to the court of Rome. In 1800, Pius VII, who well understood the merits of the cardinal, appointed him bishop of Montalto, a Roman town near Ascoli.—When the first relations with Napoleon commenced, the bishop of Montalto was consulted by Pius VII, and by the cardinals, pro-secretaries of state, who succeeded Consalvi.

In those times, when the church experienced so many reverses, in such mournful circumstances, in which the vaunted head of Christianity was about to be led into captivity, it was very felicitous to elevate to the prelacy a man of so much lauded erudition, apparently without ambition, and imposing by the severity of his doctrines and his habits of life.

Observed by the imperial police, he was notified that his zeal was displeasing; but he regarded only the orders of his master, and he continued in his public exhortations, in his homilies, and in the replies he addressed to the Roman court, to show himself the intrepid defender of the rights and duties of the church. The order to arrest this bishop, who appeared not dismayed by any danger, at length arrived. The prelate was successively exiled to Milan, Pavia, and Mantua, where he was placed under the most rigorous surveillance. The same man who proved so much ardor in his writings was, in his private life mild, polished, and apparently even timid; and the agents charged to supervise his conduct, could not refrain from declaring, that the bishop of Montalto universally inspired a feeling of profound veneration, esteem, and love.

On the announcement of peace, Castiglioni returned to his diocese amid the congratulations of the people, and a new correspondence was established with Pius VII, who had come from Rome.

March 8, 1816, the bishop of Montalto was one of the numerous promotions of cardinals announced at this time; and he was transferred to the bishopric of Cesene, the birth-place of Pius VII, in which locality the pontif wished to have a sincere and faithful friend. Still later, the cardinal Castiglioni was promoted to the suburbicary bishopric of Frascati, and also appointed grand penitentiary. This place, which is held to require the most profound knowledge and the utmost austerity of manners, was precisely adapted to Castiglioni, who had from his youth remembered these words of Isidore, "The ecclesiastic should shine as much by his knowledge as by his life; knowledge, without a pure life, tends to arrogance; a pure life without knowledge, becomes effete and useless." From this time he was employed in the congregations, in which the most delicate affairs concerning the holy see were discussed, and especially those relating to France. The embassy had occasion to

treat with him on several important points of discipline. The Roman negotiator, constantly reserved, was, in his written discussions, quite another man than as shown by his oral ones; strong in the confidence of Pius VII, and the assent of Consalvi, he stated with clearness that which he could at once accord, and became agreeable to Consalvi; the approach to whom he had perspicaciously discovered. Castiglioni maintained toward him a condescension which placed the minister much at ease, and wonderfully aided in the transaction of affairs. The seeds of conciliation were thus sown, which produced a perfect concord, with results happily realized as well as greatly advantageous to the two courts. At times, it was evident that Cardinal Castiglioni was open to persuasion, or that he prudentially allowed himself to be conquered on a question; but he would interrupt the interview which the cardinal Consalvi would continue. The learned man, the man skilled in the most difficult knowledge of privileges, and deputed to remove the first and greatest obstacles, the modest man, who was chosen as such, that he might be the first to speak; could not such a man become a model of skill, and an admirable type of obedience and the spirit of order, when he remains in the course prescribed to him, although appearing reduced to the secondary place in rank and office? A Consalvi, supreme moderator, entitled to be last heard; a Castiglioni, who ventured not until the time himself prescribed; such men, honoring the country which gave them birth, were obliged to cause the French negotiators to forget that one of these Romans had sent Pius VII to Paris, to crown the happy soldier, the enemy of the sovereign of France; and that the other, who had assumed but the second place, could have so proudly advanced towards the first, to terminate in a few words such thorny discussions; he who had strictly, in consequence of his knowledge, always loved the Bourbons as the true representatives of that which was right, of good order, legitimacy, and peace.

The cardinal Castiglioni received the last sighs of the popes Pius VII and Leo XII; and with these sighs, the twice told *afflictions*, if thus permitted to speak, such as the faithful Elisha is thought to have invoked from his master Elijah on the eastern shore of Jordan. If Leo XII did not designate his successor, Pius VII clearly did so; as in speaking to the cardinal Castiglioni, he familiarly said to him, "Your holiness, Pius VIII, will do much better than we, after us." Elisha said to Elijah, *I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.* Pius VII died in presence of Castiglioni; and in the latter, as with the two ancient prophets, *completus est spiritus ejus.*

The conclave was about to assemble; and the cardinal Joseph Albani, who had se-

conded Consalvi, when he supported cardinal Castiglioni, in 1823, was recognised as the head of the party of the latter in 1829. Austria and France showed themselves also united. France could have wished to see the cardinal Albani secretary of state; yet she paid but little attention to this circumstance, apparently to make some reparation to Austria, who had remained firm to her ally in the last conflict.

On the 31st of March the cardinal Castiglioni was elected pope; and the whole city of Rome witnessed with joy the elevation of so worthy and popular a candidate, enjoying a universal reputation for holiness, knowledge, and an uncommon ability in all the affairs relating to the holy see. The vote also is reported to have been unanimous.

The cardinal Castiglioni, who had been asked whether he would accept, replied, he would submit to the Divine will. On being interrogated as to the name he should assume, he returned with a sigh, Pius VIII.

The cardinal Albani, as chief of the order of deacons, had the honor to announce to the people the *gaudium magnum* of his accession.

The pope, Pius VIII, appointed the cardinal Albani, secretary of state. The holy see had been vacant forty-nine days, and the conclave had continued in session thirty-six days. Their unanimity was tardy.

On the 5th of April, the cardinal Pedicini was appointed secretary of memorials; and on the same day, the ceremony of the coronation was performed.

The news of the election of Pius VIII was conveyed to Paris in eighty-four hours.—Charles X, although still manifesting or sanctimoniously affecting the most bitter grief for the death of Leo XII, expressed great satisfaction at the termination of the labors of the conclave; as it is too true, that, in circumstances where difficulties threaten, it is happy for their ends that the holy see should not be vacant, but have a pontifical and oraculous head, to watch over the interests of religion—that is, of usurpation and papacy!

Pius VIII was extremely desirous to receive the acts of the council which he had authorized to assemble at Baltimore, to promote the interests of the church in the United States of America, which at last arrived at Rome. This council was opened October 4, 1829. After the accustomed prayers, the archbishop, with the bishops on their knees, recited the profession of faith of Pius IV, and all took the prescribed oath. The formula of this oath has been given in the history of Pius VII; but this oath cannot be too often brought to the notice of *Catholic readers*, or too well remembered by protestants, and too thoroughly understood by American freemen. It is here repeated in part: *Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam, omnium ecclesiarum matrem et*

magistrum, agnosco, Romanoque Pontifici, beati Petri apostolorum principis successori, ac Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro. Cætera item omnia à sacris canonibus et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue à sacrosancta Tridentina synodo tradita, definita et declarata indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; simulque contraria omnia, atque hæreses, quascunque ab ecclesia damnatas, rejectas et anathematizatas, ego pariter damno, rejicio et anathematizo, etc., etc. That is, "I acknowledge the holy Roman Catholic and apostolic church, mother and mistress of all churches. I promise and I swear true obedience to the Roman pontif, successor of the blessed Peter, prince of the apostles and vicar of Jesus Christ. I indubitably receive and profess all which has been decreed, defined and declared by the canons, and œcumenical councils, and principally by the holy Council of Trent; and, moreover, every thing which is contrary to them, and all heresies whatsoever, which have been condemned, rejected and anathematized by the church, I also condemn, reject, and anathematize, &c. &c." See canons and decretals of the Council of Trent, in loco.

For a long time the bishop of Montalto, the cardinal Castiglioni, and afterwards Pius VIII, was occupied in forming measures to act in concert with the society of the Propaganda, that this assembly might derive all the advantages it was possible to attain, and these advantages have been immense. To this day, similar councils are assembled, and the religion of Rome is thought to be more flourishing than formerly in a country composed almost entirely of protestants, or of Catholics, hardly known to practise the holy precepts of the church.

At the commencement of the year 1830, the pope, who had been suffering, was sustained by almost supernatural fortitude; and the pontif assisted with all possible frequency at the ceremonies held in St. Peter's.—Scarcely had he given his approbation to the operations in Baltimore, when new events occupied the cares of Pius VIII. By the decree of January 9th, the king of the Netherlands, constantly solicited by the cardinal Albani, who comprehended the character of this prince, and who managed this affair with great skill, decided that the college of philosophy, established by the university of Louvain, should be suppressed at the close of the year.

Thus, this institution, announced with so much notoriety and so pertinaciously sustained—this institution which had cost so much money, and excited so much complaint even in England, where this manner of implanting protestantism in Catholic countries was much condemned—this institution was closed as the consequence of the interference of the Roman court.

The subject of mixed marriages, which had been agitated during the reign of Leo

XII, was again renewed under Pius VIII; who attested his zeal for the interests of all Roman Catholics. The following brief was addressed to the archbishops and bishops respecting this affair.

"To the venerable brothers, Ferdinand Augustus, archbishop of Cologne, Joseph, bishop of Treves, Frederick Clement, bishop of Paderborn, and Gaspard Maximilian, bishop of Munster.

"Venerable Brothers, greeting and apostolical benediction:—In your letters, addressed two years since to Leo XII, our predecessor of glorious memory, you have with much care exposed the situation in which you are placed by a regulation of the civil law, for some years in operation in your country, which requires, on the subject of mixed marriages, that the children of either sex should be educated in the religion of the father, or at least according to his wishes; at the same time forbidding the priests to exact from such persons as contract this sort of marriage, a promise relative to the religious education of the children who should be born as the fruit of such union. We have ourself participated in the keen affliction of this excellent pontif, caused by the exposition of your extreme embarrassments.

"But by the inscrutable wisdom of God, it has been reserved to us to make the reply, which death prevented our predecessor from making at the time; adding still more to our grief. The holy see cannot accede to all which you relate as being exacted in your country, in the execution of the civil law. We are consoled, however, by your zeal and that of your clergy, in the defence of the doctrines of the church and for the maintenance of the rules she has established; a zeal which you have also evinced in the letters addressed to Leo XII; and in the second place, for the goodness of the king of Prussia, whom you had also addressed on the subject, for having counselled you to address a complete and faithful report of these things to the holy see, and to consult it on this subject of inquietude. We have thus foundation to trust that you will strictly conform to our reply of this day, and also that his majesty will not be offended, if, in obeying him heartily in temporal things, you nevertheless reserve to yourselves to follow the rules of the holy Catholic religion, in matters which do not concern the civil affairs, but the sanctity of marriage itself, and the duties of the married.

"In approaching this question, it is unnecessary for us to apprise you, versed as you are in all sacred knowledge, *that there is a horror in these unions*, which present so much deformity and spiritual danger, that the holy see has always watched, with the greatest care, for the observance of the canonical laws, which forbid these marriages. It is true that the Roman pontifs have some-

times dispensed with this holy dissent of the canons; but they have done it only from the most weighty motives and with great repugnance. Again, their constant practice has been to annex to the dispensations accorded, a condition, that the necessary guarantees shall precede the marriage, not only that the Catholic party shall not be perverted by the non-Catholic party, but that the first party shall be instructed to use every effort to rescue the other from error; and that the children of both sexes, issue of such union, shall be exclusively educated in the sanctity of the Catholic religion. You are aware, venerable brothers, that the end of this guarantee is to cause the natural and Divine laws to be respected. It is admitted in fact, that Catholics, whether men or women, who marry with non-Catholics, in a manner rashly expose themselves and their children to the danger of perversion, and violate not only the sacred canons, but sin directly and grievously against the paternal and divine law. You will thus see that we ourself should become culpable of a crime against God and the church, if, in relation to mixed marriages in your country, we should authorize in you or the clergy of your dioceses, a course of conduct from which it might be inferred, that, though these unions were not approved formally by word of mouth, yet, in reality and in fact, they were so indirectly.

"We thus laud, in an especial manner, the zeal with which you have endeavored to arrest these marriages of the Catholics, whose souls have been committed to your care; and we exhort you firmly in the Lord to continue carefully laboring to the same end, in all patience and faith, to receive in heaven the abundant recompense of your efforts and your trials.

"Guided by these principles, each Catholic person, above all a woman, who should wish to marry with a man, non-Catholic, it is requisite that the bishop or the curate should instruct her with care regarding the canonical requisitions respecting these marriages, and seriously warn her of the serious crime of which she will render herself guilty before God, should she have the hardihood to violate them.

"It is also essential to remind her of this important dogma of our religion, that out of the *true Catholic faith, no one can be saved*, and to remember, in consequence, that this Catholic woman acts in advance in a very cruel manner towards the children she is expecting from God, if she contracts a marriage in which she knows that their religious education depends entirely on the will of their non-Catholic father. These salutary cautions ought to be repeated, as may be dictated by prudence, particularly on the approach of the marriage day, and the period in which the customary proclamations are made, to ascertain if none other than the canonical impediments oppose its celebra-

tion. That if, in some cases, these paternal cares of the pastors should remain without effect, it will be necessary, in truth, to prevent all troubles, and to preserve the Catholic faith from greater evils, to abstain from proceeding against the said Catholic person by censures directed against her by name; but, on the other hand, the Catholic pastor should abstain from honoring, by any religious ceremony whatever, the marriage which is to follow, and abstain from every act which could make it appear to give his approbation. All that has been tolerated in this respect in certain places, is, that the curates, who, to avoid greater evils to the Catholic religion, have found themselves compelled to assist at these marriages, by their being performed in their presence, provided there had been no other canonical impediment, to the end that having heard the consent of both parties, they should record, by virtue of their ministry, in the registry of marriages, the act validly accomplished, but always refraining from approving these illicit unions, by any act whatever, and, above all, abstaining from adding any prayer or rite of the church.

"We have now to speak of those who may have contracted mixed marriages in the absence of the Catholic pastor. To this effect, we have deemed it advisable to take such measures, that the scandals arising from these marriages, as you have announced, may be as much hidden as possible; that Catholics living in the ties of a marriage thus contracted, may more easily be brought to expiate their sin by salutary tears and penitence; and, in short, that there may be a rule established, by which, for the future, the validity of such marriages may be judged.

"For that which concerns the marriages celebrated continually to the present time in your country, without the presence of the curate, we shall shortly delegate to you the necessary power to remedy, in a great measure, the evils which have resulted from them. In the meantime, we will and ordain, by these letters present, that the mixed marriages, commencing from this day, March 25, 1830, which may be celebrated in your dioceses, without the formalities prescribed by the Council of Trent, shall be regarded as valid and true marriages, provided they do not contravene any other direct canonical impediment; and thus by our apostolical authority, and notwithstanding all contrary stipulations, we declare and establish that these marriages shall be veritable and true marriages. Also, the Catholic persons who, in course of time, may have contracted marriages in this manner, provided, however, that no other absolute canonical impediment forbids, should be notified by their pastors, that they have contracted a valid and true marriage; but another duty of the pastors will be also, at opportune times, to exhort,

in all godly charity and patience in Jesus Christ, every Catholic, and especially Catholic woman, who may have contracted a union with a non-Catholic, valid in truth, but forbidden to make penance for the great crime they have committed, and to discharge their obligations, above all, those which bind them in reference to their children, and which require them to use all means and care to procure for them a Catholic education.

“From the foregoing, we deem it unnecessary, venerable brothers, to excite you to remember with what prudence it is necessary to act in these circumstances, to the end that nothing may result injurious to the Catholic religion, as it is well known to us that you are already duly impressed.

“Proceed then : and that the curates, instructed by you, may act in a manner that all the world can see that the Catholic priests are animated by a spirit aiming at the fulfilment of their duties, which the laws of the church oblige them to observe in every thing which concerns the interests of religion, and that by the same spirit they are led to obey, in a temporal order, the laws of the prince, not from servile fear, but from conscience.

“We are indeed greatly afflicted not to have been able to deliver you entirely from the troubles and embarrassments you sustain ; but do not lose courage ! The most serene king himself, who has solemnly manifested his good will towards his Catholic subjects, and who has given the proof in the deed, will not permit, such is our full confidence, that, in a matter which affects directly your religious functions, you should be distracted much longer. Touched, in his clemency, by your afflictions, and wishing to respond to your desires, his majesty deems it well in this matter also, that you should observe and freely fulfil the rules of the Catholic religion. That this desire may be perfectly realised, it is requisite humbly to supplicate God, who holds the hearts of kings in his hand. We shall not cease to address him our prayers, and doubt not you will do the same. Receive, in the meantime, as a token of our particular affection, the apostolic benediction, which we accord with love, and also to the clergy and to the faithful committed to your care.

“Done at Rome, near St. Peter’s, 25th day of March, 1830, and of our pontificate the first.

“Pius P. P. VIII.”

On the 5th of September, the king of the Netherlands published a proclamation on the demands made by the Belgians after their insurrection. He announced that the states-general were assembled to take into consideration the proposed modifications of the national institutions, and especially those which proclaimed the separation of Holland from Belgium, with so much impurity. He engaged his subjects to await with calm-

ness the deliberations, and to preserve the utmost order. This act did not satisfy the Belgians, who were not disposed to relinquish their arms before the separation of the north and south was proclaimed.

In the meantime the pope had fallen sick, but his strength had not left him. On the 11th of October he visited the church of St. Paul, and testified his sincere satisfaction to the prelates and the managers of the work of restoration.

On the 1st of November, All Saints’ Day, he assisted at the solemn mass celebrated in the chapel Paulini of the Quirinal, by the cardinal Pedicini, assisted by the cardinals Pallotta, Albani, and Frosini. It was apparent that the holy father was oppressed ; his eyes were observed to be bathed in tears ; and beneath his heavy vestments he could not conceal his great emotion. On the morrow, notwithstanding the advice of his physicians, he assisted at the mass for the dead. This enfeebled state, augmented by his resistance, alarmed the friends of Pius VIII ; and for a moment, suggested to summon some of his relatives to Rome, that they might receive the last embraces of him who had so highly honored their family. But the pope, faithful to his oath, allowed none of his relatives to come near him ; he had retained in his private service but one faithful and discreet domestic, to whom he had never accorded any favor. The tears alone of this disinterested servant, admonished the pope that he had a last duty to fulfil. He summoned Monsieur, the treasurer, and said that a similar circumstance did not often present itself ; but that, in truth, the servant, who was about to lose his master, the servant who had never thought of his fortunes, who had attended to him in his sufferings, who had addressed him consolations, who had applied so assiduously a refreshing balm to the wounds and bruises with which the weight of the pontifical ornaments covered the holy father after each ceremony ; that this servant, with no other thoughts but those of tender regrets, was sufficient to embitter the end of life to a good master. Scarcely had the pope uttered these last words, when they retired, and prepared an instrument which insured an honorable provision to this worthy companion of so much suffering. When the act, which stipulated the pension, was read, Pius VIII blessed the treasurer, and composed himself to repose.

On the 29th of November, at midnight, the final struggle commenced, and at half-past three, on the morning of the 30th, the pope breathed his last. His pontificate lasted but twenty months, having been elected the last day of March, in the previous year.—Pius VIII had created but six cardinals ; namely, Nembrini, Crescini, Weld, Mazio, de Simone, and de Rohan.

The news of this mournful event reached

Paris with despatch. The faithful and heroic M. de Quelen immediately published the following mandate :

"The Holy Roman Church, *mother and mistress of all churches*, has sustained the loss of her pontif. The Catholic church has lost in him her visible head, the pastor of pastors, the common father of the faithful, and vicar of Jesus Christ on earth.

"After a pontificate, alas! too short! our most honored and dear master the pope, Pius VIII, has terminated his career. Venerable to all, by the piety, the knowledge, the wisdom, and the goodness, which was heightened in him with the lustre of supreme rank, his exit leaves us in the most profound regrets, and religion requires of us as a duty to ask of God that he will deign to console our grief, in giving to his church, for a long time to come, a pontif no less worthy to occupy the apostolic chair."

What rests, is soon despatched. The accustomed formalities and honors were all enacted in due style, and with the ordinary pomp of such occasions; and Francis Xavier Castiglioni is a pope no more! In twenty months his glories came and went. His body is lodged in state to moulder in corruption; and his soul is gone to the judgment eternal of that great God of the holy apostles, who abhors imposture, usurpation, and oppression—who *accepteth not the person of princes, nor regardeth the rich more than the poor*—who has assured us that his ways and thoughts in the throne are not identified with ours on the footstool—whose word is the most potential element in the universe; and who declares, *that which is highly esteemed among men, is abomination in the sight of God!* The curtain falls, imperious to our vision. We wait—till God shall lift it, and disclose its scenery to our wonder in the world of spirits!

GREGORY XVI, THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SECOND BISHOP OF ROME.

[From February 21, 1831, to the present time, 1846, now in the sixteenth year of his pontificate and the ninety-first of his life.]—WILLIAM THE FOURTH and VICTORIA, monarchs of England—LOUIS PHILIPPE, King of the French—ANDREW JACKSON, MARTIN VAN BUREN, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, JOHN TYLER, and JAMES KNOX POLK, Presidents of the United States.

[Year of Christ, 1831.] In due process of time, after the funeral scenes had passed away, the proper measures were taken for the election of a successor to Pius VIII. There was some special apprehension that a protracted vacancy in the sovereign pontificate, considering the existing state of European affairs, and of the papacy as politically related to it, would be detrimental, or, at least, perilous, in a high degree, to the interests of Rome. There were also some urgencies of another sort, nearer home, that impelled the holy fathers, in such a juncture, to act, not with precipitation, but without all unnecessary delay. Consequently, the preliminary measures were taken with promptitude, and with the purpose to enthrone a successor as soon as practicable. There were at that time fifty-six cardinals; twenty-six created by Pius VII; twenty-four by Leo XII; and six by Pius VIII.

The ordinary prescribed formalities of organization, in reference to the Grand Council of the Roman state and church about to assemble, were duly observed. It required thirty-six votes to elect a pope, so that the election might be canonical; but as there were only forty-six cardinals present, to arrive at two-thirds of the votes, according to custom, it was requisite to obtain thirty-one.

As the ceremonies observed in the election of a pope have been so fully presented elsewhere, it is unnecessary to repeat them.

There had been already sixty-four days vacancy; fifty of which had passed in conclave. Difficulties, nearly resembling those which distracted Poland, presented themselves in Italy, and even in Rome; and the cardinals, wishing to terminate these deplorable evils, united more closely their efforts to give the church a head; and hence, on the 2d of February, 1831, they elected the cardinal Cappellari, at present reigning.

This cardinal was born at Bellune, in the Venetian states, September 18, 1765. From his youth he had embraced the institutions of the Benedictine hermits, and distinguished himself by his popish piety and learning. He had been a professor of theology for several years in his order, and composed a remarkable and strong work against the principles of the chief of the Jansenists in Italy, the famous Tamburini of Pavia. The father Cappellari, after having passed several years in instructing, became procurator of his order, and abbé of the monastery of St. Gregory at Rome. Pius VII had appointed him examiner of those to be promoted to bishoprics, and consuler of the different congregations; and among others, that of the

Propagandi, and of ecclesiastical affairs extraordinary. The labors in which he was engaged; caused his knowledge, justice, and mind, his prudence and piety, to shine with uncommon lustre. Leo XII had conferred on the cardinal Cappellari, the most important and honorable duties; and among others, that of assisting him in the reorganization of the public instruction in the Roman states.

He assumed the name of Gregory XVI, and was the first to revive this title for more than two hundred years; that is, since the death of Gregory XV, in 1623.

The titles of the popes are mainly two-fold; namely, those taken from the ideas of greatness and powers, or those that imply the milder or the devout qualities of the Christian. Adrian, Alexander, Victor, Symmachus, Julius, Leo, and others, are of the former class; while Clement, Benedict, Innocent, Pius, and several others, are of the latter. Since the Reformation, and especially within the last two centuries, the kinder appellations have predominated; and we have had Innocence, Clemency, Benediction, and Piety, in all their nominal existence and titular display, often repeated as designations of the thronal papacy. Our present hero, *Gregory*, seems either between the two, or a combination of both—since the word means good, from the Greek, *watchfulness*, or *wakefulness*: a very appropriate and not at all offensive title; since vigilance is an idea of excellent associations, intellectual, moral, and religious. Alas! a name—without the thing, is a meteor, not a star; and the glorious implication is worse than useless, when it only covers the miserable contrary of all its proper meaning! It makes us think of what every school-boy knows relative to the famous etymology of *lucus*, a grove, in Latin; derived certainly from *luceo*, to shine, *a non lucendo*; that is, because a grove, being umbrageous and dark, does not shine! We have had *eight Pius popes*!

The reign which was about to commence, it may be incidentally remarked, had to contend with diverse vicissitudes, and with long dissensions respecting the affairs of Prussia; and, above all, with the minister of Russia. With respect to the situation of the Romanists in the latter country, we shall see a sovereign pontif, animated by a prudent moral force, and singly aided by a faithful minister, publish documents which, with the logic common in these relations, seem to establish the rights of the holy see; and also spread these documents with a religious courage and energetic determination of which few examples exist in the annals of any pontificate.

Thus, on the demise of Pius VIII, the cardinal Cappellari was chosen by the conclave, and mounted the throne of the Man of Sin, by the title of Gregory XVI. Of this pontif we have little to say, or, properly nothing; since he is yet alive, and his history is not expected till death has furnished

and sealed all the materials required for it. Bower ends his biographies with Benedict XIV, giving only a passing notice of Rezzonico, Clement XIII, then reigning as the caricature successor of the fisherman of Galilee. We may say of Gregory, however, that he is a true representative of hundreds of other usurpers and impostors of the pontifical succession—as like the spirit, the piety, the doctrine, and the life, of the blessed Apostle Peter, as sin is like holiness, ignorance like knowledge, folly like wisdom, or Paganism and its mythology like Christianity and its kingdom, which is *not of this world*. His aversion to the Bible, and the Bible Societies, that multiply and distribute its copies by myriads and millions, in all the languages of the peopled earth, is like the organization of pandemonium as an empire of darkness, hating the light, and *deceiving the nations*, with his wily apologies and mendacious reasonings, against its authentic illuminations in the world. His encyclical letters all show him, in this and every other form and work of antichristian policy, to be walking in the footsteps of his infamous predecessors. He was ninety years of age last September, 1845, and is now in the sixteenth year of his usurpations. He will probably endure but little longer, before he also goes to learn in eternity what is the truth. There he may discover, with all his cardinals and criminals about him, that the Word of God, contained in the Holy Scriptures, was an intelligible book, humanised in dialectic form, but divine in substantial truth, given for all mankind, and ordered to be universally promulgated; especially in the “*Epistle to the Romans*,” according to the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the Scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith. There his casuistry may be enlightened to see that his impertinent, encyclical veto to this enterprise, was the work of the devil and not of God; and that neither he, nor Satan his master, nor any of their sympathizers, successors, or allies, shall ultimately accomplish any thing against the religion of the Scriptures, the Christianity of God—while they, in the end, only elaborate their own undoing, and attach to themselves for ever the irreversible and written doom of the Great Antichrist of the city of Seven Hills. We pity, we abhor, we despise his image! And we pray our countrymen and our cotemporaries every where, who read this, to seek God in these relations, studying His Word for themselves, that they may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of Man.

The thrasonical pretensions of papal Rome are less and less credited or respected

even by the Romans, especially those hundreds of thousands in that city and peninsula, who constitute, in spite of the pope and his police, the noble and hopeful conspiracy in the nation of "Young Italy." There is a movement there, semi-subterranean as yet, and rumbling with terror to its enemies, like the premonitory throes of their own Vesuvius, before an eruption with its inundations of desolating lava, which may be justly considered as the herald of the approaching prodigies of the God of judgment. The pope was never so weak in Italy, or so insecure at Rome, as at this instant. His troops of foreign mercenaries prevail at present to protect the tyrant from his own subjects. Arbitrary Austria helps him, from a fellow-feeling, suitable to the hopes and the fears of the *Holy Alliance*.—But—

There is another, and a CHRISTIAN ALLIANCE formed a few years ago in this country, and to become, we hope, the *nucleus* and the nuncio of the œcumenical Christian alliance of the world, which troubles his holiness more than it is in the power of the *Holy Alliance* or any of his flatterers and adjutants, to console him. He has already taken notice of this justly-dreaded conspiracy of the wise and the good, in another hemisphere, against his kingdom of darkness and blood; and he has given us a specimen of how he is not able to despise it, in his famous letter of May 8, 1844, in which, as his main object, he denounces Bible Societies and all the protestant churches and missions in Christendom or the whole world—in which he reprobates especially the wri-

tings of the Reverend Doctor Merle D'Aubigne of Geneva; thus determining their genuine and potential character, as the documents of primitive Christianity, by his antagonism against them; so doing all he can to aggrandise the fame of that excellent and erudite author, in the eyes and the hearts of all the millions, not only of the truly pious of two hemispheres, but of the multitudes of a Christian posterity in the ages of the millennium—and in which he mentions, with appropriate groanings, and now and then an ill-concealed affectation of contempt—which not he feels—not a particle of it—for that society, of moral thunder to tyrants, usurpers, and Jesuits through the globe—The American Christian Alliance! Let him fear, and leave the world to meet the retributions of his misrepresented, and impiously injured, and most holy Judge eternal!

But we have done with Gregory XVI and all his peers of the papacy. His life will yet be written, and his private and public acts scrutinised and shown to the universe as they are. It is time that truth alone guided the pen of history, especially in this department of high biography. The age requires it. Succeeding ages will much more appreciate its value and redemand its exemplification. So let it be! May the truth prevail over every form of earth-invented or hell-suggested error, till all men shall acknowledge its glorious preëminence—till *the truth as it is in Jesus* shall have every where the victory and the jurisdiction—as the creed of nations—the bliss of man, and the glory of God!

OBSERVATIONS IN CONCLUSION.

ON the subject of tributary authors, we have to say that we have consulted a variety, ancient and modern, foreign and domestic, useful and useless, suitable and irrelevant. We have used, compared, and compiled, as seemed good to us at the time; and we name, in no very material order, our Biographical Dictionaries; Encyclopædia Americana; the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, and others; Ganganelli's Letters; Historical and Philosophical Memoirs of Pius the Sixth, Dublin edition, 1800, from the French; Life of Pius Seventh; Dr. Walch's Compendious History of the Popes; Henrion; Alexis Prest; De Cermenin; Memoirs of Scipio de Ricci; Bower's Controversies, Tracts, and Explanations; Lives of Leo XII and Pius VIII, by M. Le Chevalier Artaud de Montor; History of the Popes by Professor Ranke; and divers other tractates, incidental, anonymous, and collected from periodical publications, domestic and foreign—with references, not infrequent, to the Holy Scriptures, as an authoritative standard of the honest, the true, the edifying, the safe—also the proper and paramount criterion of the contraries of all these; supposed to be intelligible as well as inspired; *written for our learning*, and not for the monopolised behoof of any set of men in Christendom, royal or vulgar, patrician or plebeian, hierarchial or evangelical, papal or protestant, clerical or laical, rich or poor, partisan or catholic, learned or ignorant; since his word is given *to all nations for the obedience of faith*.—See the appositely adapted and intended Epistle, not to the popes, but—oh! that they knew it—to the ROMANS, 16: 25—27.

However arduous and difficult the task for any person, and in any favorable circumstances, it has been felt by the writer in his condition, with peculiar reason, as a burden too great to be borne. He has no leisure, and no cessation of care and duty, as the bishop of a large congregation of more than eight hundred communicants; and as Professor in the Union Theological Seminary of the city of New York, which he has served in his department—gratuitously and at arms' length—now for nearly eight years—together with the anxieties, perplexities, and toils, of a mixed and circumstantial nature thence resulting—on account of all which, he casts himself on the magnanimous kindness of the considerate and the good for appreciation of what he offers; though certainly attended with the consciousness, as with the evidences of imperfection, yet hopefully use-

ful, authentic, and perhaps entertaining to the majority of readers. Some typographical inaccuracies are to be expected in almost every work of the sort; but the distance of nearly one hundred miles, interposed between the writer and the printer, may well be viewed as enhancing all ordinary probabilities of their occurrence. In a higher relation he has felt his accountableness and his obligation as the servant of the God of truth; and has not aimed supremely to please man. Some, indeed, will be displeased—from whom an appeal may be carried to the judgment seat of Christ. Oh! may we please him! 2 Cor. 5: 9—11.

In fine, had the writer known what he was undertaking, as he now knows it, he must have shrunk from the task, with utter despondency, as well as irrevocable decision. As it is, the work was not of his own seeking—having acquiesced in honor of the importunity of others, and when better agents refused the offered service, till the alternative seemed practically this or nothing.—Hence it was commenced—and is finished. And the writer thanks God, the hearer of prayer and the keeper of the weak and the trustful, for his experienced and wonderful mercy from the commencement to the consummation of the work.

Our fellow-creatures, who are addicted to the papacy, will, I know, dislike what I have written; and if I knew how to write truth and please them too, not one of them should ever be offended at this work! But this I judge to be impossible. Our Savior was hated for the sake of the truth. John 15: 10—25. Hence, I write before God and wait the consequences, according to the development of his sovereign and eternal providence. As men, as neighbors, as fellow-citizens, and as probationers here under the system of grace in Christ Jesus, I most devoutly wish them well; they are the burden of my prayers for their salvation; and I sincerely pity them—not with scorn, but love! May they be brought to the knowledge of the truth, and so saved in Jesus Christ with eternal glory!

But what inference, on the whole, will be made by the philosophic reader, in reference to the system, of which the popes are so capital and so causal, as well as so characteristic a part? Every individual incumbent, indeed, has a passive, as well as an active, relation to the system, *causans et causatus*; still, our question is not now concerning their tremendous personal responsibility,

but simply—the character of the system! Is it noble, useful, favorable to human interests, fit for the religion of mankind, universally, as it aspires and claims to be, suited to secure their salvation, promotive of civil liberty, patronising sound philosophical inquiry, and adapted to bless us in all things; *having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come?* Is the system for man or against man? Is it of God, or—of the devil? Is it destined to glory or to the fire? Is it desirable for our country, or inimical only? Ought we to trust it, or to abhor it as Americans, as Christians, as philosophers?

These are weighty questions; and we know of no book, next to the Holy Scriptures, and, always, after them, so well competent to assist us in their answer as the present, and now completed History of the Popes of Rome.

In reference, however, to many isolated parts and phrases, as well as incidental sentiments, particularly respecting the continuation, by us, of the last seven popes, inclusive of Gregory XVI, it ought to be remembered, that in compiling and culling from the writings of others, and especially from authors of the Roman delusion, the present writer has inserted, not infrequently, certain forms of thought, and constructions of style, more adapted, apparently, to favor the character, and the honors of the popedom and the hierarchy, than the laws of simple narrative and original protestant history would have induced. The intelligent reader will doubtless make due allowance for this; and no one, it is thought, will be scandalized or deceived by it; call it irony, caricature, pleasantry, courtesy, ridicule, rather than deception; of which no intention has at all existed. Besides, we had rather shown favor and liberality than their opposites, even in dealing with the enemies of

God and mankind; and in reference to our own estimation of the theologico-moral character of the popes of Rome, it is no secret, no ambiguity, and no flattery. We have learned to make our estimate from the two-fold sources, consulted singly and then in comparison, of the facts of authentic history and the perfectly intelligible language of the word of God: prophecy and providence mutually radiating our day, and making the light in which each is well illustrated. We think of the sovereign pontif and all the subalterns of his sympathy and his “unity,” as is plainly written in the following compared Scriptures, which have their accomplishment and illustration in him and in them, as one in sin and in doom, as they could have in no degree intelligibly in any other relation or organization in the world. Dan. 7: 23—27; 2 Thess. 2: 3—12; Rev. 13: 17, 18.

With this we conclude, *usque ad nunc*, our labors of continuation. How many more popes are yet to occupy the horrible “succession,” God only knows. Certain it is, that the end will come quickly. Important and magnificent changes are now in progress, accomplishing and illustrating prophecy in the wondrous demonstrations of providence. *Jehovah reigns over all, blessed for ever.* In him alone is our resource, our confidence, and our salvation. May the men of this age, and especially of this great and imperiled republic, learn what Christianity is, and by the faith of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, be prepared for any and every event that may abruptly wake the slumbers, and rebuke the dotage of the misbelieving world! May the blessing of God rest on our efforts in his cause—and to the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, shall be ascribed the dominion, the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.

We publish in this place, as appropriate ADDENDA to our work, some documents of value, that are scarce, curious, and adapted to the use of protestants, especially in our country. As a man is known by his works, so we may know the popes by their bulls, their briefs, their letters, and other documents of authority published in their name. These speak for themselves; and every reader has the opportunity, as he peruses them, to compare their contents and their character with the religion of the Holy Scriptures. A work of this sort, a select and comprehensive BULLARIUM, well prepared, authentic, adapted to popular reading, and enriched with suitable illustrations and judicious comments, is yet a great desideratum in the theologico-literary world. Such a performance, well done and given to our country and our age, would aid mightily the cause of its salvation. It would be papacy—in part—self-displayed and genuine; that is, so far as they go in the argument, they would be irrefragable and conclusive. Not even Jesuitism could refute them. The head would be shown; and the whole body, the heart, the blood, the nerves, the members, the system connected and dependent, would be all understood, as at once homogeneous and, in the main, identical. But—this by the way. We give, from the *Bullarium Magnum Romanum*, as specimens, a few PAPAL BULLS, of distinguished memory, which speak their own eulogium!

The grand machines of the papal usurpation, which, by the favorers of the Reformation and Protestant Powers, have been, and are still threatened, are the *Papal Bulls*, de-

posing, at pleasure, all princes whatsoever, whether popish or protestant, and embarrassing their governments, if in any wise they are suspected to be protectors of those whom the court of Rome denounces as heretics.

With the character of Henry VIII we have very little concern. Few papists can think worse of him than we do—a most sensual, perfidious, tyrannical, execrable man; just such as a licentious court and a papal education might be expected in combination to produce! Whatever were his motives, his principles, and his destinies, we thank God for overruling his agency, and that of Judas Iscariot, and thus, in wisdom all-perfect and holy, using them, and all such as they, always and for ever, for the furtherance of his own gracious purposes in the world. The bull, however, shows the nature of the papal thunder, the death-warrant too of all protestants, and what the Great Roman Beast would do, if he were not caged and prisoned by eternal Providence, before he goeth, as he must, to perdition!

BULL OF POPE PAUL III,

ORDAINING AND ANNOUNCING THE DAMNATION AND EXCOMMUNICATION OF HENRY VIII, KING OF ENGLAND, AND HIS FAVORERS AND ADHERENTS.

I. Introduction, showing the plenitude of the papal power, and whence derived—II. King Henry, after Leo X had given him the title of Defender of the Faith, for the reasons here mentioned, deviated from the Catholic faith, and committed many enormous things—III. Clement VII at length excommunicated him; but standing in contempt of his censures, he became worse—IV. He therefore exhorts the king to desist from these errors—V. He advises the accomplices and friends of the said king to refuse their assistance or adherence to him—VI. He subjects the disobedient to the sentence of the greater *Excommunication*—VII. He imposes on the king, the penalty of rebellion and loss of his kingdom, and requires him and his accomplices to meet at a certain time beneath specified, otherwise he declared them to incur the penalties here expressed—VIII. He subjects whatever cities, churches, and other places which shall adhere to him, to an ecclesiastical *Interdiction*—IX. He deprives their heirs of dignities, favors, privileges, dominions, and all their goods, and declares them incapable of obtaining any other things for the future—X. And he discharges his subjects from their oath of allegiance and subjection, and commands them altogether to retract their obedience—XI. He imposes upon King Henry and his accomplices, other penalties here expressed—XII. He enjoins the faithful in Christ, to avoid all intercourse with infidels upon the penalties herein expressed—XIII. The prelates, and other ecclesiastical persons, he commands, upon the penalties here contained, to depart out of the kingdom of England—XIV. He requires the dukes, and others, upon the above-mentioned penalties, to expel, and cause to be expelled, King Henry and his accomplices out of the kingdom—XV. He declares the leagues and obligations of Christian princes contracted with King Henry, to be null and invalid—XVI. He commands princes and others, to take up arms against King Henry and his accomplices—XVII. He decrees the infidels and disobedient to become the slaves of their apprehenders, and their goods to become due to their seizers—XVIII. He commands the prelates and others, upon the penalties hereunder mentioned, to declare in their churches, King Henry and his accomplices, who have incurred the penalties and censures aforesaid, to be excommunicated, and cause them to be avoided—XIX. He imposes the same penalties on the obstructers of the publication of this decree—XX. He commands this decree to be published in the places here mentioned, but the form is altered as here in the end—XXI. He commands credit to be given to the transcripts of this decree—XXII. He imposes a penal sanction.

Paul, Bishop, the Servant of the Servants of Christ. For perpetual memory.

WE, though unworthy, being placed over all nations, and in the seat of justice, by the clemency of him so ordering it, who remaining himself immovable, does in his providence give to all things to move in an admirable order. And we also, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, saying, "Behold, I have set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to build, and to plant; having obtained supreme dominion over the kings of the whole earth, and over all people." And we, moreover, imitating him, who being gracious and merciful, moderates his vengeance towards him who prevents it by being already prepared,

nor chastises those whom he sees impenitent with a severe revenge, but first admonishes them; however, exerts the fury of his wrath upon habitual sinners, when they pass the bounds of his mercy, that so at length, from the fear of punishment, they may be compelled to return to a right mind. We, I say, from a sense of the apostolical solicitude incumbent on us, are even constrained, with the utmost diligence, to attend the wholesome state of all persons, by heaven committed to our care, zealously to obviate the errors and scandals, which, by the subtilty of Satan, that enemy of their souls, we see imminent upon them, and with a suitable severity, to restrain their excesses, their enormous and scandalous crimes; and, according to the apostle, by a

timely animadversion on the disobedience of the flock, and by a due correction, to bridle the perpetrators of such enormities: that so they may repent that they have provoked the anger of God; and that others, being warned by their examples, may learn a salutary caution.

II. Having been certainly informed some time since, that the king of England, notwithstanding that in the pontificate of Leo X, our predecessor of happy memory, out of zeal to the Catholic faith, and in devotion to our see, had no less learnedly, than piously, by a certain book composed by him, and presented to the said Leo our predecessor, for his examination and approbation, confuted the errors of divers heretics, often condemned in former times by the apostolical see and sacred councils, and lately revived and renewed by that son of perdition Martin Luther; for which service, besides the approbation of the said book, by our predecessor Leo, to the great honor of the said King Henry, he obtained the title of Defender of the Faith. Yet deviating from the right faith, and the apostolical path, and being unmindful of his own salvation, reputation, and honor, having, without lawful cause, and contrary to the prohibition of the church, dismissed our most dear daughter in Christ, Catharine, Queen of England, his wife, and a lady of illustrious birth, with whom he did contract matrimony publicly in the face of the church, and continued in the same state for many years, and of whom continuing in wedlock, he oftentimes had issue, and did again actually contract matrimony with one Anne of Bolen, an English woman, the said Catharine yet living; and still falling into worse crimes, was not ashamed to publish certain laws or general constitutions, by which, under great penalties, even under pain of death, he did compel his subjects to hold certain heretical and schismatical articles; among which, this is one, That the Roman pontif is not head of the church, nor the vicar of Christ, and that he himself is the supreme head in the church of England.—And, moreover, not content with these, through the instigation of the devil, persuading him to such sacrilege, has caused many prelates, and other ecclesiastical persons, and even regulars, and also seculars, to adhere to him a heretic and schismatic; and hath also caused such as would not follow these examples, but undauntedly rejected these articles, as contrary to the decrees of the holy fathers, and to the canons of holy councils, nay, and to the truth of the gospel, to be apprehended, and committed to prison; and yet not content with these and the like enormities, but accumulating iniquities upon iniquities, when the cardinal presbyter of Rochester, whom for the constancy of his faith, and sanctity of his life, we had promoted to the dignity of cardinal, would not consent to the said heresies and

errors, he commanded him, with a horrid inhumanity and detestable cruelty, to be delivered publicly to a miserable death, and his head to be struck off: and hereby damnable incurring the censures and excommunication and anathema, and other grievous sentences, and the penalties contained in the letters and constitutions of Boniface VIII, and Honorius III, our predecessors of worthy memory, and other sentences lawfully given against such. He, upon these accounts, has made himself unworthy of the kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto pertaining, which he has formerly held, as also of the royal dignity, and of the prerogative and honor of the said title.

III. And yet we notwithstanding, and not that we were ignorant, that the same King Henry was innodated in certain ecclesiastical censures of Clement VII, our predecessor of happy memory, after that he had with many kind letters, and paternal exhortations, and by many nuncios, and by other means, as by a first and second admonition, and also judiciously proceeding with him, advised, that he would dismiss the said Anne, and return to his royal consort, the aforesaid Catharine, his true wife; and that imitating the hardness of Pharaoh, he had for a long time grown deaf in contempt of the keys, and did still grow more deaf, insomuch, that we had little hopes he would return to a right mind. However, notwithstanding all this, from our paternal indulgence, wherewith we favored him in lesser matters, while he remained in obedience and reverence to the holy see, and that we might clearly perceive, whether the clamor raised against him, and brought to us, was well grounded—and which, out of sincere respect to Henry himself, we hoped, would be found otherwise—we determined to desist for some time from any further process against Henry, that we might search further into the truth of the matter.

IV. But when, after due diligence in inquiring into the whole affair, the accusation aforesaid was found true, and withal, with great grief we speak it, that the said Henry had precipitated himself into an abyss of iniquities, insomuch that we could conceive no hopes of his repentance—we seriously considering how adultery was branded in the old law, and commanded to be punished with stoning; observing also, that the authors of schisms were swallowed up by the gaping earth, and their brethren in iniquity were consumed with fire from heaven; also being unwilling, that an account of the souls of King Henry himself and those of his subjects, who unadvisedly run with him into destruction, should, on a strict scrutiny and examination, be required at our hands. Inasmuch as it is granted us from above, to provide against King Henry, and his accomplices, favorers, adherents, and followers, and those who are in any ways culpable

in the premises; against whom, and in that, the excesses and foregoing crimes are so manifest, and, indeed, more notorious, than that they should be concealed by any tergiversation, though we might proceed to execution without farther delay, yet acting more benignly, we have decreed to proceed in the following method.

V. Upon mature deliberation, therefore, had with our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the holy Roman church, with reference to these matters, and with the consent and approbation of the same, we do, in the bowels of the divine mercy, exhort the said King Henry, his accomplices, favorers, adherents, advisers, and followers, and whatever others anywise culpable in the premises, or in any other manner, as well laymen as clergy; also regulars of whatever dignity, state, degree, condition, preëminence, or excellence—whom we would have to be understood as sufficiently expressed, as if their names and surnames were inserted in these presents—we do exhort and require them in the Lord, that the said King Henry do altogether abstain from the foresaid errors, and constitutions or laws; and as in fact he has made them, so that he revoke, cassate, and annul the same, and that he wholly, and altogether abstain from compelling his subjects to observe them; as also from imprisoning, seizing, and punishing those who refuse to adhere to, or observe those constitutions. That he himself do altogether abstain from the foresaid errors, and if he has imprisoned any upon account of the premises, that he set them at liberty.

VI. And as to the accomplices, favorers, adherents, advisers, and followers of the said King Henry in any of the premises, and things relating hereto, we exhort and require, that for the future they presume not to assist, to adhere to, or favor him, nor that they afford him counsel, help, or countenance.

VII. On the contrary, if King Henry, his favorers, adherents, advisers, and followers, shall not effectually hearken to these exhortations and injunctions, we declare the said King Henry, his favorers, and adherents, incapable of absolution; and as for his counsellors, followers, and others culpable in the premises—from our apostolical authority, and of our certain knowledge, and out of the plenitude of our apostolical power, by the tenor of these presents, and in virtue of holy obedience, and under the penalty of the greater excommunication *de facto* incurred, and from which they shall not be absolved, under pretence of any privilege or faculty, though in the form of a confessional one; no, not with any of the most effectual clauses anywise granted by ourselves, or the foresaid see, and though they should be more than once reiterated. We declare them incapable of being otherwise absolved, than by the Roman pontif himself, except at the

point of death; and even then, if it shall happen that any are absolved who shall afterward recover, he shall fall under the same sentence of excommunication, except upon his recovery he shall effectually obey these our monitions and commands.

VIII. Moreover, we do by these presents admonish those and every of them, that we do actually intend, that thereby they should incur the crime of rebellion; and as to King Henry, the forfeiture also of his kingdom and dominions aforesaid. And as well him as them before admonished, we will have it to be understood, that they, and every of them *de ipso facto*, respectively incur the penalties before, and hereafter written, if they shall not obey the monitions and commands, as declared above; and we do also separately command them, and every of them, that King Henry do appear before us in person, or by his legal proxy, and him sufficiently empowered, within the term of ninety days. But as to his favorers, adherents, advisers, followers, and others anywise culpable as aforesaid, whether secular or ecclesiastical, and even regulars, that they do personally appear before us, within sixty days, in order lawfully to excuse or defend themselves, with reference to the premises, or else to see and hear sentence pronounced against them, and every of them by name, whom we admonish, as it shall be found expedient, to be proceeded against, as to all, and singular acts, even to a definitive, declarative, condemnatory, and privatory sentence, as well as to an excusatory mandate. But if the said King Henry, and others before admonished, shall not appear within the said term, respectively prefixed them, and shall sustain with an obdurate mind the foresaid sentence of excommunication for three days, which God forbid, we do aggravate, and successively reaggravate the said censures, and do declare King Henry deprived of his kingdom, and of his dominions aforesaid; and as well him as those before admonished, and every of them, to have incurred all and singular the other penalties abovesaid, and that they and all that belong to them, be eternally exploded by all the faithful. And if in the mean time he shall depart this life, out of our aforesaid authority and plenitude of power, we declare and decree he ought to want Christian burial. And we do, moreover, smite them all with the sword of anathema, malediction, and eternal damnation.

IX. Moreover, we put under ecclesiastical interdiction, all that the foresaid King Henry doth in any manner of way, or by any title hold, have, and possess; as also all other places whatsoever, unto which it shall happen, that the said Henry, and those others before admonished, shall retreat so long as the said King Henry, and those others before admonished, or any of them, shall abide in those other places not held,

had, or possessed by the said King Henry, be they dominions, cities, lands, castles, villages, towns, metropolitan, cathedral, and other inferior churches; also monasteries, priories, houses, convents, and religious and pious foundations of any sort, even those of St. Benedict, of Cluny, the Cistercian, the Præmonstrants, and the Preaching Friars, the Minorites, Hermits of St. Austin, the Carmelites, and other orders and congregations, as also of the military orders of any sort in those dominions, cities, lands, castles, villages, towns, and places. So that as long as he remains in those places, it shall not be permitted to celebrate masses, or any other divine offices, except in cases allowed by law; nor yet in those cases, otherwise than with the doors shut, and all persons excommunicated and interdicted shall be shut out, under any pretext whatsoever, of an apostolical indulgence to those churches, monasteries, priories, houses, convents, places, orders, or persons, though they may never so much glory in any preëminence or privilege.

X. And as it is meet that the children of the said King Henry, and his accomplices, favorers, adherents, advisers, followers, and all who are culpable as aforesaid, should be partakers of the penalties, as here, and in this case expressed, we do plainly decree and declare all, and every, the children born, or to be born to the said King Henry by the said Anne, as also the children of each of the aforesaid criminals born, or to be born, and other descendants from them, even to the degrees to which the laws do extend the penalties in such cases—none excepted, nor any respect had to minority, sex, age, or ignorance, or any other cause—we decree and declare them deprived of those dignities and honors, in which they were any ways vested, or which they enjoy, use, or possess, or wherewith they are supported; as also of their privileges, concessions, favors, indulgences, immunities, remissions, liberties, and privileges; also of their lordships, cities, lands, castles, villages, towns, and places; also of their commendatory trusts, and posts of government, and of whatever they had, have, or possess in fee, or by copy, or otherwise of the Roman, or other churches, monasteries, and ecclesiastical places, or of the secular powers, princes, potentates—even though it be of kings, emperors, and of other private and public persons—and also we decree and declare them deprived of all their other goods, movable and immovable, rights and actions in any manner of way pertaining unto them. And at the same time declare the said fees, or copyholds, and other things whatsoever, in any manner obtained of others, to be respectively devolved to their direct lords, in such manner that they may freely dispose of them; and as to those who are, or shall be ecclesiastical persons, even though they be religious, we decree and declare them deprived even of their cathedrals,

metropolitan churches, also of their monasteries and priories, presidentships, provostships, dignities, parsonages, offices, canonries, and prebends, and of other their ecclesiastical benefices, in whatsoever manner obtained by them; and, moreover, we declare them incapable of obtaining any others for the future. And as to such who are thus respectively deprived, we do, from our authority, and knowledge, and plenitude of power, inabilitate, and render them incapable to obtain other, and any the like benefices whatsoever, or any dignities, honors, administrations, and offices, rights and fees for the future.

XI. And further yet we do absolve, and altogether set free from the said king and his accomplices, favorers, adherents, and advisers, and followers foresaid, however deputed, and from their oath of fealty, and their vassalage, and from all subjection towards the king, and others foresaid, all the magistrates, judges, castellannies, wardens, and officials whatsoever of King Henry himself, and his kingdom, and of all other his dominions, cities, lands, castles, villages, fortresses, forts, towns, and any other his places; as also the universities, colleges, feudatories, vassals, subjects, cities, inhabitants; also denizens under actual obedience to the said king, as well secular persons, as others, who by reason of any temporality, recognise King Henry as their superior, and also ecclesiastical persons. Moreover, commanding them, under pain of excommunication, that they wholly and altogether withdraw themselves from the obedience of the said King Henry, and of all his officials, judges, and magistrates whatsoever, and that they do not recognise them as their superiors, nor obey their commands.

XII. That others being terrified by their examples, may learn to abstain from such excesses, we will and decree, by the same knowledge and plenitude of power as before, that King Henry and his accomplices, adherents, counsellors, followers, and other criminals, as to the premises, after they have respectively incurred the other penalties foresaid, that they, and also their descendants, from thenceforward shall be, and are accounted as persons *infamous*, and as such shall not be admitted witnesses, nor shall they be capable to make any wills and codicils, or other dispositions, nor to grant any thing, even to those who are living, and they are hereby rendered incapable to succeed into any estate, by virtue of any will or testament, or to any person intestate, or to be vested with any jurisdiction or power of judging, or to the office of notary, or any other legal acts or employments whatsoever—so that their processes or instruments, or any other their acts, are to be esteemed of no force or validity; nor shall any be obliged by law to give in any answer to them; but they themselves shall be obliged by law to

make answer to others in any case of debt or other affair, as well civil as criminal.

XIII. And we further admonish all and every, the faithful in Christ, under the penalties of excommunication, and other the penalties underwritten, that they avoid all the forementioned criminals, who have been admonished, excommunicated, aggravated, interdicted, deprived, cursed, and damned; and as much as in them lies, that they cause them to be avoided by all others; and that they have no commerce, conversation, or communion with the same persons, or with the citizens, inhabitants, or dwellers, or with the subjects or vassals of the cities, lordships, lands, castles, counties, villages, fortresses, towns and places aforesaid of the said king, in buying, selling, or bartering, or in exercising merchandize, or any business with them. And that they presume not to carry or hire, or cause to be carried or conveyed, any wine, grain, salt, or any other victuals, arms, cloth, wares, or any other merchandize or commodities, either by sea in their ships, galleys, or other vessels, or by land on mules, or other beasts belonging to them; as also that they presume not to receive things carried by them publicly, or by stealth, or to afford any manner of assistance, council, or favor, publicly or privately, either by themselves or others, or indirectly under any false color to such persons; which, if they shall presume to do, they likewise shall incur, besides the penalties of the said excommunication, a nullity also of the contracts into which they have entered, and, moreover, the forfeiture of their wares, victuals, and of all their goods so carried, which shall be free prize to the captors.

XIV. And, moreover, because it is not convenient, that those who are set apart for the service of God, should converse with those who condemn the church, especially, while through their obstinacy, there remains no hopes of their amendment, and, indeed, is what may be doubted, whether it may be safely done. We command, under the penalty of excommunication and deprivation of their administrations, and of the government of their monasteries, dignities, parsonages, ministries, offices, canonries, and prebends, parochial churches, and other ecclesiastical benefices whatsoever, however qualified, or however obtained by them; we command under these penalties, the prelates of all and singular the metropolitan, and other cathedral and inferior churches, the abbots of monasteries, the priors of houses, the masters and residents of all religious and pious foundations whatsoever, even of St. Austin, St. Benedict, of Cluny, Cistercians, Præmonstrants, and Dominican Minorites, Carmelites, and of whatever other orders, and of the military orders, even the hospitallery of Jerusalem, that within five days after the expiration of the several terms before-mentioned, they go out, and depart

from the very kingdoms and dominions, leaving only some presbyters in the church, whose care they may have in administering baptism to children, and penance to those who are departing, and in other ecclesiastical sacraments, which in the time of the interdict are permitted to be administered; and we further command, that they return not to the kingdom, or to the foresaid dominions, till the foresaid persons admonished and excommunicated, aggravated, reaggrieved, deprived, cursed, and damned, shall have obeyed these monitions and commands, and shall have deserved to obtain the benefit of absolution from these censures, or till the interdict shall be taken from the kingdoms and dominions aforesaid.

XV. Furthermore, if the premises notwithstanding, King Henry, his accomplices, favorers, adherents, advisers, and followers aforesaid, shall persist in their obstinacy, and if remorse of conscience shall not reduce them to a right mind, but they shall confide in their own power and arms, we require and admonish, under the penalties of the same excommunication, and forfeiture of their goods, which shall be the prey of the captors, as hereafter is approved, all and singular the dukes and marquises, counts, and all others whatsoever, as well secular as ecclesiastical, and also men of the law, actually obeying King Henry, that without delay and excuse, they, with force of arms, if need be, expel out of the kingdom and aforesaid dominions, them and every of them, and their soldiers and stipendiaries, as well horse as foot, and all others whatsoever who shall favor them with arms; and that King Henry and his accomplices, favorers, adherents, advisers, and followers aforesaid, in obedience to our commands, presume not to intromit themselves, or procure of the cities, lands, castles, villages, towns, fortresses, or other places of the kingdom or dominions aforesaid, to be intromitted, we inhibiting those places under all and singular the penalties aforesaid, that they take not up, keep, or use arms of any sort, offensive or defensive, warlike engines and guns, called artillery, in favor of King Henry and his accomplices, favorers, adherents, and followers, and of others not obeying the commands of our former injunctions; or that they put in arms any, except such as is usual in their own family, or that they anywise on any occasion or cause, by themselves or by others, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, silently or expressly, by themselves or by others, give, or cause to be given to him and them, any counsel or assistance, with reference to the premises, or any of them.

XVI. Farther yet, the more easily to reduce the said King Henry to a sound mind, and to the obedience of the foresaid see, we do exhort in the bowels of the God of mercy, whose cause is here concerned, and require them in the Lord, commanding, under the

pain of excommunication, even all under kings and emperors, whom, because of the excellency of their dignity, we except from these censures, that they afford no manner of counsel, assistance, or favor, to King Henry or his accomplices, favorers, or adherents, advisers, and followers, or to any of them, either by themselves or by others, openly or secretly, directly or indirectly; no, not even under pretence of any confederacies or obligations whatsoever, though confirmed by oath, or under any other ties, and these often repeated. From all which obligations and oaths, we, from the same authority, knowledge, and plenitude of power, do by these presents absolve them, and every of them. And as to the confederacies and obligations themselves, as well those already made, or which hereafter may be made, which nevertheless, as far as King Henry, his accomplices, favorers, adherents, advisers, and followers aforesaid, with reference to the premises, or any of them, may be directly or indirectly benefited, under the same penalty we have prohibited them to be made; we decree and declare them to be had and esteemed of no force and validity, and to be null, void, cassated, and of none effect, and to be indeed as if they had never been. And, moreover, we require, if any do anywise assist them, or any of them to this present time, that they do altogether, and that effectually, retire from them; which, if that they shall forbear to do, after that these presents shall be published and put in execution, and the foresaid limited terms elapsed, we put all and every, the towns, castles, villages, and other places subject to them, under the same ecclesiastical interdict, willing the same interdict to remain upon them till these princes shall desist from affording counsel, assistance, or favor to King Henry, and his accomplices, favorers, adherents, advisers, and followers aforesaid.

XVII. Moreover, we in like manner exhort and require, nevertheless commanding them in virtue of their holy obedience, as well as the foresaid princes as any others, even those that fight for hire, and whatever other persons having under them such as bear arms, either by sea or land, that they take up arms against King Henry, his accomplices, favorers, adherents, counsellors, and followers aforesaid, so long as they shall remain in the foresaid errors, and in rebellion against the holy see, and that they persecute them, and every one of them, that they may force and compel them and every one of them, to return to the unity of the church, and to the obedience of the holy see. And as to those their subjects and vassals, and the dwellers and inhabitants of cities, lands, castles, towns, villages, and any of the places belonging to them, and all and every other person not obeying our commands aforesaid, and who shall anywise actually recognise the said King Henry after he has

incurred the penalties or censures aforesaid, or shall presume anywise to obey him, or who will not expel him, his accomplices, favorers, adherents, counsellors, followers, and others not obeying our commands aforesaid, out of the kingdom and dominions aforesaid, wherever they shall be found, let their goods be also seized, whether movables or immovables, merchandize, moneys, shipping, debts, commodities, and cattle, even those which are any where to be found without the territories of the said King Henry.

XVIII. And we, from the same power, knowledge, and authority, do grant licence, leave, and liberty to the same persons, of converting the same goods, merchandizes, money, shipping, commodities, and cattle, to their own proper use; decreeing by these presents, all those things wholly to pertain and belong to the captors. And the persons deriving their origin from the same kingdom and dominions, or otherwise inhabiting therein, and not obeying our commands aforesaid, wheresoever they shall be taken, shall be the slaves of the takers. Directing also these present letters as to this matter, to all others of whatsoever dignity, degree, state, order, and condition they be, who shall presume to maintain commerce with King Henry, or his accomplices, favorers, adherents, counsellors, and followers, and others not obeying these our monitions and commands; or to supply any of them with victuals, arms, or money, or to maintain correspondence with them, or anywise to give aid, counsel, or countenance, by himself or by another, or others, openly or secretly, directly or indirectly, or any other way, contrary to the tenor of these presents.

XIX. And that the premises may be the easier notified to those whom they concern, we enjoin and command all and every the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and the prelates of the patriarchal, metropolitical, and other cathedral and collegiate churches, capitulars, or other persons ecclesiastical, both secular and regular, of every order; as also all and every the professors of the mendicant orders, exempt and not exempt, wheresoever residing, under the pains of excommunication, and the deprivation of their churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical benefices, degrees, and offices, privileges, or indulgences whatsoever, derived from the same see. That they and every of them, if, and after they shall be required by the force of these presents, within three days immediately following, in their churches on the Lord's Days, and other festivals, when the greatest number of the people shall be there met to celebrate divine offices, with the standard of the cross, the bells tolling, and candles kindled, and then extinguished and thrown on the ground, and trod under foot, and other ceremonies wont to be observed in the like cases, we command them to

pronounce the said King Henry, and all and every of those who shall incur the foresaid censures and penalties, excommunicated; and shall cause and command them to be so declared by others, and to be carefully avoided by all; and, moreover, under the foresaid penalties and censures, we command that they cause these present letters, or a copy of them, according to the following form, within the term of three days after they shall be thereunto required as above, to be published and affixed in their respective monasteries and other places belonging to them.

XX. Our will and pleasure is, that all and every one of whatsoever state, degree, condition, preëminence, dignity, or excellence they shall be, who by himself or another, or others, openly or secretly, directly or indirectly, shall give any impediment, so that the present letters, or their transcripts, their copies or exemplars, cannot be read, affixed, or published in their cities, lands, castles, towns, villages, and places shall, *ipso facto*, incur the same censures. And since fraud and deceit ought to protect no one, lest any of those who being deputed to some government or administration, within the time of their government and administration, shall not comply with the said sentences, censures, and penalties, as if, after the expiration of the said term, he were no longer bound under the foresaid sentences, censures, and penalties. Whosoever, while he is in government, or vested with any administration, will not obey our monition and command, with reference to the premises, or any part thereof, such an one, even when he shall lay down his government and administration, except he shall then obey, we decree him subject to the same censures and penalties.

XXI. And least Henry and his accomplices, his favorers and adherents, advisers and followers, and others whom the premises concern, should pretend ignorance of the present letters, and of the contents thereof, we command that these present letters, in which, because of the notoriety of the fact, we supply out of our authority, knowledge, and plenitude of our power, all and every

the defects, as well in law as in fact, as also, all omissions of solemnities and processes, and citations, even though they should be such, concerning which a special and express mention ought to have been made, to be published, and affixed on the gates of the church of the prince of the apostles, and of the apostolical chancery, and in the usual parts of the collegiate church of Saint Mary of Bruges, Tournay, and of the parish church of Dunkirk, towns in the diocese of the Morini; decreeing that the publication of the said letters so made shall bind King Henry, and his accomplices, his counsellors, followers, and all others, and each of them whom the said letters do anywise concern; as if the letters themselves were actually read, and intimated to them, since it is not in the least likely that these things which are so openly done, should remain unknown to them.

XXII. Moreover, because it would be difficult for the same letters to be conveyed to every single place, to which it will be necessary they should be known; out of the same authority we decree, that transcripts of the same, being made by the hands of a public notary, or printed in the mother city, and authenticated with the seal of some one in ecclesiastical authority; We command the same credit to be given to them every where, as ought to be given to the originals themselves, if they were exhibited and produced.

XXIII. Therefore it shall not be lawful for any one to infringe, or to go about by any rash attempt, to contradict this monition, aggravation, reaggravation, declaration, percussion, supposition, inhabilitation, absolution, liberation, requisition, inhibition, exhortation, exception, prohibition, concession, extension, suppletory commands, will, and decrees. Or if any one shall presume to attempt this, be it known to him, he shall incur the anger of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

Dated at Rome at Saint Mark, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1535.
The third of the Calends of September,
in the first year of our pontificate.

2 Q

BULL OF PIUS V.

ORDAINING AND ANNOUNCING THE DAMNATION AND EXCOMMUNICATION OF ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND, AND HER ADHERENTS.

I. Sets forth the authority and fullness of power in Peter, and his successors, the prelates of Rome; in pursuance of which, Pope Pius V professes he spares no pains to preserve unity in the church, and the Catholic religion—II. Sets forth the pretended enormities of Queen ELIZABETH, in monstrosity, as he expresseth it, assuming a supremacy over, and government of, the Church of England; in abolishing the exercise of true religion there, restored by Queen Mary; in changing the old, and choosing a new council, consisting of heretics; in abolishing Catholic and imposing impious rites and ceremonies; in propounding heretical books, and obtruding them on the people; in ejecting out of bishoprics and livings, Catholic, and putting in heretical bishops and incumbents; in casting herself off the authority of the Roman church, and causing others to abjure it; in imprisoning Catholic bishops, and being herself an heretic—III. On the consideration of the premises, and her obstinacy, speaks the necessity of proceeding to sentence—IV. Declares her sentence; that she be anathematized; that she be deprived of her governments; that her subjects be absolved of their oath of allegiance, and they presume not to pay her any obedience.

Pius, Bishop, Servant to the Servants of God; for a perpetual memorial of the matter.

I. He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, committed one holy, Catholic, and apostolic church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, the prince of the apostles, and to Peter's successor, the bishop of Rome, to be governed in fullness of power. Him alone he made prince over all people, and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build, that he may retain the faithful that are knit together with the band of charity, in the unity of the spirit, and present them spotless and unblamable to their Savior. In discharge of which function, we, who are, by God's goodness, called to the government of the aforesaid church, do spare no pains, laboring with all earnestness, that unity, and the Catholic religion which the author thereof hath for the trial of his children's faith, and for our amendment, suffered to be exercised with so great afflictions, might be preserved incorrupt.

II. But the number of the ungodly hath gotten such power, that there is now no place left in the world, which they have not assayed to corrupt with their most wicked doctrines. Amongst others, Elizabeth, the pretended Queen of England, a slave of wickedness, lending thereunto her helping hand, with whom, as in a sanctuary, the most pernicious of all men have found a refuge; this very woman having seized on the kingdom, and monstrosity usurping the place of supreme head of the church in all England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction thereof, hath again brought back the said kingdom into miserable destruction, which was then newly reduced to the most Catholic faith, and to good order. For having by strong hand inhibited the exercise of

the true religion, which Mary, the lawful queen of famous memory, had, by the help of this see, restored, after it had been formerly overthrown by Henry VIII, a revoler therefrom, and following and embracing the errors of heretics; she hath removed the royal council, consisting of the English nobility, and filled it with obscure men, being heretics, hath oppressed the embracers of the Catholic faith, hath placed impious preachers, ministers of iniquity, and abolished the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fastings, distinction of meats, a single life, and the Catholic rites and ceremonies; hath commanded books to be read in the whole realm, containing manifest heresy, and impious mysteries and institutions, by herself entertained and observed, according to the prescript of Calvin, to be likewise observed by her subjects; hath presumed to throw bishops, parsons of churches, and other Catholic priests, out of their churches and benefices, and to bestow them, and other church-livings upon heretics, and to determine of church-causes; hath prohibited the prelates, clergy, and people, to acknowledge the church of Rome, or obey the precepts and canonical sanctions thereof; hath compelled most of them to condescend to her wicked laws, and to abjure the authority and obedience of the bishop of Rome, and to acknowledge her to be sole lady in temporal and spiritual matters, and this by oath; hath imposed penalties and punishments on those who obeyed not, and exacted them of those who persevered in the unity of the faith, and their obedience aforesaid; and hath cast the Catholic prelates and rectors of churches into prison, where many of them, being spent with long languishing and sorrow, have miserably ended their lives.

III. All which things, seeing they are manifest and notorious to all nations, and by the gravest testimony of very many so

substantially proved, that there is no place at all left for excuse, defence, or evasion: we seeing that impieties and wicked actions are multiplied one on another, and moreover, that the persecution of the faithful, and affliction for religion, groweth every day heavier and heavier, through the instigation and means of the said Elizabeth: because we understand her mind to be so hardened and indurate, that she hath not only condemned the godly requests and admonitions of Catholic princes, concerning her healing and conversion, but also hath not so much as permitted the nuncios of this see to cross the seas into England; are forced of necessity to betake ourselves to the weapons of justice against her, not being able to mitigate our sorrow, that we are constrained to take punishment upon one, to whose ancestors the whole state of Christendom hath been so much bounden.

IV. Being, therefore, supported with his authority, whose pleasure it was to place us, though unequal to so great a burthen, in this supreme throne of justice, we do, out of the fulness of our apostolic power, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth, being an heretic, and a favorer of heretics, and her adherents, in the matter aforesaid, to have incurred the sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. And, moreover, we do declare her to be deprived of

her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever. And also the nobility, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others which have, in any sort, sworn to her, to be for ever absolved from any such oath, and all manner of duty, dominion, allegiance, and obedience; as we also do by the authority of these presents absolve them, and do deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the kingdom, and all other things above-said. And we do command and interdict all and every the noblemen, subjects, people, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, mandates, and laws; and those who shall do the contrary, we do innodate with the like sentence of anathema. And because it were a matter of too much difficulty, to convey these presents to all places wheresoever it shall be needful, our will is, that the copies thereof, under a public notary's hand, and sealed with the seal of an ecclesiastical prelate, or of his court, shall carry altogether the same credit with all people, judicial and extra-judicial, as these presents should do, if they were exhibited or showed.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1570, the fifth of the Calends of May, and of our popedom the fifth year.

THE FAMOUS BULL,

ENTITLED

IN CENA DOMINI.

PRONOUNCED AT ROME, EVERY MAUNDAY-THURSDAY, AGAINST HERETICS AND ALL INFRINGERS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LIBERTIES.

I. The preliminary part, showing this bull to have been ratified and confirmed by more than twenty popes, whose names and constitutions are prefixed to the bull itself—II. the introduction, showing the pastoral care of the supreme shepherd, in preserving the unity and integrity of the Catholic faith—III. He excommunicates all Lutherans, Calvinists, and others; also their receivers, favorers, or defenders; all who read or keep their books; and lastly all schismatics, from the apostolic see—IV. He excommunicates all who appeal from the church of Rome to a general council—V. All pirates and their abettors—VI. All who convey away the goods of shipwrecked persons—VII. All those who impose new taxes on their dominions without the leave of the apostolic see—VIII. All forgers of apostolic briefs, or those who promulge them—IX. All who hold commerce or correspondence with either Turks or heretics—X. All, be they even bishops or kings, who hinder or abet those who hinder the carrying provisions to the court of Rome—XI. All who hinder or detain those who come to, or return from the apostolic see, or who reside at the court of Rome—XII. All who hinder pilgrims going to, or returning from Rome—XIII. All who hurt or detain cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, or apostolic nuncios, or drive them out of their dominions—XIV. All who molest such as have recourse to the court of Rome in their causes or affairs, or are appointed auditors or judges of such causes—XV. All who appeal from the court of Rome to secular courts; all who seize or retain letters, citations, and such like from Rome, or hinder their execution; all who molest the agents, or executors of such letters; all who prohibit any to obtain indulgences from Rome, or who retain the said indulgences—XVI. All who by prohibitions take away the cognizance of benefices and tythes, and other spiritual causes, from the ecclesiastical judge—XVII. All who draw ecclesiastical persons or bodies before the secular tribunal; and by virtue of any constitutions or pragmatics, violate or depress the ecclesiastical liberties—XVIII. All who limit the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and hinder the execution of its decrees—XIX. All who usurp jurisdictions and emoluments of the apostolic see, or of ecclesiastical persons, or sequester the same—XX. All who impose tributes and subsidies on ecclesiastical persons, without leave from the pope, or receive them, though they be voluntarily given, though they be emperors, kings, or other dignitaries—XXI. All who concern themselves in capital causes against ecclesiastical persons—XXII. All who invade or detain any of the territories subjected, mediately or immediately to the church of Rome—XXIII. That all these processes continue in force from time to time—XXIV. That none may be absolved from the foresaid censure but by the pope himself—XXV. That if any other presume to absolve the offenders, they be included in the like sentence of excommunication—XXVI. That absolution, though from the pope, shall not avail those who desist not from their violations, nor those who have made laws derogatory to the rights of the church, except they revoke the same, how long soever they may pretend prescription—XXVII. That all privileges and grants, derogating from the foresaid papal authority, be utterly abolished and revoked—XXVIII. That for the notification of these presents, they be affixed to the church of John Lateran—XXIX. That for their further manifestation, copies of the same be taken by all archbishops, bishops, and ordinaries, and published in their churches once a year—XXX. That all ordinaries, and those who have care of souls, and who hear confessions, diligently study these presents—XXXI. That the same credit be given to authentic copies thereof, as to the original—XXXII. That no man oppose this excommunication, as they would not incur the displeasure of God, and of Peter and Paul.

I. THE excommunication and anathematization of all heretics whatsoever, and their favorers and schismatics, or of those who violate the ecclesiastical liberty, or any ways infringe the contents of this bull, which is wont to be published on Maunday-Thursday. As for almost all the chapters of this bull, besides the third extravagant of Paul II, and the fifth extravagant of Sixtus IV, in the title of Penance and Remissions, you have them before ordained in the first Constitution of Urban V, fol. 215.—[Here follows a long apostolical succession of precedents, authorities, decrees, and so forth; all of it dry bones, and useless—when we know that this is truly their way from ages immemorial.]

Paul, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, in perpetual memory of the thing now decreed.

II. The pastoral vigilance and care of the bishop of Rome, being, by the duty of his office, continually employed in procuring, by all means, the peace and tranquillity of Christendom, is more especially eminent in retaining and preserving the unity and integrity of Catholic faith; without which, it is impossible to please God. That so the faithful of Christ may not be as children wavering, nor be carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the cunning craft of men, whereby they lie in wait to deceive—but

that all may meet in the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man. That in the communion and society of this life, they may not injure nor offend one another; but rather being joined together with the bond of charity, as members of one body, under Christ the head, and his vicar upon earth, the bishop of Rome, St. Peter's successor, from whom the unity of the whole church doth flow, may be increased in edification, and by the assistance of the divine grace, may so enjoy the tranquillity of this present life, that they may also attain eternal happiness. For which reasons, the bishops of Rome, our predecessors, upon this day, which is dedicated to the anniversary commemoration of our Lord's Supper, have been wont solemnly to exercise the spiritual sword of ecclesiastical discipline, and wholesome weapons of justice, by the ministry of the supreme apostolate, to the glory of God and the salvation of souls. We, therefore, desiring nothing more than, by the guidance of God, to preserve inviolable the integrity of faith, public peace, and justice, following this ancient and solemn custom :

III. We excommunicate and anathematize, in the name of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, all Hussites, Wicliffites, Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Huguenots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, and apostates from the Christian faith, and all other heretics, by whatsoever name they are called, and of whatsoever sect they be; as also their adherents, receivers, favorers, and generally any defenders of them; together with all who, without our authority, or that of the apostolic see, knowingly read, keep, print, or any ways, for any cause whatsoever, publicly or privately, on any pretext or color, defend their books, containing heresy, or treating of religion; as also schismatics, and those who withdraw themselves, or recede obstinately from the obedience of us, or the bishop of Rome, for the time being.

IV. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all and singular, of whatsoever station, degree, or condition they be, and interdict all universities, colleges, and chapters, by whatsoever name they are called, who appeal from the orders or decrees of us, or the popes of Rome for the time being, to a future general council, and those by whose aid and favor the appeal was made.

V. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all pirates, corsairs, and robbers by sea, roving about our sea, chiefly from Mount Argentiene to Terracina, and all their abettors, receivers, and defenders.

VI. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all and singular, who, when the ships of any Christians are either driven out of the way by tempest, or any ways suffer

shipwreck, convey away any goods, of what kind soever, either in the ships themselves, or cast out of the ships into the sea, or found on the shore, as well in our Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas, as in any other divisions of shores of all seas whatsoever; so that they shall not be excused by any privilege, custom, or possession of time immemorial, or any other pretext whatsoever.

VII. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all who impose or augment any new tolls or gabels in their dominions, except in cases permitted to them by law, or by especial leave of the apostolic see; or who exact such taxes forbidden to be imposed or augmented.

VIII. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all forgers of apostolic letters, even in form of a brief, and of supplications respecting indulgence or justice, signed by the pope of Rome, or by the vice chancellors of the holy see of Rome, or by their deputies, or by the command of the said pope; as also those who falsely publish the apostolic letters, even in form of a brief; and those who falsely sign such supplications in the name of the pope of Rome, or the vice chancellor or their deputies.

IX. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all those who carry or transmit to the Saracens, Turks, and other enemies and foes of the Christian religion, or those who are expressly, and by name, declared heretics by the sentence of us, or of this holy see, horses, arms, iron, dust of iron, tin, steel, and all kind of metals, and warlike instruments, timber, hemp, ropes made as well of hemp as of any other matter, and that matter, whatsoever it be, and other things of this nature, which they may make use of to the prejudice of Christians and Catholics; as also those who, by themselves or others, give intelligence of matters relating to the state of Christendom, to the Turks and enemies of the Christian religion, to the hurt and prejudice of Christians, or to heretics, to the prejudice of the Catholic religion, or who any ways afford to them counsel, assistance, or favor, notwithstanding any privileges hitherto granted by us, and the aforesaid see, to any persons, princes, or commonwealths, wherein express mention is not made of this prohibition.

X. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all hindering or invading those who bring provisions, or any other things necessary for the use of the court of Rome; as also those who forbid, hinder, or obstruct the bringing or conducting of them to the court of Rome; or who abet the doers of these things, either by themselves or by others, of whatsoever order, preëminence, condition, or quality they be, even although they be bishops or kings, or invested with any other ecclesiastical or secular dignity.

XI. Further, we excommunicate and ana-

thematize all those who kill, maim, spoil, apprehend or detain, by themselves or by others, those who come to the apostolic see or return from it; as also those who having no ordinary jurisdiction, nor any delegated by us, or our judges, rashly challenging it to themselves, presume to commit any like actions against those who reside at the court of Rome.

XII. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all who kill, maim, wound, detain, apprehend, or rob travellers to Rome, or pilgrims, for the sake of devotion or pilgrimage, going to that city, staying in it, or returning from it; and those who give aid, counsel, or favor in these cases.

XIII. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all who slay, wound, maim, strike, apprehend, imprison, detain, or in hostile manner pursue the cardinals of the holy church of Rome, and patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, legates, or nuncios of the apostolic see; or those who drive them out of their territories, dioceses, lands, or dominions; or those who command or allow these things to be done, or give aid, counsel, and favor to them.

XIV. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all those who, by themselves or by others, slay, or any ways strike, or despoil any ecclesiastical or secular persons having recourse to the court of Rome for their causes and affairs, and prosecuting and managing them in the said court, or even the auditors or judges deputed for the hearing and managing of the said causes and affairs, upon occasion of these causes and affairs; as also those, who by themselves or by others, directly or indirectly, presume to act or procure the said crimes, or to give aid, counsel, or favor to them, of whatsoever preëminence or dignity they be.

XV. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all those, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, of whatsoever dignity they be, who, under pretence of a certain frivolous appeal from the injustice or future execution of the apostolic letters, even in form of a brief, respecting as well indulgence as justice, as also from the injustice and future execution of citations, inhibitions, sequestrations, monitories, processes, executorials, and other decrees issuing out, or which shall at any time issue out from us, and the aforesaid see, or our legates, nuncios, or presidents, from the auditors of our palace and apostolic chamber, from our commissaries, and other apostolic judges and delegates; as also those who any other ways have recourse to secular courts, and the lay-power, and who cause such appeals to be admitted by the secular courts, even although the procurator and advocate of the exchequer should require it; or who cause the aforesaid letters, citations, inhibitions, sequestrations, monitories, &c, to be seized or retained; or those who hinder or forbid the said letters to be

put in execution, either simply or without their good will, consent, or examination; or who hinder or forbid scriveners or notaries from making, or delivering, when made, to the parties concerned, any instruments or acts concerning the execution of these letters and processes; or who apprehend, strike, wound, imprison, detain, drive out of cities, places, and kingdoms, despoil of their goods, terrify, vex, and threaten, either by themselves or by others, publicly or privately, the parties or their agents, kindred on both sides, their friends, notaries, the executors, or sub-executors of the said letters, citations, monitories, &c, or who any other way presume, directly, or indirectly, to forbid, ordain, and command any persons, in general or in particular, to betake themselves, or have recourse to the see of Rome, to prosecute their affairs of any kind, or to obtain indulgences or letters, or who forbid them to obtain the said indulgences, or to make use of them when obtained of the said see; or who presume to retain the said indulgences in their own hands, or in the hands of a notary, or a scrivener, or any other way.

XVI. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all and singular, who, by themselves or by others, by their own authority, and *de facto*, under pretence of any exemptions, or any other apostolic indulgences, and letters, take away the cognizance of benefices and tythes, and other spiritual causes, or annexed to spirituals, from our auditors and commissaries, and other ecclesiastical judges, and hinder the proceeding and audience of them, and the parsons, chapters, convents, colleges desiring to prosecute the said causes; or who intrude themselves as judges into the cognizance of them; or who by order, or any other way compel the plaintiffs to withdraw, or cause to be withdrawn, their citations or inhibitions, or any other letters decreed in the spiritual court, and the defendants, against whom such inhibitions were issued out, to procure, or consent to be absolved from the censures or punishments contained in them; or who any ways hinder the execution of apostolic letters, executorials, processes, and decrees aforesaid, or give their allowance, counsel, or assent to it, even under pretence of hindering violence, or any other pretexts whatsoever, or even until they shall petition us, or cause us to be petitioned for our better information, as is commonly pretended, unless they prosecute such petitions before us and the apostolic see, in lawful form, even although those who commit such things should be presidents of chanceries, councils, or parliaments, chancellors, vice chancellors, ordinary or extraordinary counsellors of any secular princes, (whether they be emperors, kings, dukes, or any other dignity,) or archbishops, bishops, abbots, commendatories, or vicars.

XVII. Also all those who, under pretence

of their office, or at the instance of any party, or of any others, draw, or cause and procure to be drawn, directly or indirectly, upon any pretext whatsoever, ecclesiastical persons, chapters, convents, colleges of any churches, before them to their tribunal, audience, chancery, counsel or parliament, against the rules of the canon law; as also those, who for any cause, or under any pretext, or by pretence of any custom or privilege, or any other way, shall make, enact, and publish any statutes, orders, constitutions, pragmatics, or any other decrees in general or in particular; or shall use them when made and enacted, whereby the ecclesiastical liberty is violated, or any ways injured or depressed, or by any other means restrained; or whereby the rights of us, and of the said see, and of any other churches, are any way, directly or indirectly, tacitly or expressly prejudged.

XVIII. Also those who upon any account, directly or indirectly, hinder archbishops, bishops, and other superior and inferior prelates, and all other ordinary ecclesiastical judges whatsoever, by any means, either by imprisoning or molesting their agents, proctors, domestics, kindred on both sides, or by any other way, from exerting their ecclesiastical jurisdiction against any persons whatsoever, according as the canons and sacred ecclesiastical constitutions, and decrees of general councils, and especially that of Trent, do appoint; as also those who, after the sentence and decrees of the ordinaries themselves, or of those delegated by them, or by any other means eluding the judgment of the ecclesiastical court, have recourse to chanceries, or other secular courts, and procure thence prohibitions, and even penal mandates, to be decreed against the said ordinaries and delegates, and executed against them; also those who make and execute these decrees, or who give aid, counsel, countenance, or favor to them.

XIX. Also those who usurp any jurisdictions, fruits, revenues, and emoluments belonging to us and the apostolic see, and any ecclesiastical persons, upon account of any churches, monasteries, or other ecclesiastical benefices; or who, upon any occasion or cause, sequester the said revenues, without the express leave of the bishop of Rome, or others having lawful power to do it.

XX. Also those who, without the like special express license of the pope of Rome, impose tributes, tenths, tallies, subsidies, and other charges upon clergymen, prelates, and other ecclesiastical persons, and the goods, fruits, revenues and emoluments of them, and of the churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical benefices, and exact them by divers artifices, or even receive them so imposed from the clergy, although they should, of their own accord, grant and give them; also those who, by themselves or

others, directly, or indirectly, fear not to do, execute, or procure the said things, or to give aid, counsel, or favor to them, of whatsoever preëminence, dignity, order, condition, or quality they be, although they be emperors, or kings, or princes, dukes, earls, barons, and other potentates whatsoever, even presidents of kingdoms, provinces, citizens and territories, counsellors and senators, or invested even with any pontifical dignity. Renewing the decrees set forth concerning these matters by the sacred canons, as well as the last council of Lateran, as in other general councils, together with the censures and punishments contained in them.

XXI. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all and every the magistrates and judges, notaries, scribes, executors, sub-executors, any ways intruding themselves in capital or criminal causes, against ecclesiastical persons, by processing, banishing, or apprehending them, or pronouncing or executing any sentences against them, without the special, particular, and express license of this holy apostolical see; also those who extend such licences to persons, or cases not expressed; or any other way unjustly abuse them, although the offenders should be counsellors, senators, presidents, chancellors, vice chancellors, or entitled by any other name.

XXII. Further, we excommunicate and anathematize all those who, by themselves or by others, directly or indirectly, under any title or color whatsoever, shall presume to invade, destroy, seize, and detain, in whole or in part, the city of Rome, the kingdom of Sicily, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, the territories about Faro, St. Peter's patrimony in Tuscany, the dukedom of Spoleto, the county of Venoso, and Sabinum, Marca di Ancona, Massa, Trebaria, Romandiola, Campania, and the maritime provinces and their territories and places, and the lands held in special commission by the Arnulphi, and our cities of Bononia, Cæsena, Ariminum, Beneventum, Citta di Castello, Todi, Ferrara, Comacio, and other cities, lands, and places, and rights belonging to the church of Rome, and subjected, mediately or immediately, to the said church of Rome; also those who presume, by divers means, to usurp, disturb, detain, and vex the supreme jurisdiction of the said dominions belonging to us, and the church of Rome; also their adherents, favorers, and defenders, or those who any way give assistance, counsel, or favor to them.

XXIII. Willing that our present processes, and all and every thing contained in these letters, continue in force, and be put in execution, till other processes of this kind be made and published by us, and the pope of Rome, for the time being.

XXIV. In fine, none may be absolved from the aforesaid censures by any other,

than by the pope of Rome, unless he be at the point of death; nor even then, unless he giveth caution to stand to the commands of the church, and give satisfaction. In all other cases none shall be absolved, not even under pretence of any faculties or indulgences, granted and renewed by us, and the said see, and the decrees of any council, by words, letters, or any other writing, in general or in particular, to any persons, ecclesiastical, secular and regular, of any orders, even of the mendicant and military orders, or to any persons invested with episcopal, or any greater dignity, and to orders themselves, and their monasteries, convents, houses, and chapters; to colleges, confraternities, congregations, hospitals, and pious places; as also to laymen, although they should be emperors, kings, or eminent in any other secular dignity.

XXV. If by chance any shall, against the tenor of these presents, *de facto*, presume to bestow the benefit of absolution upon any such, involved in excommunication and anathema, or any of them, we include them in the sentence of excommunication, and shall afterwards proceed more severely against them, both by spiritual and temporal punishments, as we shall think most convenient.

XXVI. Declaring and protesting that no absolution, although solemnly made by us, shall comprehend, or any other way avail the aforesaid excommunicated persons, comprehended under these present letters, unless they desist from the premises, with a firm purpose of never committing the like thing; nor those who, as before said, have made statutes against the ecclesiastical liberty, unless they first publicly revoke these statutes, orders, constitutions, pragmatics, and decrees, and cause them to be blotted and expunged out of the archives, rolls, and registers wherein they are preserved, and farther certify us of this revocation: moreover, that by such absolution, or any other contrary acts, tacit or express, or even by the connivance and toleration of us, and our successors, for how long time soever continued, neither all, nor any of the premises, nor any right of the apostolic see, and holy church of Rome, howsoever and whensoever obtained, can, or ought to be prejudged, or receive any prejudice.

XXVII. Notwithstanding any privileges, indulgences, grants, and apostolic letters, general or special, granted by the holy see, to any of the aforesaid persons, or any one of them, or any others, of whatsoever order, quality, or condition, dignity, and preeminence they be; although, as was before said, they should be bishops, emperors, kings, or eminent in any other ecclesiastic or secular dignity, or to their kingdoms, provinces, cities, and dominions, for any cause whatsoever, even by way of contract or reward,

and under any other form and tenor, and with any clauses whatsoever, even derogatory of those which should derogate from them; or even containing, that the said persons shall not be excommunicated, anathematized, or interdicted by any apostolic letters, which do not make full and express mention, and exact repetition of the said grant, and of the orders, places, proper names, surnames, and dignities of the said persons; as also, notwithstanding all customs, even immemorial, and prescriptions, how long soever, and many other observances, written or not written, by which the said persons may help and defend themselves, against these our processes and censures, from being included in them. All which grants, as far as relates to this matter, and the whole tenor of them, accounting them expressed in these presents, as if they had been verbatim inserted, nothing omitted, we utterly abolish, and wholly revoke, and notwithstanding any other pleas, which may be alledged to the contrary.

XXVIII. But that these our present processes may more easily come to the knowledge of all persons, we have caused the papers and parchments, containing the processes themselves, to be affixed in the city, to the doors of St. John Lateran, and of the church of the prince of the apostles, that those whom these processes concern, may pretend no excuse, or alledge ignorance, as if they had not come to their knowledge, since it is not probable, that should remain unknown, which is so openly published to all men.

XXIX. Moreover, that the processes themselves, and these present letters, and all and every thing contained in them, may become more manifest, by being published in many cities and places, we, by these writings, entrust, and, in virtue of holy obedience, strictly charge and command, all and singular, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries of places, and prelates wheresoever constituted, that by themselves, or some other, or others, after they shall have received these present letters, or have knowledge of them, they solemnly publish them in their churches once a year, or oftener, if they see convenient, when the greater part of the people shall be met for celebration of Divine service, and that they put faithful Christians in mind of them, relate them, and declare them.

XXX. Lastly, all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries of places, and prelates of churches; as also all rectors, and others having care of souls, and priests, secular and regular, of whatsoever orders, deputed by any authority to hear confession of sins, shall have a transcript of these present letters by them, and shall diligently study to read and understand them.

XXXI. Our farther pleasure is, that the

same credit, in judgment and out of judgment, shall, in all places, be given to copies, although printed, of these presents, subscribed by any public notary, and sealed by the ordinary judge of the court of Rome, or any other person in ecclesiastical dignity, as would be given to these presents themselves, if they should be produced or shown.

XXXII. Let no man, therefore, infringe or boldly and rashly oppose this our letter of excommunication, anathematization, interdict, innovation, innodation, declaration, protestation, abolition, revocation, commission, command, and pleasure. But if any one shall presume to attempt it, let him know, that he shall incur the displeasure of Almighty God, and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome from St. Peter, in the year of our Lord's Incarnation, one thousand six hundred and ten, the 8th of April, in the fifth year of our popedom. In the year from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1613, Indict II the 4th day of the month April, and the eighth year of the popedom of our most holy father in Christ, and our lord Paul V, by Divine Providence, pope, the aforesaid letters were affixed, and published at the doors of the churches of St. John Lateran, and the prince of the apostles, and in the field of Flora, by us, Balthazar Vacha, and Brandimars Latini, cursors.

JAMES BRAMBILLA,
Mag. Curs.

WHEN we consider the purport and the implications of the three distinguished BULLS, given above, so comprehensive and potential of their sort; and then recollect the theoretical and practical tendencies of the present *Ozonian* deterioration, with its diffusive and aggregating influences, not only in the Anglican and the Anglo-American churches, but in other regions and spheres of Christendom, we pause, and ponder the matter with some resolute convictions as the result.—What shall we say of the principles of high-church arrogance and exclusiveness, in this relation? If there is error in the *tractarian* views here, it is coiled insidiously in their premises; since their inferences, that take so many of them away from the church of England to the church of Rome, increasingly, are plainly logical, and to be lauded even on the score of consistency, and the noble hardihood of correct moral action. They see in such light, that in leaving the Anglican church, with Cæsar its head, masculine or feminine, and VICTORIA the fifth of the sex that has violated more the salique laws of heaven in relation to it, they are only leaving an organized and excommunicated schism for the genuine Catholic church, with its head ecclesiastical, as the symbol of unity, displayed in the person of the bishop of Rome. And if we believed their premises, as we utterly abominate and detest them, and all the antichristian absurdity that constitutes their soul, we should act as they act, with greater promptitude however, and with the resolute self-commitment of the spirit of martyrdom. Let the following propositions be considered in proof of this; as coincident with the principles of the canon law, as rational in the nature of all government, and easily established from the writings of the canonists—if not self-evident:

I. An act of authority is valid, although its circumstances and forms may be irregu-

lar, either by superfluity or defect; or, that which is necessary to its perfection is not necessary to its existence or its validity.

2. The pope, as bishop of Rome, belongs to the succession, and is clothed with all authority that may properly appertain to any other bishop, as one of the peers of the kingdom of heaven, the genuine and proper successors of the apostles.

3. Others act with him, and indeed all the bishops, by thousands, of his obedience. He is then, as the oraculous moderator of his prelatial peers, their mouth-piece; his acts are authoritatively their acts; they are represented in them, with a formal, and acknowledged, and practical *consensere omnes*: since he acts not alone, but the whole prelatial, as well as laical, body of the Roman Catholic church, acts with him.

4. The power that can confer authority, can also reclaim it; under their own assumed high charter to remit or to retain, to loose or to bind, to absolve or to damn; with their vaunted "plenitude of power;" this, indeed, they claim, and this the bishops were all wont together to accord to them, and even polemically to vindicate as theirs, since Christ has so "transferred" all his authority to these wonderful personages, the bishops.

5. The successors of the apostles—not one of whom personally possesses, in sober fact, one quality that entered distinctively into the definition or constitution of a scriptural apostle of Christ in the New Testament—are organically equal, as such, in authority; Christ having, it is alleged, "transferred" his authority to them; so that a majority of numbers voting, is the only way of settling, legitimately, any question of difference among these multifarious heads of the church.

6. The ascertained acts of the majority carry with them a plenary authority; the

¹ See a late sermon of the bishop of Michigan.

minority are not potential, *ex adverso*, to resist or annul what is done by a majority of their peers.

7. This principle of the prevalence of the majority is more distinguished and incontrovertible, when they censure or degrade for alleged cause or crime any of the minority; these are regularly punished by their superiors; and dislike it as they may, they are worsted in the argument. Who shall listen to a *heathen man and a publican*?—What “authority” has an unfrocked successor of the apostles? “Othello’s occupation’s gone!” Who shall regard what they say? The chain that bound them so sacredly to the chair of St. Peter, and gave all manner of holy electricity to their shocked or saturated forms, is broken in that direction, and destroyed by the same authority that made it. The plenitude of power is the engine that plays its destructive volleys evermore against them. They are all excommunicated, excised, deposed, anathematized, damned—and so forth, and so forth, and so forth, ineffably! Vide their death-warrants in these ADDENDA of the holy *bulls* of the true apostolical succession!

8. They have all in fact, as duly charged, erected a secular and another head of their church in Great Britain, whom none of their fathers knew; they, the successors of the apostles there, have all renounced the bishop of Rome, only to adhere to the spiritual headship and the “supremacy” of the British Cæsar; from whom they received and now hold their renovated commissions as *quasi* protestant bishops. They therefore stand or fall with him—or her; since their head, and all who adhere to him, *sequaces omnes et subjecti ejus*, are together swept and felled under the curse of this inexorable fulmination of all the bishops of Europe against the bishops of that little island—not less severed from the vast eastern continent, and so insulated in comparative insignificance, geographically, than sequestered and denuded of all authority, morally, as a synagogue of Satan, functionless and sanctionless, an excommunicated and repudiated community! The majority of the modern apostles, and thereby hundreds innumerable, in a dead set against twenty or thirty prostrate ones, who are apostles and bishops no more!

9. All this has been done and enacted for three hundred years; and repeated virtually, and of its own conditions, by the votive authority of every continental and catholic successor of the apostles, and by every modern bishop that lives, or that has lived or died, including all the popes, for three centuries! And we have seen that the validity of a measure of this sort is potential and autocratical, and not dependent on any objective favor or frown; much more can it not be cancelled or impaired by the opposition of its condemned victims, a poor criminal

minority, and in numbers, compared with all the genuine intact successors of the apostles, who unanimously excise and explode them, quite inconsiderable and indeed contemptible!

10. There is no retreat from these consequences, by burrowing into an obscure antiquity, beyond the visit of St. Austin, who is held, as the first archbishop of Canterbury, to have primely inoculated the British hierarchy with the genuine *virtus* or *virus* of the succession, under the pontificate of Gregory the Great; and so attempting vainly to derive the *ineffabile et indelebile quidquam* of authority and apostolicity from the original church of Britain! No—the argument, in its proper nature, is quite independent of such a question, or such an issue; as follows:—1. The Anglican church had the apostolical office and authority, no matter at all whence derived, for more than a thousand years, before the domination of Henry VIII, and each of his successors, as head of the church: this is admitted and presupposed in the argument. 2. The legitimate authority and the grand majority, in solemn form, utterly deprived them of it, reclaimed it, abolished it, three hundred years ago, and by protraction and continuity have ever re-done and always re-enacted it, to the present day. 3. They of England are, therefore, devoid of it; and all their authority is assumed—it is usurpation, pretension, fallacy. It is bankruptcy trading on a false capital. They are only an excommunicated schism. They are separated from the Catholic church; and their own voice in the case is utterly inane, even if it were not perfectly precluded. They are also interested parties—condemned heretics—miserable dissenters—and hardly provisioned even with the common grace which they so stylishly accord to others, in the beautiful doctrine of the “uncovenanted mercies” of God; those theological nondescripts, which the successors of the apostles patronize, in some quarters, with such sublime condescension and self-lauded liberality and consistency, Cain’s spiritual patrimony! With such mercies, millions have perished forever—never one was saved!

11. Let men fairly front the truth then, and be logically and practically consistent. The alternative is plain—ABIDE THE CONSEQUENCES OR—YIELD THE PREMISES! The premises are false, absurd, the pagan foolery of antichrist, that made transubstantiation, and still exalts the Virgin Mary—that poor sinner of a dead woman, saved in Christ Jesus by mere grace—into a Christian goddess, the more than Juno of the church catholic of Rome! A pagan apotheosis in the name of Christ!

12. The premises are plainly unscriptural—and therefore iniquitous and false. Nothing about such a principle, or such a thing, or such a theory, is found in the New

Testament. There, Christ himself is head for ever; always present in the church; unchangeable; without successor or vicar, without rival or peer; all authority being his alone; all his officers mere message-bearers in his name; all church power being his power, and as official, only ministerial and declarative; all right organization being very simple, as merely secondary, and subservient, and for the preparation of individuals for heaven.

13. These *Oxonian* sentiments are plainly Roman and popish. They have no merit, even of originality, with the learned tractarian sciolists in Christian theology, the illustrious theologasters who adopt them, the arrogant, and shallow, and ostentatious pseudo-protestants and crypto-papists of the nineteenth century.

But why do we abhor and refute them? Answer.—Not because we care personally and towards God, on our own account, one simple straw for such impious nonsense—more than for the three bulls that thunder their profuse damnation, *bruta fulmina*, indeed, by implication plain against us too! But, we hate religiously what is false—what is in its very nature schismatical—what is to piety abominable—what is delusive and deleterious—what is baseless as the authority of the man of sin—and what is *earthly, sensual, devilish*, doing infinite mischief in all directions, subjective and objective, social and religious, in time and in eternity!—Mat. 15: 13. Gal. 1: 8, 9. 2 Cor. 11: 2—5, 11—15.

We abhor it also because it is plainly anti-protestant. By this, we ultimately mean, that it is wholly unchristian. It is, however, most taking, and most blinding, in its influence, on thousands of the facile, the sensorious, and the vain. All the superficial and the semi-christian, are in danger of its unblest attraction. With them it is incomparably better than the gospel. It is a bran new “patent way” of salvation! And ordinarily, we fear, it deludes to perdition all who come under its jurisdiction. It sends, also, such men as Bunyan, Howe, Watts, Doddridge, Fuller, Chalmers—as well as our own Edwards, Dwight, Griffin, and Richards, not to mention other stars, now fixed in heaven’s eternal firmament, it consigns them and theirs, all and by thousands, with technical logic and cool atrocity, to hell! Why should we not religiously abhor it? *Absit impietas*.

Its influence on those of the clergy who hold it, as well as their members, is schismatical and alienating, unbrotherly, and inclement, only. It destroys the celestial basis of the communion of saints—and is of practically irreligious influence alone! If they are right others are usurpers, intruders, imposters, thieves, robbers! If the protestants are right, they are———what?

Conticueere omnes, intentique ora tenebant!

Shades of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Fisher, Grindal, Usher, and Wake, we say not—of Bancroft and Laud, could they yet live and speak, what would they say to this enormity against the glorious reformation! But—we pause, with the caution accommodated—*obsta principiis*, meaning, *si placeret*, CORRECT YOUR PREMISES, AND LEARN THE WAY OF THE LORD MORE PERFECTLY!

In our day, the subject of CHRISTIAN UNION is so considered and so conspicuous as to characterize the times. Is it desirable? Would it glorify God? Would it bless the church? Do we pray for it? Let us then perform an eclaireissement of our vision in its favor. Let us act for it. There is such a thing. It is affirmed and radiating every where in the Bible. The people of God are all one at last in heaven. Those on earth are all on their way to that bright home. They have—with different degrees of residuary imperfection—one spirit, one creed, one tendency, one resource, one basis, one salvation, one interest, one destiny, one Lord, and one Redeemer. The distinctive principles of protestantism are those of unity. Christians are one. They have not, however, one organization, or one visibility; as they have not one latitude, or one meridian, for their local habitation. They never had, and they never will have, the popish-pagan fiction of one œcumenical organic unity! Organization, instead of being the whole of it, is essentially none of it. The kingdom of Christ is *not of this world*; its sphere or jurisdiction is *within you*; it *cometh not with observation*; it is *not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy, in the Holy Ghost*; and we all pray for its progress in the world, when we say, *Thy kingdom come!* And in that prayer, as far as we are cordial, enlightened, consistent, and sincere, we pray for the demolition of whatever is opposed to it—sentiment or conduct, pope or prelate, pagan or Pusey, together with all their inventions, substitutions, and abominations, to the eclipse and dishonor of the gospel in the church of God. And to this we solemnly subscribe our heart’s whole suffrage, in the word—AMEN. And may this publication subserve the purposes of his kingdom—or perish speedily from the recollections of men!

The idea of apostolical succession is plainly a fiction, an imposture, an absurdity. It is pagan in its origin. Archbishop Whately has given it its logical and unanswerable quietus. The apostles had no successors. They live and reign with Christ, in their writings, to the end of the world. An apostle, in the very etymology of the word, means one *sent from* the presence of another. They were all *immediately* appointed and sent as legates *à latere*, by Christ himself. They were the witnesses of his resurrection, as those who saw him after it, as well as knew him before. They were plenarily

inspired, and miraculously endowed, by the Holy Ghost. A successor of the apostles—is kindred to a vicar of Christ! Nor does the usurping pope more effectually supersede Christ himself, on pretence of being his vicar on earth, than those usurping prelates, who rank themselves, and urge their claim, and affect to be the successors of the apostles, do, in effect, destroy the genuine apostolicity of the true catholicity, and the proper autonomy of the church of God! It is no trifling error. It is a serious and shameful impiety; and time it is that the sentiment, Oxonian and Roman, Anglican or Anglo-American, were eliminated with indignation from the territories of Christendom. It is graceless—a mystification of the church of God. It is a vast confusion and an awful detriment to the souls of men; and every consideration of truth, intelligence, protestantism, manhood, philosophy, and piety,

summons us to awake from so delusive and treacherous a charm. Why will men resist the truth, in favor of any one of its corruptions? Is God the author of a lie or the patron of pseudo-apostolics? Why prefer they to be infatuated and deluded? Is not the truth good enough for them? If not, how shall error help the matter? Is poison a good substitute for bread? Whose interest, or duty is it, to be deceived in the matter of the soul? *The truth, as it is in Jesus*, shall yet become the creed of nations and the glory of man! *In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats; to go into the clefts of the rocks, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth. Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils: for wherein is he to be accounted of?*—Isai. 2: 20—22.

THE END.

INDEX TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

ABSOLUTION, past and present forms of, 246.
Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, character of, 257.
 agrees with Petrus Mongus, 268; who is ordained bishop of Alexandria, 269.
 aspires to the primacy, but is opposed by Pope Simplicius, 258.
 death of, 278.
 deposition of, the boldest attempt of the popes up to this time, 275.
 disagrees with Pope Simplicius, 258.
 dispute about erasing from the diptychs the name of, 313.
 eastern bishops espouse the cause of, 276.
 engages in his quarrel with the emperor, Daniel Stylites, who raises a mob, 263.
 excommunicates the pope, 276.
 Felix II., pope, insists on the erasure from the diptychs the name of, 279.
 friendly to the Eutychian party, 263.
 judged and deposed by the pope and his council, 274.
 legates of Felix communicate with, 273; deposed for it, 273.
 name of, erased from the diptychs, 318.
 notified of his deposition by Tutus, 275; who is gained over by Acacius, and communicates with him, for which he is deposed, 276.
 obtains an edict, confirming the twenty-eighth canon of the council of Chalcedon, 258.
 ordains the bishop of Antioch at Constantinople, and acquaints the pope with the fact, 266.
 quarrel between John Talaia, bishop of Alexandria, and, 267.
 refuses to sign the encyclical letter of Basilicus, and its consequences, 262.
 Rome and the east quarrel about keeping in the diptychs the name of, 279.
Acephali, the, 345.
Acolytes, employments of the, 49.
Adaloaldus, king of the Lombards, deposed. The pope strives in vain to get him restored, 432.
ADEODATUS, a Roman, seventy-sixth pope, 466.
 death of, 467.
 Lombards, the, renounce Arianism during his pontificate, 467.
 ordination of, 466.
 pontificate of, 467.
Ælurus, *Timotheus*, 234.
 assembles a council at Constantinople, 262.
 Alexandria, aspires to bishopric of, gains the monks, and is ordained, 234; lawful bishop of, murdered, 235.
 character of, 234.
 court, supported by his friends at, 235.
 death of, 266.
 deposed and driven from Alexandria, 247; but is restored, 261.
 endeavours to establish the Eutychian party in the east, 264.
 pope writes to the emperor against, 261.
 visits Constantinople, is well received by the populace, but opposed by the clergy, 261.
 Vol. I. 63.

Africa, ecclesiastical polity in, 50.
 ecthesis of Heraclius, the, condemned in, 443.
 Novatian's deputies rejected and excommunicated in, 27.
 Pyrrhus first abjures the doctrine of one will in, 444.
Africa, *bishops of*, apply to Anastasius of Rome, and Venerius of Milan, 130.
 Celestine, pope, endeavours to impose the canons of Sardica for those of Nice, upon the bishops of, 168; who obtain authentic copies, upon which the pope drops the dispute, 169.
 censured by Pope Zosimus, but maintain their judgment, 154.
 condemn Cælestius, notwithstanding his appeal to Rome, 148.
 consult the pope about the Arian clergy, 338.
 council of, resolutions of, concerning the lapsed, 25.
 deny the claims of Pope Innocent, 147.
 espouse the doctrine of two wills, 443, 444.
 excommunicate Pope Vigilius, 356.
 policy of the, 154.
 renew the canon forbidding appeals to Rome, 171.
AGAPETUS, a Roman, fifty-sixth pope, 337—344.
 advised by Justinian to receive the Arian clergy, but refuses, 337.
 considers decrees of national synods binding, 342.
 consulted by the African bishops, 338.
 death of, 342.
 deposition of Anthimus claimed by, 341.
 excommunicates the monks denying the expression "one of the Trinity," 337.
 legates sent into the east by, 338.
 letter of, to Cæsarius of Arles, 342.
 memorials presented to, 341.
 miracles attributed to, 339.
 obsequies of, 342.
 ordination of, 337.
 pontificate of, 342.
 quarrels with the emperor—threatened but not intimidated—reconciled, 340.
 refuses to communicate with Anthimus of Constantinople, 340.
 sainted, 342.
AGATHO, a Sicilian, seventy-eighth pope, 469—485.
 Constantine writes to, 469.
 death of, 485.
 decree of, in favour of Wilfrid; its reception in England, 473.
 legates of, arrival and reception of, at Constantinople, 474; their speech in council, and Macarius' answer, 474.
 letter from the council held by, 472.
 ordination of, 469.
 pontificate of, 485.
 sainted, 485.
 Wilfrid of England appeals to, 470.
 writes to the emperor, 471.
 writings of, 471.

- Agde*, council of, establishes the celibacy of the clergy in Spain, 109.
- Agilulph*, king of the Lombards, repairs and endows churches and monasteries, 399.
- Aix-la-Chapelle*, decree of council of, relative to the celibacy of the clergy, 109.
- Alaric*, the Goth, reduces the Romans to great distress, 139.
- Alan*, cardinal, and Theodoret, admit that Pope Gelasius denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, 288.
- Alexander Severus*, emperor, favours the Christians, 20.
- ALEXANDER**, fifth pope, 10.
 death of, 10.
 holy water, institution of, falsely ascribed to, 10.
 not a martyr, 10.
 pontificate of, 10.
 relics of, 10.
- Alexandria*, church of, distracted state of the, 293;
 sends deputies to negotiate reconciliation with Rome, 294.
 council of, year 362, 78; year 633, 434; important service rendered to the church by, 79.
- Alienations* of church property,
 forbidden by the council of Rome, year 502, 304.
 law against, 303.
 only allowable now upon evident advantage, 304.
 opinions concerning, 343.
 when and why first forbidden, 304.
- Amalasuntha*, mother of Athalaric, king of Italy, put to death, 339.
- Amantius*, execution of, 316.
- Ambasiator*, or Apocrisarius, 341.
- Ambrose* acknowledges the impostor, Maximus, as bishop of Constantinople, 103.
 sentiments of, concerning the laws prohibiting legacies to the Roman clergy, 88.
- ANACLETUS**, refer to *Cletus*, second pope, 6.
- Anastasius*, emperor, allows liberty of conscience to all Christians, 280.
 attempts an alteration in the public service—great disturbances ensue—the orthodox prevail—the emperor withdraws from Constantinople, 306; returns and appeases the people, 307.
 death of, 314.
 is written to by Pope Felix II., 280.
 name struck from the diptychs, 318.
 pope, obstinacy of the, prevents a reconciliation, 313; and endeavours to inflame the mob against the emperor, 314.
 remonstrates against the extravagant demands of the pope, 312.
 sends an embassy to Rome, and prefers laymen to it, 312; who are ill received, 313.
 submits to terms proposed by the rebel general, Vitalianus, 310.
 writes to Pope Hormisdas, 310; and again inviting him to a council, 311; writes once more and to the Roman senate, 312.
- ANASTASIUS**, thirty-eighth pope, 126—131.
Aquilaia, bishop of, communicates with Rufinus, though excommunicated by, 129.
 bishops of Africa apply to, and are advised by, 130.
 death of, 131.
 Jerome commends, 131.
 Origen condemned by, 127.
 Paulinus writes to, 126.
 pontificate of, 131.
 separates himself from the communion of Rufinus, 128.
 sainted, 131.
- ANASTASIUS II.**, a Roman, forty-ninth pope, 291—296.
 admits the validity of orders conferred by Aca-cius, 292.
 aspersions cast on, 295.
- ANASTASIUS II.**, death of, 295.
 ordination of, 291.
 sends legates into the east, desiring to restore peace there, 292.
 tranquil state of the western churches at the accession of, 291.
 why not sainted, 295.
- Anathematizing* after death, 365.
- Anatolius*, bishop of Constantinople, applies to the council of Chalcedon for confirmation of the jurisdiction of his see, which is approved, and the famous twenty-eighth canon enacted; which is opposed by the pope's legates. 217. Leo reconciled, 221.
 Nestorius, Eutyches, and others, anathematized by, 210.
 writes to Pope Leo, 220.
- ANICETUS**, tenth pope, 13, 14.
 and Polycarp, disagree about Easter, 13.
 death of, 14.
 not a martyr, 14.
 pontificate of, 13.
 relics of, 14.
- Anointing*, ceremony of, 145, 146.
- ANTERUS**, eighteenth pope, 23.
 death of, 23.
 pontificate of, 23.
 probably a martyr, 23.
- Anthemius*, emperor, grants general toleration, 255.
- Anthimus*, bishop of Constantinople—Pope Agapetus refuses to communicate with, 340.
 is exiled, 340.
 the pope ascribes to himself the deposition of, 340.
- Anthropolaters* and Apollinarists, 94.
- Antioch* and Cyprus, disputes between bishops of, 143.
 and Rome, reconciliation of churches of, 142.
 bishop of, labours of, 142.
 church of, divisions in, during the time of Damasus, 91, 101; Lyricius, 117 118; peace restored, 121.
 council of, 55, 79, 97, 157.
 decrees of council of, revoked by council of Sardica, 58.
 Euphrasius, bishop of, signs the articles of union, 319.
 John, bishop of, and Cyril, reconciled, 187.
 Miletus, bishop of, favours the orthodox, and is banished, 90.
 Paul, bishop of, deposed without reference to the pope, 36.
- Antony*, one of Austin's disciples, appointed bishop of Fussula, 166.
 deprived of his administration for his scandalous conduct, by a council, and appeals to Rome, 166.
 reasons for appealing to Rome by, 166.
 the people of Fussula write to the pope, and are seconded by Austin, against, 167.
- Apiarius*, a presbyter of Sicca, appeals to Rome, 167; restored to the rank from which he was degraded, by the pope; who, to support his pretensions, endeavours to impose on the African bishops the canons of Sardica for those of Nice, 167; settlement of the affair of, 169.
 excommunicated anew; appeals to Rome, and is restored by the pope; sent back attended by the legate Faustinus. A general council assembled, before whom appears Apiarius and the legate, 170; the legate's insolent conduct, 171.
 pleads his own cause, 171.
 struck with remorse, owns his crimes, 171.
 the African bishops renew the canon forbidding appeals to Rome, 171.
- Apocrisari*, the, 341.
- Apollinaris*, the heresiarch, 93.
 condemned at Rome, 95.

- Apollinaris*, doctrines of, 49.
opposes the church, 95.
- Apollinarists*, several councils condemn the, 97.
penal laws enacted against the, 97.
- Apostles* and bishops, duties of, inconsistent, 3.
canons of the, 9.
- Apostolic constitutions*, the, 9.
- Apostolic* see, title arrogantly claimed by Rome, 3.
- Appeals* beyond sea forbidden by council of Carthage, 155.
bishop of Constantinople invested with power to receive, 223.
power of receiving, disowned by Rome, 12;
claimed as granted by the canons, 169.
to Rome, no proof of pope's supremacy, 31; by
Antony of Fussula, 166; by Apiarius of
Sicca, 167, 170; by Celandinus of Gaul, 190;
by Wilfrid of England, 470; forbidden by
the general council of Africa, 171; practice
of, when first introduced, 57.
- Aquileia*, bishop of, communicates with Ruffinus,
though excommunicated by the pope, 129.
council of, 99, 102.
Pelagius II., endeavours to effect a reconciliation
between Rome and, 385.
- Aquisgranum*, decree of council of, relative to
celibacy of clergy, 109.
- Arcadius* and Eudoxia not excommunicated by
Pope Innocent, 137.
- Archbishop*, exarch, patriarch, primate, created
during the fourth century, 51.
a mere title of honour, 52.
- Arian Goths*, the, 300.
more favourable to the clergy than the Catholic
emperors, 330.
- Arianism*, Constantius attempts to establish, 69.
banished from the west, 81.
universal, 77.
- Arians*, the, write to Athanasius, 54.
condemnation and deposition of the, 74, 76.
Constantius orders deputies to Nice, in Thrace,
74.
desire Julius to assemble a council, 55.
edict against the, revoked by the emperor, 326.
Justin commands their churches to be delivered
to the Catholics, 324.
Liberius communicates with the, 60.
seek the protection of King Theodoric, 324.
Sirmium confession of the, 73; which is reject-
ed, 74.
Sirmian confession signed by the, 75, 76.
Theodoric writes to Justin in their behalf, and
sends the pope as his ambassador, 325.
the semi, council of, 79.
- Arles* and Vienne, quarrel between, revived, 297.
Boniface, pope, revokes the privileges granted
by Zosimus to the see of, 165.
council of, 45.
Symmachus annuls his predecessors' acts in
favour of Vienne, 297; confirms privileges
of see of Arles, 309.
Zosimus, pope, conduct of, relative to see of, 159.
- Athalaric* orders the course of suits at law against
the Roman clergy, 329.
death of, 339.
- Athanasius* of Alexandria, the Arians write to
Pope Julius against, 54, 59.
condemnation of, signed by Liberius, 64.
deposed by the Arians, 55.
excommunicated by Liberius, 60.
not restored by Julius, 55.
retires to Naissus, and is recalled, 58.
summoned to Rome, 59.
- Athanasius*, presbyter, chosen to succeed Petrus
Mongus of Alexandria, 279.
- Atheism* not a bar to the papacy, 350.
- Attila* and Valentinian, treaty between not ac-
complished by a miracle, 231.
- Auricular*, or oral, confession, refer to confession.
- Austin*, sent into Britain, but a pusillanimous apos-
tle, 412.
success attends him, 414.
variety of, 415.
- Auxiliarius*, reasons for not deposing, 87.
- Auxiliarius* employed to mediate a reconciliation
between bishop of Arles and Pope Leo,
writes to Leo, 193.
- Avarenc* character of the Roman clergy in the
fourth century, 88.
- Baptism*, ancient mode of, 235.
benefits supposed to be derived at the point of
death, from, 53.
Constantine, of, 52.
custom of deferring till near death, 53; and the
views of Rome on that subject, 53.
heretics, by, opinions concerning, 45; of, dis-
putes about, 31.
Leo, pope, doctrine of, now heretical, concern-
ing, 239.
- Baptisteries*, size and style of, 234.
- Barradatus*, the anchorite, 237.
- Baronius* admits the pope's fallibility, 254.
cavils of, in regard to the abolishing of private
confession, 244.
character of Vigilius, anti-pope, by, 369.
contradicts himself, 223.
endeavours to reconcile the doctrine of Pope
Gelasius with the present doctrine of the
Romish church, 288.
mistakes of, 96.
reasons of, to prove Pope Honorius was not
condemned by the sixth general council, 480.
remarks of, on the application of the Spanish
bishops to Pope Hilarius, 254.
saints added to, and expunged from, the calen-
dar, by, 124.
strange conjectures of, 82.
- Basil*, bishop of Cæsarea, 92.
applies to Pope Damasus and the other west-
ern bishops on account of a schism in the
church, who condemn Apollinaris and de-
pose him,—Vitalis and Timotheus, 92.
Damasus, pope, assumes the office of judge,
though only chosen as mediator, 92; his
haughty conduct resented, 92; and con-
demned, 93.
- Basilius*, emperor, abandons Constantinople, and
is followed by Stylites and the mob, 264.
annuls his former decree by another, 265.
death of, 265.
declares against the council of Chalcedon, 261.
driven out, and Zeno restored, 265.
encyclical letter of, published, and all bishops
commanded to sign it, 262. Acacius refuses
—is again commanded—raises a mob, 262.
Simplicius, pope, writes against Ælurus to, 261.
Stylites, Daniel, preaches against, 264; his in-
solent conduct to, 265.
submits to Acacius and Stylites, 265.
Zeno abandons the empire to, 261.
- Belisarius*, conquests of, in Italy, takes Rome, 344.
ordered to depose Pope Silverius, and place
Vigilius in his stead, 345; strives to save
him—in vain—then exiles him, 346; orders
an election, and recommends Vigilius, who
is chosen, 347.
- Bellarmino*, cavils of, concerning abolishing pri-
vate confession, 244.
disingenuity of, 105, 138.
endeavours to reconcile the doctrine of Pope
Gelasius and the Roman church, on tran-
substantiation, 288.
establishes Peter's see at Rome, 4.
not as well informed about some matters as Cal-
vin, 211.
- BENEDICT*, a Roman, sixty-first pope, 380—
382.

BENEDICT, death of, 382.

ordination of, 380.

pontificate of, 382.

BENEDICT II., a Roman, eightieth pope, 487—489.

death of, 488.

emperor sends hair of his two sons to, 488.

obtains an edict allowing the pope to be ordained, before confirmed by the emperor, 488.

ordination of, 487.

pontificate of, 489.

BENEDICT XIII., attempts to prevent taking the veil at sixteen years of age, but is overruled, 240.

Bishop and apostle, duties of, incompatible, 3.

Antioch, of, deposed without the knowledge or consent of Rome, 36.

Aquilaia, of, communicates with Ruffinus, though excommunicated by Rome, 129.

assertion that two presided in one city contradicted, and deemed an irregularity, 4, 5.

communicate, the term, as used by a, 48.

election, confirmation, and ordination of, 47, 48.

Eugubium, of, Innocent writes to, 144.

Lappa, John of, appeals to the pope from the judgment of his metropolitan, 464; is absolved by the pope, whose authority is disputed even in Italy, 465.

Larissa, of, deposed by the patriarch of Constantinople, recurs to the pope. Council held at Rome on his account, 332.

office and duty of, 47.

Peter is said to have ordained first Roman, 3.

power of deposing and appointing, 30.

Rome, of, canons of council of Sardica relative to, 56.

Tarragon, Himerius of, writes to pope—is answered, 107.

universal, the title, alarms Pope Gregory, 408; calls it antichristian, blasphemous, infernal, diabolical, 409; his reasons for opposing it, 410; Boniface III., assumes it in the sense condemned by Gregory, 427; Constantinople better entitled to it than Rome, 427; Gregory entitled, who rejects it, 413; forerunner of antichrist, 412.

Bishops, Africa, of, apply to Anastasius and Venerius of Milan, 130; they do not comply with Anastasius' advice, 130; deny the claims of the pope, 147; write to the pope and the emperor, in favour of the doctrine of two wills, 443.

all, possessed of equal power with him of Rome, 277.

Antioch and Cyprus, disputes between, 143.

assembled in council, at Chalcedon, supposed to afford capital to the advocates of papal supremacy, 225, 226; not acknowledged, 227.

banishment of some, 61.

choice of, and pope, by the people, reasonable and necessary, 328.

Constantinople, of, appeals authorized to receive, 223; assume authority over Thrace, Pontus, and Asia, 215, 216; better entitled to title of universal, than the Roman, 427; made equal to the pope in all respects but precedence, 217.

deposed by Pope Damasus, keep their sees, 97. eastern and western, Chrysostom endeavours to reconcile, 122.

eastern, disregard pope's authority, 104; renounce the communion of Rome, 277.

election of two Roman, difficulties created by, 83.

Gallican, two, deposed by a council, appeal to the pope, are well received at Rome—declared innocent, and restored by the king. The pope's conduct resented by the other, 379; they commit new crimes, and are again condemned and deposed, 380.

Bishops, Gaul, of, write to Pope Stephen, 30.

Zosimus, pope, quarrels with some, 159; and is opposed by them, 160.

greater part of the, refuse to erase from the diptychs the names of the orthodox, 320.

ignorance of the, 251.

Illyricum, of, and Boniface, pope, quarrel, 164;

condemn the judicatum of Pope Vigilius, 356.

Ireland, of, write to Pope Gregory, 399.

Istria, of, Gregory endeavours to reunite to his see, the, 393; Pelagius II., pope, writes to, 385; they reply—his answer—their reply to it, 386; he answers—owns the fallibility of his see—uses force, 387; prevail upon the emperor to revoke his order, 394; refuse to communicate with the pope, and excommunicate Narces, 373; they refuse to attend a council at Rome, 393.

Italian, apply to the emperor Gratian, asking certain prerogatives for bishop of Rome—emperor's reply, 98.

Italy, of, including the pope, henceforth chosen by the people and clergy, but not ordained till confirmed by the king, 327.

many are exiled by Constantius, 76, 77; and recalled by Julian the Apostate, 78.

Nestorius condemned by some, 187.

not known, formerly, by their dress, from the laity, 173.

Numidia, of, deny the pope's claim, 147.

Orthodox, of the east, apply to Pope Symmachus, who does not even answer their letter, 308.

Rome, of, appeals to, not recognised by Chrysostom, 138.

authorized by the emperor to judge other, 86; luxurious life of, in the fourth century, 85; why entitled to priority over other, 98.

Spain, of, Pope Innocent writes to, 133; write to the pope, acknowledging him as successor of Peter, 253; answered, 254; the pope's behaviour, 255.

western, condemn the doctrine of Apollinaris, 96. *Blastus* and Florinus, doctrine of, 15.

BONIFACE, forty-first pope, 162—166.

and bishops of Illyricum, disputes between, 164. applies to the emperor for a law to prevent difficulties in elections, 163.

controversy between Eulalius and, 163.

death of, 165.

Honorius, emperor, is written to by the friends of, 162.

indebted to the emperor for his dignity, 163.

letters of, 164.

moderation of, 165.

ordination of, 162.

pontificate of, 165.

revokes the privileges granted by Zosimus to Arles, 164.

unambitious, 163.

worshipped, 165.

BONIFACE II., a Roman, fifty-fourth pope, 331—333.

confesses high treason, and burns a decree, 332.

confirms the decree of some Gallican bishops, condemning the semi-Pelagian doctrine, 331. councils held by, 331, 332.

death of, 333.

Dioscorus, competitor of, dies, and is excommunicated after death, by, 331.

Larissa, bishop of, deposed by the patriarch of Constantinople, appeals to, 332.

ordination of, 331.

pontificate of, 333.

proposes to alter the manner of election, and appoint his successor, 331.

Roman senate decrees against simoniacal contracts, 331.

writes to Eulalius, 333.

BONIFACE III., a Roman, sixty-fifth pope, 425—427.
 assumes the title of Universal Bishop, in the sense in which Gregory condemned it, 427.
 chief recommendation of, 425.
 death of, 427.
 ordination of, 425.
 pontificate of, 427.
 prevails on Phocas, emperor, to take from bishop of Constantinople the title universal, and confer it on him and his successors, 426.
 supremacy, the papal, established by, 426.
BONIFACE IV., a Valerian, sixty-sixth pope, 428, 429.
 death of, 428.
 decrees ascribed to, 428.
 obtains the Pantheon of Phocas, and turns it into a church, 428.
 ordination of, 428.
 pontificate of, 428.
BONIFACE V., a Campanian, sixty-eighth pope, 430—432.
 death of, 431.
 ordination of, 430.
 pontificate of, 431.
 sends the pall to Justus, 430.
 writes to Edwin, king of Northumberland, and his queen, and sends presents, 431.
Bonusus, bishop, errors of—accused before a council—judged and condemned, 120; yet exercises episcopal functions. Syricius, pope, disclaims power to try him, 121.
Britain, Austin sent into, 412; his arrival and success, 414.
 a colony of monks sent into, 415.
 Pelagianism prevails in, 174; is exterminated by Germanus, 174.
British children formerly sold into slavery, 411.
Britons, their aversion to Roman missionaries, and why, 417.
Cæcilianus, bishop of Carthage, absolved, and Donatus condemned by a council of Rome, 44.
 council of Arles held, is declared innocent by it, 45.
 election of, declared null by the schismatic party, 43.
 Gaul, dispute between the Donatists and, referred to the bishops of, 43.
 opponents of, called Donatists, 43.
 schism formed against, 42.
Cælestius, and Pelagius excommunicated by Pope Innocent, 147.
 accused and condemned in Africa, appeals to Rome, but flies to Ephesus, 150.
 banished all Italy, 157.
 condemned by the African bishops, notwithstanding his appeal to Rome, 148, 151.
 is driven from Constantinople, with Julian and other Pelagian bishops, 157.
 is driven from Ephesus and Constantinople, 151.
 law issued against, 157.
 repairs to Rome, and presents himself and his confession of faith to Pope Zosimus, 151; which is approved, and his cause espoused, 152.
 retires from Rome, 156; returns to it, 157.
 Zosimus summons him to appear and condemn his doctrine; instead of doing it, he retires from Rome. The confession before approved, is now condemned; he is excommunicated, 156.
Cagliari, Lucifer, bishop of, 91.
CAIUS, twenty-seventh pope, 38.
 death of, 38.
 not a martyr, though worshipped as such, 38.
 pontificate of, 38.
Caius, presbyter of the church of Rome, and Proclus, dispute between, 19, 20.

CALLISTUS, fifteenth pope, 20, 21.
 acts of, 21; burying place of, 21; death of, 21, not a martyr, 21; pontificate of, 21.
Candles, the blessing of, 286.
Candlemas, feast of, 286.
Canons, apostles of the, 9.
 Chalcedon, the famous twenty-eighth of, 217; confirmed by the imperial commissioners, 218; emperor, empress, and Julian of Cos, beg Leo, pope, to confirm it, 218; Leo, emperor, confirms it by desire of Acacius, 258; Leo, pope, opposes it with great warmth, 219; reasons alleged, and reasons why, 219; repugnant to those of Nice, valid when they favour the pretensions of the popes, 222.
 Sardica, of, Zosimus, pope, attempts to impose on the African bishops for those of Nice, 167, 168.
Capua, council of, year 391, 117—120.
Carthage, church of, schism in the, 28.
 councils of, year 390; acts in relation to the celibacy of the clergy, 109; years 404, 416, letter of, to Pope Innocent, 133.
Cathari, the, 26.
Cadwalla, king of the West Saxons, arrives at Rome, 492; and is baptised by the pope; dies, 493.
CELESTINE, a Roman, forty-second pope, 166—186.
 Anthony, bishop of Fussula, appeals to, 166; decision of the council of Numidia acquiesced in by, 167.
 Apiarus appeals to, and is restored by, 170; a council assembled, 170; the legate's insolent conduct. The African bishops renew the canon forbidding appeals to Rome, and write to, 171.
 appeals, power of receiving, claimed as derived from the canons, 169.
 appoints Cyril his vicegerent, 176.
 complains of abuses in some churches of Gaul, 173.
 council held at Rome condemn Nestorius, who is advised of it by, 176.
 Cyril writes to, with homilies of Nestorius, and his comments thereon, 175; not a voluntary recourse, 176.
 death of, 176, 189.
 doctrine of the Jansenists approved by, 184.
 imposed on by Cyril, 177.
 letter to Nestorius, who is inclined to yield for peace, 177.
 pontificate of, 189.
 translations declared lawful by, 172.
 unanimously chosen, 166.
 writes to the metropolitan of Illyricum, 172.
Celibacy of the clergy, a bad institution, 111.
 deemed by the pagans the highest degree of sanctity, 111.
 enforced by several councils, 109.
 first proposed in the council of Elvira, about the year 300, 108.
 Gregory enforces the laws of, 398.
 present practice of the Roman church in regard to, 109.
 priests and deacons obliged to observe, 108.
 recommended by the fathers, 110.
Celidonius, deposed in Gaul, appeals to Pope Leo, is admitted to his communion, 190; is restored, but not by authority of the pope, 192.
Cellulari, or Syncliti, the, 309.
Cerdo and Valentine, the heretics, 11.
Chair, the holy, 4.
Chalcedon, council general of, 211.
 Anatolius applies for confirmation of jurisdiction of see to, 217.
 arrangement of the, 211.
 Basilicus declares against the, 261.

- Chalcedon*, canon, the twenty-eighth of, 222; *Acacius* obtains an edict confirming, 258.
 decree or symbol of, 213.
Dioscorus, condemned and deposed by, 213.
 equals the see of Constantinople to Rome, in all but precedence, 217.
 imperial commissioners and bishops incensed against the pope—the cause, 217.
Leo, pope, warmly opposes the twenty-eighth canon; reasons alleged, and true, 219; his obstinacy provokes the bishops, 219.
Marcian comes in person to the, 215.
 monks of Egypt and Palestine oppose the, 231.
 number of members of the, 211.
 pope's legates presided, 211; their unjustifiable conduct—they withdraw from the council, 217; but their example not followed, 218; they oppose the decree, which is confirmed by the imperial commissioners, 218.
- Childbert*, king of the Franks, faithless conduct of, 384.
- Christ*, dispute about the incorruptibility of, 375—377.
 dispute concerning the will and operations in, 432; its cause, 433.
 doctrine of one will defined—the emperor declares for it, 433.
- Christians*, *Alexander* favours the, 20.
Anastasius, emperor, allows liberty of conscience to all, 280.
Aurelian's persecution of the, 37.
Constantine's edicts in favour of the, 41, 43.
Decius' persecution of the, 24.
Gallus' persecution of the, 28.
Gregory orders the introduction of the pagan ceremonies of the Britons into the worship of the, 416.
Justinian's, *Maximus'*, *Severus'*, and *Valens'* persecution of the, 19, 23, 89, 334.
- Chrysologus'* answer to *Eutyches*, 204.
- Chrysostom*, *John*, presbyter of Antioch, subsequently bishop of Constantinople, 122.
 appeals, power of receiving by Rome, neither known to, or acknowledged by, 138.
 bishops friendly to, write to *Innocent*, who communicates with them, 134.
 calumniated by *Acacius*, 134.
 Constantinople, preferred to see of, 122.
 death of, 141.
 deposed unjustly, has recourse to Rome, 137.
 endeavours to restore peace, 122.
 friends of, persecuted, 135.
Innocent's answer to, 134.
 jurisdiction in Pontus, first exercised by, 216.
 name inserted in the diptychs of Constantinople, 142.
- Church*, alterations in the state, attended by like alterations in the, 144.
Alexandria, the council of, confers great benefits on the, 79.
Antioch, of, divisions and disturbances in, 91, 101, 117, 118.
Apollinaris openly declares against the, 95.
Asia, of, practice of celebrating Easter, by, 18.
Christ, the head of the, 409.
 condition of the, in the time of *Liberius*, pope, 81.
 confessors, the, return to the, 28.
 dignities added to the, 51.
 discipline, unreasonable rigour of the, 280.
 disturbances in the, 257.
 divisions of the, founded on divisions of the empire, 143.
 doctrine of the *Millenarians*, held by the great men of the, 96.
 donations to the, 304.
 each, independent, 49.
 ecclesiastics ordained by heretics, how admitted into the, 144
Gallican, pope, no authority over, 192.
- Church*, great revolution in the state and, 265; schism in the, 96.
 new disputes in the, 321.
 peace restored to the, 34, 42.
 practice of the Roman, regarding celibacy, 109; equivocations, dissimulations, &c., 114.
 primitive, the, had no regard to celibacy of the clergy, 110.
Tertullian falls off from the, 20.
 "three chapters," the, division about, in the, 383—388.
 three parties in the, 279.
- Churches*, of Rome plundered by *Genserius*, 233; and *Constans*, 461.
- CLEMENT*, third pope, 7—10.
 acts of, fabulous, 8.
 death of, 8.
 epistle to the *Corinthians*, 8, and other writings ascribed to, 9.
Flavius Clemens is by some confounded with, 7.
 infallibility of, unknown to himself or others, 9.
 mentioned by *Paul*, 7.
- Clergy*, *Arian* *Goths*, the, favour the, 330.
 avariciousness of the, 88.
 celibacy of the, first proposed, 108; recommended by the fathers, 110.
 empire, the downfall of the, attributed to the, 490.
 forbidden by the canons to recur to lay judges, 329.
Gregory strives to reform the, 397.
Jerom's character of the Roman, 112.
 not exempt by divine right from the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate, 330.
 punished and reprimanded by *Gregory*, for their mal-practices, 397.
 scandalous practices of the, 88.
 suits at law against the Roman, directed to be first heard by the pope, 329.
- CLETUS*, or *Anacletus*, second pope, 6.
 death, decretals, pontificate, worship of, 6.
- Clovis*, king of the Franks, conversion of, 295, 296.
- Columbanus*, of Ireland, writes to Pope *Gregory*, 400.
- Commissioners*, *Imperial*, conduct of, proof of imperial supremacy. Their acquiescence on some occasions, with the pope, not easily accounted for, 228.
- Communicate*, the term, as used by the bishops, 48.
- Communion*, lay—opinions concerning, 280, 281.
- Confession*, church of Rome, practice of the, concerning, 246.
 custom of the twelfth century, 245.
 not to be made to a priest, more than to any good man, 245.
 oral, or auricular, 245.
 private, early practised, 244.
St. James' authority for, 245.
- Confessor*, the title, 69.
- Confirmation*, not a sacrament, 145.
- CONON*, a Sicilian, eighty-second pope, 490, 491.
 death of, 491.
Justinian, emperor, writes to, 491.
 ordination of, 491.
 pontificate of, 491.
 sends *Kilian*, a Scotch monk, to preach at *Wirtzburg*, 491.
- Constans Augustus*, emperor, makes a present to *St. Peter*, 459.
 seizes the pope, and conveys him to Constantinople, 452, 453; visits Rome, 460; plunders the city, not sparing the churches, 461.
- Constantine*, emperor, baptism of, 52, 53.
 conversion of, 41.
Donatists, the, petition, 43.
 edicts of, 41, 43.
 introduces new form of government, 49.
 Lateran palace, whether it was given to the pope by, 44.
Osius instructs, 69.

- Constantine Pogonatus*, emperor, Constantinople besieged in the time of, 489.
 death of, 489.
 diverted from following up his conquests by the unseasonable disputes of the clergy, 490.
 presides at the sixth general council, 484.
 reduces the sum paid by the popes before ordination, 484; resumes the power of confirming the pope's election, 485.
 sends hair of his sons to the pope, 488.
 writes to Leo II., 486.
- Constantinople*, Anatolius of, anathematizes Nestorius, Eutyches, and others, 210.
 besieged in the time of Constantine Pogonatus, 489.
 Cælestius, law against; banished from Italy; and together with Julian and other Pelagian bishops from, 157.
 Chrysostom, bishop of, recurs to Pope Innocent, 133; his name enrolled in the diptychs by bishop of, 142.
 George, of, renounces the Monothelite doctrine, 476.
 John, bishop of, death of, 410.
 Nazianzen, Gregory, resigns the bishopric of, 102.
 patriarch of, the, revenges himself upon the apocrasarii of the pope, for the pope's offence, 446.
 rise of the see of, 214.
 sixth general council, assembled by the emperor, and not the pope, 483.
 universal bishop, the title confirmed to bishop of, 388; Gregory, pope, alarmed by it, 408.
 variance between Rome and, 142.
 Vigilius, pope, ordered to repair to, 355.
- Constantius*, emperor, appoints a council to meet at Nicomedia, but changes it to Nice; subsequently, appoints two instead, 72.
 attempts to gain over Osius to the Arian party, 70.
 consubstantial and substance, the words, ordered to be suppressed by, 75.
 designs to establish pure Arianism, 77.
 Felix did not excommunicate, 68.
 orders all bishops to sign the Sirmian confession, 77.
 writes to the western bishops, 72.
- Controversies*, divine right of final decision of all, first claimed by Pope Innocent, 147.
- Corinthians*, famous epistle to, by Pope Clement, 8.
- CORNELIUS*, twentieth pope, 25—29.
 acknowledged by a council called by Cyprian, 25.
 apprehended and exiled, 28.
 character of, by Cyprian, 25.
 council assembled by, 26.
 death of, 29.
 Novatian refuses to acknowledge, 25.
 pontificate of, 29.
 relics of, 29.
- Council*, Africa, general, of, 170.
 Agde, 109.
 Alexandria, year 362—the benefits it conferred on the church, 79; strives to heal divisions in the church of Antioch, 91.
 Ancyra, year 315, 109; year 633, 434.
 Antioch, 55, 79, 97; year 418, 157.
 Antony, bishop, deprived of his administration by a, 166.
 Aquileia, year 381, 102.
 Aquisgranum, or Aix-la-Chapelle, 109.
 Arles, 45, 60; year 340, 109.
 Braga, year 448, 199.
 Capua, year 391, 117—120.
 Carthage of, 31; year 256, 33; year 390, 109; year 404, 133, 150; condemns anew the Pelagian doctrine, without waiting for the pope's judgment, 154; year 418, 155; general, year 419, 168; year 256, 33.
- Council*, Chalcedon, year 451, 211—219.
 Constantinople, year 381, 99; by whom assembled—its doings, and authority with the Greeks and Latins, 100; Eutyches condemned by, 201, 343; year 545, 355; year 553, 360—366.
 sixth general, of, year 680, 474, 484; arrangements of the, 474; speech of the pope's legates; Macrinus of Antioch, answers them, 474; first ten sessions how spent, 475; Macrinus driven from the, 476; Pope Honorius condemned by the, 476; definition of the, concerning the wills in Christ, 477; the decision unanimous, 478; copies of this decree not falsified, 478; most councils falsified, but not this, 481; called by the emperor, and not the pope, 483; the emperor presides, 484; disregards the decisions of the popes, 484.
- Corinth, 164.
 Diospolis, 150.
 Elvira, year 300, 108.
 Ephesus, oppose Pope Victor, in relation to the celebration of Easter, 18; year 431, 178, 179, 181; Pope Sixtus receives the, 186; year 449, 203—207.
 Hatfield, year 680, 473.
 Italian, year 362, 79.
 Jerusalem, 224.
 Mentz, 109.
 Milan, year 355, 61.
 Narbonne, year 589, 390.
 Neocæsarea, year 315, 109.
 Nice, 46, 47; year 325, 109; called to meet at, 210.
 Nice, in Thrace, 74.
 œcumenical, first, 251.
 Orleans, 109.
 Paris, year 362, 79.
 Quinisext, year 691, 493; condemns laws of the Roman church, 494; the pope rejects all its canons, 494.
 Ravenna, year 419, 163.
 Rimini, 73.
 Rome, year 313, 44; year 341, 55; year 378, 86; by Damasus, 87; year 377, 93; year 377, 96, 98; year 382, 99, 103; by Apianus, 114, 115, 176, 207, 272; year 499, 297; year 501, 301; year 502, 272, 303; years 503-4, 305; year 531, 331, 322; year 596, 411; year 600, 415; year 649, 447.
 Sardica, year 347, 56; its canons, 57.
 Selucia, 73; great disagreement in, 76.
 Simesa, acts fabulous, none ever held, 39.
 Sirmium, 65.
 sixth, the, received in Spain, 487.
 Toledo, year 400, 113; year 448, 199; year 590, 389.
 Tours, 109.
 Worms, 109.
- Councils*, acts of various, relative to the celibacy of the clergy, 109.
 Apollinaris, the, are condemned by several, 97.
 general, assembled only by the emperors, 361.
 held without consulting the pope, 15.
 lawful without the approbation of the pope, 368.
 not to be depended upon, 404.
 œcumenical, assembled by the emperors, not the pope; authority of, admitted by Leo, 230; not deemed infallible, 239.
 two eastern, condemn the Pelagian doctrine, 157, of Ephesus, anathematize and excommunicate each other, 180; emperor orders both to send deputies to Constantinople—hears them at Chalcedon, 180.
- Cross*, wood of the, worship of the, 423.
Cybele, priests of, "by becoming priests, ceased to be men," 111.
 effect on Roman priests, of law requiring conformity to the custom of the priests of, 111

- Cyprian*, assembles a council at Carthage, 33.
is acknowledged by a council called by, 25.
Jubaianus' letter to, 32.
pacific disposition of, 33.
Stephen censured by, 33.
- Cyriacus*, bishop of Constantinople, is not willing to relinquish his title, is opposed by Pope Gregory, 412.
- Cyril* and Nestorius, dispute between, 174; occasion of it, 175; agree in substance, 181; characters of, 175.
character of, 185, 186.
censured by his friends, 179.
defames Nestorius, 175.
deposition of, 180.
Dioscorus persecutes the relatives of, 201.
doctrine of, 177.
imposes on Celestine, 177.
is appointed Celestine's vicegerent, 176.
Nestorius expresses himself more correctly than, 183.
not legate of the pope, 181.
overbearing conduct of, 175.
reconciliation between John of Antioch, and, 187.
'Theodosius' letter to, 178.
writes to Celestine, 175.
- Cyrus, of Phasis, and the emperor Heraclius, declare for the doctrine of "one will," 433.
translated to the see of Alexandria, confirms it in a council held there, 434.
- DAMASUS**, a Roman, thirty-sixth pope, 83—107.
accusation, false, against, 97.
accused of violating his oath, 83.
a great schism in the church, 96.
and Ursinus, characters of, 83—85.
Basil applies to, 92; resents the haughty conduct of, 92; and condemns it, 93.
character of, 106.
council assembled by, 87, 93, 99, 103.
deacon of Rome, 83.
death of, 105.
decrees of, 105.
deposes some bishops, but they keep their sees notwithstanding, 97.
different accounts of this double election, 84.
emperor grants power to judge other bishops, 86.
imposed upon, 95.
Italian bishops ask prerogatives for Rome, 98.
Jerom, kept at Rome, and employed by, 106.
judges were only asked to mediate, 92.
not easily justified, 85.
persecutes the Luciferians, 93.
pontificate of, 105.
Ursinus also chosen at the same time with, 83; banished—recalled—again banished, 86; his followers persecuted and driven from Rome, 87; partisans of, raise new disturbances, and are banished, 93.
vicars, appointment of, introduced by, 104; improved upon by the successors of, 104.
writings of, 104.
- Deacon*, celibacy, obliged to observe, 108.
sub, duties of, 49.
the institution and office of, 48.
- Deaconess*, institution of the order of, 240.
- Decree*, judicatum, of Pope Vigilius, 356.
of the council of Chalcedon, 213; received by all but the bishops of Pamphylia, 237.
of the sixth general council not falsified, 479.
- Decretals*, absurdities and contradictions of, 6, 7.
Innocent, of pope, 149.
- Defensores ecclesiæ*, the, 272.
- Dionysius*, of Alexandria, accused at Rome, 36; charity of, 35; death of, 37; disapproves of Stephen's conduct, 33; interposes in a famous dispute, and is instrumental in restoring peace to the church, 34.
- Dioscorus*, of Alexandria, acts as sovereign of Egypt, 201.
ambition of, 201.
applies to his own use, the poor fund, 201.
charged with assembling the council of Ephesus, 212; and with many enormous crimes, 212.
condemned, deposed, banished, 213.
cruelty of, 201.
excommunicates Pope Leo, 209.
friends, abandoned by his, 210.
intrepidity of, 212.
persecutes the relatives of Cyril, 201.
pride of, 200.
surnamed the tyrant, 200.
tyrannical government of, 200.
- Diptychs*, the, 141.
- Discovery*, a malapropos, 4.
- Dispute* concerning the expression, "one of the Trinity," 335; the "corruptibility and incorruptibility" of Christ, 375; the "will and operations" in Christ, 432, 433.
- Disputes*, nature of religious, 44.
- Divine right* of the popes not yet broached, 86.
- Donnus*, of Antioch, 200.
- Donatists*, council of Rome complained of by the, 45.
cruelties of the, 130.
establish themselves in Italy, 97.
from whom denominating, 43.
petition Constantine, 43.
schism of the, in Africa, 42.
- Dorotheus*, bishop of Thessalonica, 319, 320.
- DONUS**, a Roman, seventy-seventh pope, 467, 468.
Constantine, emperor, resolves to assemble a general council, 467; imparts his design to, 467.
death of, 468.
ordination of, 467.
pontificate of, 468.
- East and West*, misunderstanding between the, 103; differences adjusted, 120—123; renewed, 141; an entire separation between, 276.
- Easter*, celebration of, 12, 438.
council determines the time, 18, 45.
custom observed at, 18.
dispute about, 13, 18, 462.
- Ecclesiastical polity*, the, adapted to the civil, 49; comparison between, 49, 221.
Africa, of, 50.
Italy, of, 50.
primacies, &c. of human institution, 221.
- Ecthesis*, the, 436.
condemned and rejected by some bishops, 443.
confirmed by Pyrrhus of Constantinople, 439.
Constans, emperor, revokes the, 441.
council of Rome condemns it, and the "type," 449.
received by some bishops, 442.
suppressed, 445.
universally condemned in the west, 443.
- Egyptian monks*, led by Theodosius, attack and take Jerusalem, 231, 232.
commit great ravages there, 232.
their cruelties, 232.
- ELEUTHERIUS**, twelfth pope, 15—17.
death of, 17.
"Lyons, the martyrs of," write to, 15.
Montanus, the prophecies of, not approved by, 15.
pontificate of, 17.
- Elias*, of Aquileia, defends the "three chapters,"
- Elvira*, council of, celibacy of the clergy first proposed in, 108.
- England*, the authoritative form of absolution, when introduced into, 246.

- Ephesus*, bishop of, opposes Pope Victor, 18.
council of, year 431, 178—181; irregular proceedings of, 178; neither guided by justice or religion, 179; Nestorius sentenced—terms in which he was informed of it, 178; protested against by the imperial commissioner and seventy-six bishops, 179; Sixtus III. receives, 186; unworthy the name, 178.
- Equivocations*, mental reservations, &c., how viewed by the church of Rome, 114.
- EUGENIUS*, a Roman, seventy-fourth pope, 457, 458.
at first an intruder, afterwards lawful pope, 457.
death of, 458; ordination of, 457; pontificate of, 459.
"type, the," probably neither received nor condemned by, 457.
- Eulalius* chosen bishop of Rome, 162.
controversy, two councils called to settle the, 163.
disobeys the emperor, and is driven from Rome, 163.
emperor and governor of Rome, favours, 162.
schism formed by, terminated, 167.
St. Peter's church taken possession of by, 162.
- Euphemius*, chosen bishop of Constantinople, in place of Fravitas, writes to the pope, who insists on his erasing the name of Acacius, 279; writes to Pope Gelasius—answered, demanding the erasure of Acacius' name, 282; refuses it, 283.
defends the council of Chalcedon, for which the emperor orders him to be murdered—escapes—is condemned, deposed. His blameless life avails him nothing, 291.
- Eusebians*, the, write to Pope Julius; he replies, 56; write again, and are answered by Liberius, 59.
- Eusebius* of Dorylæum, deposed, 205.
- Eusebius* of Nicomedia, writes to the pope, 55.
- EUSEBIUS*, thirtieth pope, 41.
defends the discipline of the church, and is banished, 41.
pontificate of, 41.
- Eutyches*, abandoned by his friends, 210.
absolved, and restored by the general council, 205.
Anatolius of Constantinople, anathematizes, 210.
appeals to an œcumenical council, and writes to Leo, 202.
applies to the emperor for a council, 203; it is assembled, 204.
as orthodox as Leo, 213.
character of, 199.
Chrysologus' answer to, 204.
confined, 210.
doctrine of, 199; begins to make a noise in the church, 199; condemned by those who had just before received it, 266.
Egyptians, the, declare for the doctrine of, 200.
emperor, the, endeavours to reconcile Flavianus and, 203.
is summoned by Flavianus before a council, 202; owns his doctrine—is anathematized, condemned, deposed, 202.
Leo condemns the doctrine of, 203.
orientals, the, declare against the doctrine of, 200.
owns his doctrine to Eusebius of Dorylæum, 201; who charges him with heresy before Flavianus of Constantinople, 201.
presents a confession of faith to the council—it is approved, and all anathematized who maintained the "two natures," 205.
- Eutychians*, the, demand a new council—Leo opposes them, 235.
disturbances created by, 234.
division amongst the, 376.
the leading, banished, 344.
massacred without mercy, 306, 307.
- EUTYCHIANUS*, twenty-sixth pope, 37, 38,
death and pontificate of, 37.
- Eutychius* of Constantinople, seized and deposed by the emperor, 377.
- EVARISTUS*, fourth pope, 10.
death and pontificate of, 10.
- Exarchs*, the, 49.
Italy, of, 374.
not of divine origin, 50.
rights and privileges of, 51.
- Excommunication* by the pope, disregarded, 19;
by Pope Theodore, of Pyrrhus, 445.
- Extreme unction*, 146.
- Exuperius*, bishop of Toulouse, 138.
- FABIANUS*, a Roman, nineteenth pope, 23, 24.
election and death of, 24.
Emperor Philip said to have been converted by, 24.
martyred in Decius' persecution, 24.
pontificate of, 24.
Roman clergy disowns the pope's infallibility, 24.
worthy of the dignity, 23.
- Faith*, the scriptures the only rule of, 404.
- Fallibility*, Pope Pelagius II., admits his, 387.
- Fast days*, 146, 494.
- Fasting*, practice of, 145, 146.
- Fathers*, misinterpretation of the, 2; true meaning of the, 2.
- Faustinus*, legate of Pope Celestine, 170, 171.
- Feast of the Purification*, introduced in the place of those of the Lupercalia, 286.
- Felicissimus*, schism of, 28.
- FELIX*, twenty-fifth pope, 37.
death of, and a martyr, 37.
pontificate of, 37.
- FELIX II.*, a Roman, forty-seventh pope, 271, 282.
character of, 280.
choice of, 272.
council assembled by, 272.
death of, and is sainted, 280.
legates sent into the east by—by them he writes to the emperor and Acacius; summons Acacius to Rome, 272; the legates arrested and imprisoned, 273; they are deposed, 273.
ordination of, 272.
pontificate of, 280.
requires the name of Acacius to be erased from the diptychs, 278, 279.
Talaia presents him a petition against Acacius, 272.
- FELIX III.*, a Samnite, fifty-third pope, 327—331.
chosen by Theodoric, king of Italy, 327.
death of, 331.
great disturbances at this election, 327.
ordination of, 328.
pontificate of, 331.
- Felix*, a deacon of the church of Rome, 62.
character of, 66.
chosen pope by Constantius, emperor, 62.
Constantius goes to Rome, 63; was not excommunicated by, 68.
contemporaries, how they esteemed him, 66.
death of, 66.
fabulous acts of, 66.
is acknowledged to be a saint by some Roman Catholic writers, 69.
Liberius, pope, banished by the emperor, 62; is recalled, to govern jointly with, 63.
not pope, 68.
ordination of, and its consequences, 62.
martyr, honoured as a, 66.
Rome, driven out of, 66.
sainted, and why, 66.
sanctity of, questioned, and his cause re-examined; his sanctity and martyrdom confirmed, by the discovery of his body, 67.
- Firmilian*, bishop of Cæsarea, censures Pope Stephen, 34.

- Flavianus*, bishop of Antioch, 101.
and *Evagrius*, difficulties between, 118.
and *Syricius*, pope, reconciliation between, 122.
character of, 101.
did not accord to *Syricius* the power claimed by his successors, 119.
endeavours to gain over the *Eustathians*, 123.
honoured by the church of Rome as a saint;
but ill used by the popes in his lifetime, 123.
not anxious to retain his dignity, 119.
ordination of, 101.
summoned before a council, refuses to comply,
118.
- Flavianus*, bishop of Constantinople, 201.
emperor, the, desires to effect a reconciliation between *Eutyches* and *Flavianus*, but is unsuccessful, 203; confirms the deposition of, 207.
Eutyches charged with heresy before, 201, who unwillingly receives the accusation, 202, and summons him to appear before a council then sitting—he appears and owns his doctrine—is anathematized—refuses to retract—condemned and deposed; appeals to an œcumenical council, and writes to *Leo*, 203.
is deposed, 205; exiled; treated with great barbarity, and dies on the road, 206.
Leo writes to, 203.
sainted, 206.
- Flight*, an unsuccessful, 1.
- Florinus* and *Blastus*, doctrine of, 15.
- Fussala*, Antony, bishop of, scandalous practices of, and the course pursued in relation to him, 166, 167.
- Fravitas*, bishop of Constantinople—his election deemed miraculous; writes to Pope *Leo*, 278.
- Friday*, a fast day, from the earliest times, 146.
- Gallus*, emperor, persecutes the Christians, 28.
- Gaul*, bishops of, write to Pope *Stephen*, 30; two, of, deposed by a council, recur to the pope; their crimes; are well received at Rome, declared innocent, and restored by the king. The pope's conduct resented by the other, 379; the two are again guilty of new crimes, are again condemned and deposed, 280.
Britons, the, recur to the bishops of, 174.
Celidonius deposed in, appeals to *Leo*, 190; who obtains a rescript from the emperor, 192.
churches of, abuses prevailing in some, 173.
prefecture of, 50.
Zosimus, pope, quarrels with some bishops of—the occasion of it, 159; they oppose him, 160.
- GELASIUS*, an African, forty-eighth pope, 282—291.
Acacius' name to be erased from the diptychs, a new reason for it, 285.
Alan, cardinal, and *Theodoret*, admit that transubstantiation was denied by, 288.
Baronius and *Bellarmino*, absurdities of, 288.
Christ, treatise on the doctrine of the two natures in, by, 287; which was the doctrine of the church at that time, 287.
changes the foundation on which the primacy had hitherto stood, 289.
communion in one kind only, condemned by, 286.
death of, 285.
decree of, concerning the canonical books of the scriptures, 289.
doctrine of, and the present doctrine of the Roman church irreconcilable, 288.
Euphemius, bishop of Constantinople, writes to, 282; refuses to comply with the pope's demand, 283.
excommunicated by the Greeks, 284.
Greeks, the, apply to the ambassadors of King *Theodoric*, who write to the pope, proposing terms. The pope answers, and is inflexible. Continuation of the schism owing to the pope, 284.
- GELASIUS*, insists on the erasure of *Acacius'* name from the diptychs, 282.
Misenus of Cumæ, absolved, and restored to his rank, by—the terms, 285.
omits to notice that *Peter* founded the see of Antioch—and why, 290.
ordination of, 282.
pontificate of, 286.
primacy, foundation of the, changed by. The passage, "thou art Peter" &c. has no connection with the, 289.
sainted, 286.
strives to prove *Acacius* lawfully condemned, 283; his answer to the reasons alleged by the Greeks, to show that he was not lawfully condemned, 283.
transubstantiation, doctrine of, unknown in the time of, 287.
treatise by, 286, 287.
writes to the bishops of *Dardania*, 288; and *East Illyricum*, striving to set them at variance, 285; to the emperor, but not to *Euphemius* of Constantinople, 282.
writings of, 286.
- Geuseric*, king of the Vandals invades Italy, 232; makes himself master of Rome, 233; *Leo* meets him, and is well received, 233.
plunders Rome, not sparing the churches, and returns to Africa with an immense booty, 233.
- Germanus* and *Lupus*, sent into Britain, 174.
miracles wrought by, 174.
Pelagian heresy utterly exterminated from Great Britain, by, 174.
- Goths*, the Arian, patterns of every Christian virtue, 300.
conversion of the, 389.
during their time, no bishops were chosen in Italy without their approbation, 303.
in Spain, embrace the catholic faith, 389.
Theodoric grants full liberty to profess the catholic faith to the, 300.
- Greek church*, practice of the, in relation to celibacy of the clergy, 110.
- Greeks* and Lombards, truce between, 385.
apply to the ambassadors of King *Theodoric*, 284, who write to the pope on their behalf, 284.
authority of council of Constantinople, year 381, with the, 100.
excommunicate Pope *Gelasius*, and all who communicate with him, 284.
- GREGORY*, a Roman, sixty-third pope, 390—424.
a monk, 390.
a pattern of monastic life, 391.
Alexandria, answers letter from bishop of, 412; equals sees of Antioch and, to Rome, 413; bishop of, gives title of universal bishop to *Gregory*; who rejects it, 413.
ancestors and family of, 390.
Britain, sends missionaries into, 411, 412; their success, 414; a new colony of monks sent into, 415. *Austin* is directed to introduce the pagan ceremonies of the Britons into the Christian worship, 416; the evil consequences, 416; *Gregory* subjects the British bishops to the jurisdiction of, 418.
celibacy, enforces the law of, relative to subdeacons, 398.
character of, 423.
charity of, 411.
chosen abbot, and exacts strict observance of rules, 392; and pope, but declines the dignity, 392.
clergy, general decay of discipline amongst the, 396; attempts to reform them by, 397.
complains to the emperor and empress of the cruelty and avarice of the imperial commissioners, 408.

GREGORY, concludes a truce with the Lombards, 415.
 Constantinople, John, bishop of, cudgels two presbyters, upon which Gregory interferes, and receives no thanks. Death of John; he is sainted, 410.
 Cyriacus, bishop of Constantinople, writes to, and is received to his communion, 411; attempts to appease him about the title of universal bishop, 412.
 death of, 423.
 distinguishes himself in the senate, 390.
 Donatists, endeavours to raise persecution against, in Africa, 394.
 education of, 390.
 election confirmed by the emperor, 392.
 escapes from the city, and conceals himself, 393; is brought back and ordained, 393.
 forbids his clergy to accept fees, 397.
 governor of Rome, 390.
 inconsistency of, 395.
 inexcusable conduct of, 421.
 infirmities of, 415.
 ingratitude of, 421.
 is taken from his monastery by Pope Pelagius, ordained deacon, and sent as nuncio to Constantinople; his conduct there; recalled; returns to his monastery, 391.
 Ireland, bishops of, write to; his answer, 399; exhorts them to condemn the "three chapters," in vain. Infallibility and supremacy unknown there at this time, 400.
 Jews, protects the, and strives to convert them, 395.
 Lombards, the, embrace the catholic faith, 398.
 Great ravages committed by the, 407—411; proposals of peace by Gregory, 407, whose conduct displeases the emperor, to whom he writes, 407.
 Maximus, bishop of Salona, is opposed by; summoned to Rome, and disregards the summons. The emperor interposes, and the pope acquiesces, but summons him to Rome again, 401; is disobeyed, and excommunicates him, 402; makes false accusation against the pope, who is however reconciled to him, 402.
 monks, grants some exemptions to the, 415; regulations of, concerning the, 396; soldiers forbidden to turn; the pope remonstrates, but acknowledges his subjection to the emperor, 405.
 negotiates with the Lombards, unsuccessfully, 414.
 news of a council at Constantinople, greatly alarms, 414.
 ordination of, 393.
 pontificate of, 423.
 Salona, bishop of, is commanded, and obeys, 401.
 see, a great stickler for the rights, real and pretended, of his, 400.
 sends confession of faith to other patriarchs, 393.
 Serenus of Marseilles, causes the images throughout his diocese to be pulled down and broken, 416; Gregory disapproves of it, 417.
 "servant of the servants of God," the title assumed by, 413.
 simony and incontinency prevails amongst all the ecclesiastics, 397.
 strives to reunite the bishops of Istria to his see. The emperor orders them to attend a council at Rome; they refuse, 393, and prevail on the emperor to revoke his order, 394.
 surnamed the great, 390.
 system of, inconsistent with itself and reason, 396.
 Thebes, bishop of, condemned and deposed by the provincial bishops and primate, absolved and restored by, 400.

GREGORY, Theodolinda, ambassadors of, received by; answers her letter, 422; sends presents to her children, 423.
 "universal bishop," title, greatly alarms the pope, 408; considers it heretical, antichristian, blasphemous, infernal, diabolical, 409; not actuated by zeal alone, 410; endeavours, vainly, to engage the patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople in the quarrel, 410.
 Venantius, great efforts made to reclaim the monk, by, 396.
 writes to the African bishops, and the exarch, 394; to bishops and princes, to restrain the licentiousness of the clergy, 398; eastern bishops, 415; emperor and empress against the patriarch, 409; king and queen of the Britons, 415 · Leontia, 421.
 writings of, 424.
Hatfield, the Monothelite doctrine condemned in a council at, 473.
Hegesippus, at Rome, 13.
Heraclius, emperor, declare for the doctrine of one will, 433.
 publishes his famous edict, the "ecthesis," 436.
Heresy, at Constantinople, the true faith at Rome, and *vice versa*, in the time of Pope Gregory, 403.
Heretics, baptism by, and of, 31, 45.
Hermes, appointed bishop of Narbonne, 250.
 character of, 250.
 condemned by Hilarius, why, 251.
 conduct of Pope Hilarius in relation to, 251.
 election of, canonical, 250.
 is suffered to keep his see, 251.
 Pope Hilarius causes his election to be declared uncanonical, by a council, 251.
Heros and Patroclus, characters of, 152.
 degraded and excommunicated by Zosimus, 153; injustice of this sentence, 153.
 Zosimus, pope, falsely charges with many crimes Heros and Lazarus, 153.
Hierarchy, the, first formed, 47.
High Pontiff, the title, 20.
Hilarius, bishop of Arles; Auxiliarius employed to mediate a reconciliation between Leo and; Leo inflexible; Auxiliarius writes to, 193.
 Celdonius, deposed in Gaul, appeals to Leo, who admits him to his communion, 190.
 endeavours to appease Leo—writes to him, and sends deputies to Rome—ineffectual, 193.
 Leo, pope, quarrels with—occasion of it, 190; irregular and passionate conduct of, 191; cuts off from his communion—strives to injure him with the Gallican bishops—charges him with crimes—and maliciously represents some of his actions, 191; unprincipled conduct of Leo, 193.
 Rome, repairs to—speaks with freedom to Leo, and consents to hear Celdonius before him; the account of that interview by Leo, who causes him to be seized and imprisoned, 190; effects his escape, and returns to Gaul, 191.
 steadfastness of, 193.
Hilarius, bishop of Poitiers, anathematizes Pope Liberius, 64.
HILARIUS, a Sardinian, forty-fifth pope, 249—257.
 acknowledges his power to be derived from the emperor, 253.
 bishops of Spain write to, 253; the subject of their letters, 253; remarks on this occasion by Baronius, 254; they do not acknowledge in the pope the power of dispensing with the canons, 254; the pope's answer, declaring against translations, in opposition to the canons of several councils, 254; his plea for it, and affronting behaviour to the, 255.
 death of, 256.

- HILARIUS**, Hermes, bishop of Narbonne, unjustifiable conduct of, in regard to, 250, 251.
Leontius and **Mamertus** provoke, 252; threatening letter to the latter, 252.
ordination of, 249.
pontificate of, 256.
sainted, 256.
see, mindful in his first letter of the dignity of his, 249.
toleration, a general, granted, which is successfully opposed by, 255.
writes to bishops of Gaul, 252; **Leontius** of Arles, 249, who courts the favour of the pope, against the bishop of Vienne, 249; answers his letter, 249; third letter to **Leontius**, 250.
writings of, 256.
History, falsification of, 21.
Holy water, institution of, 10; its fountain head, 10.
Honorius, emperor, example of, followed by succeeding emperors and kings, 163.
letter of, 136.
Pelagians, law enacted against the, by, 155.
Pope **Innocent** writes to, 135; his legates not allowed to touch at Thessalonica—meet with hard usage on their journey and at Constantinople. Their letters are taken from them by force; they are put on board a leaky vessel, but arrive safe in Italy, 136.
resolves to revenge the affront offered to his ambassadors, but is diverted from it, 137.
HONORIUS, a Campanian, sixty-ninth pope, 432—436.
Adalaldus, the catholic king of the Lombards deposed; vain efforts to get him restored, 432.
anathematized by Pope **Leo II.**, 486.
death of, 436.
declares for the doctrine of one will, 434.
exhorts the Scots to observe the custom of the Roman church in the celebration of Easter, 435.
grants the title of metropolitan to **Paulinus** of York, and sends him a pall, 435.
heretic, condemned as a, 476—479; reasons for and against, 480—483.
ordination of, 432.
“operations,” the expression “one” or “two,” condemned by, 435.
pontificate of, 436.
sixth general council is not considered infallible by, 483.
writings of, condemned as heretical, committed to the flames, 477.
HORMISDAS, a Campanian, fifty-first pope, 310—324; articles sent from Rome, ordered by the emperor to be signed by the other patriarchs, refused at Alexandria, and cause great disturbance at Thessalonica, 319; bishops, only a few of the, strike the names of the orthodox from the diptychs, 320; the emperor begs the pope not to insist, 320.
character of, 323.
chosen unanimously, 310.
confession of faith required to be signed by, 313.
Constantinople, the, patriarch of, remonstrates against the extravagant demands of, but the emperor obliges him to comply with them, 317; his policy and address, 318; the names of **Acacius** and his successors, together with those of **Zeno** and **Anastasius**, emperors, struck from the diptychs, 318; writes to the pope, and sends presents, 320; the pope still persists in his demands, 320; the emperor allows the names of the catholic bishops to be kept in the diptychs, in spite of the pope, 321.
council, terms proposed by, to assist at the, called by the emperor, 312.
HORMISDAS, death of, 323.
demands the name of **Acacius** to be erased from the diptychs, 313.
desired to send a legation into the east, 316; the pope still insists on the same terms, 316.
Dorotheus of Thessalonica, sends an embassy to, and is reconciled, 320.
emperor, the, writes to, and is answered by, 310; writes again, inviting the pope to a council which he had appointed to meet, 311; remonstrates against the demands of the pope—sends an embassy to Rome—employs laymen, why. Writes by them to the pope and the Roman senate, 312; they are ill received, 313; receive a disobliging answer, 313; the emperor dies, 314.
legates, from, sent into the east by—their private instructions, 311; are well received at Constantinople, 312; sends a second legation, and writes to the emperor and others, 313; terms proposed by them provokes the emperor, who writes to the pope, 313. Another legation sent; their instructions, 316; are well received every where, 317.
letters ascribed to, 323.
mob, endeavours to excite the, against the emperor, 313.
monks, several massacred for their attachment to Rome and the council of Chalcedon; others, write to, 314.
persecution encouraged by, 321; the Roman church adopts his principles, 321.
pontificate and relics of, 323.
writes to the emperor, 312.
Hunns, the, under **Attila**, ravage Italy, 230.
HYGINUS, eighth pope, 11, 12.
death of, 12.
pontificate of, 11.
Hypatia, of Alexandria, character of, 185.
murder of, 185.
Ignorance, unaccountable, of the bishops, 251.
Illyricum, prefecture of, 50.
bishops of, vainly endeavour to withdraw themselves from subjection to Rome, 188.
dispute between **Boniface**, pope, and the bishops of, 164.
letter of Pope **Celestine** to the metropolitans of, 172.
Images, **Sergius** of Marseilles, causes all within his diocese to be pulled down and broken, 416; which is disapproved of by Pope **Gregory**, 417.
not allowed during the first three centuries, neither pagan rites, 417.
Infallibility of the pope, a case for the advocates of, 65.
difficulties to be reconciled, 96.
disowned by the Roman clergy, 24.
how discovered, 10.
Ireland, not known in, 400.
not known in the sixth century, 369.
INNOCENT, an Albanian, thirty-ninth pope, 131—149.
Acacius writes to, 134.
admits that the holy see had been imposed upon, 141.
anointing, ceremony of, 145, 146.
Arcadius and **Eudoxia** were not excommunicated by, 137.
bishops of **Chrysostom**’s party write to, and receive letters of communion from, 134.
Cælestius and **Pelagius**, excommunicated by, 147.
Chrysostom of Constantinople, recurs to, 133; is answered, 134; his friends persecuted; two edicts enacted against them, 135; he did not appeal to the see of Rome, 137.
councils of **Carthage** and **Milevum** write to—his answer, 146.

- INNOCENT*, death of, 148.
 decretals of, 149.
 deems the marriage of a woman with another man valid, whilst her husband is alive, 132.
 demands that all churches should conform to the practice of the Roman, 144; eastern and western churches, misunderstanding still exists between, 141; reunited, 142.
 ecclesiastics ordained by heretics, admitted into the church only as laymen, by, 144.
 election of, commended by the ancients, 131.
 fasting on Saturday or Sunday, why deemed unlawful by, 14, 15.
 first to claim a divine right to decide all controversies, which is not acknowledged, 147.
 Friday, a fast day, 146.
 heretics, orders conferred by, declared null by— which opinion has since been declared heretical, 141.
Honorius, emperor, is appealed to by; and writes to his brother *Arcadius*, 135; the letter, 136; resolves to revenge the affront offered to his ambassadors, but is diverted from it, 137.
 leaves Rome, and repairs to the emperor at Ravenna, 140.
 legates of, the, meet with harsh treatment going to, and at Constantinople; their letters taken by force; are put on board a leaky vessel, but arrive safe in Italy, 136.
 letter of the council of Carthage to, 133.
Macedon, bishops of, write to—his answer, 140.
 mischievous letter of, 143.
 ordination of, 131.
 pagan superstitions connived at, by, 140.
 pontificate of, 148.
 Rome, city of, reduced to great distress by *Alaric*, 139; see of, is greatly indebted for its grandeur to, 148; its prerogatives, from whence derived, 142.
 rules, the book of, sent by, 132; unchristian severity of one of the articles, 132.
 sainted, 149.
 subtlety and address of, 147.
Theophilus writes to, and is answered by, 134.
 writes to *Alexander*, bishop of Antioch, 142; *Aurelius*, bishop of Carthage, 140; the bishop of Spain, 133; *Eugubium*, bishop of, 144; *Exuperius*, bishop of Toulouse, 138; *Jerom*, 148; *John* of Jerusalem, 148; *Marcianus*, bishop of Naissus, 140; *Rufus*, bishop of Thessalonica, 139; *Vitricius* of Rouen, 132.
Intention, doctrine of, 45, 46.
Ireland, bishops of, write to Pope *Innocent*, 399.
Palladius, first bishop of, 184.
Irish, the, not Quartodecimans, 438.
Istria, bishops of, separate themselves from the communion of the pope, and excommunicate *Narces*—the pope takes occasion to stir him up, 373; *Gregory* strives to reunite them to his see, 393.
Pelagius II., pope, writes to, 385; their answer, 386; he replies; they answer, 386; he replies, and makes admissions, 387.
 pope, the, obtains an order from the emperor for them to attend a council at Rome; which they refuse to comply with, 393; they prevail upon the emperor to revoke his order, 394.
Italy, bishops of, recur to the emperor—their letter—the emperor's answer, 98.
 donation of all, to the pope, a forgery, 52.
 ecclesiastical polity of, 50.
 exarchs of, 374.
 happiness of, under *Theodoric*, 299.
Justinian attempts the reduction of, 338.
 prefecture of, 50.
 ravaged by the *Hunns*, under *Attila*; *Leo*, with two others, sent to treat with him, 230; the result, 231.
James, query, which was bishop of Jerusalem, 3.
 authority for confession, derived from, 245.
Janitors, employments of, 49.
Jansenists, doctrine of, the, 184.
Jerom and *Rufinus*, quarrel between, 124; occasion of it, 126; charge against—his answer, 127.
Damasus, pope, keeps him at Rome, 106.
Origen is condemned by, 127.
Pelagius is styled the second *Cataline*, by, 157.
 Pope *Innocent* writes to, 148.
 quarrels with all the friends of *Rufinus*, especially *Melania*, 125; his conduct toward her, 125.
 retires from Rome, 112.
 sentiments of, concerning a law of *Valentinian*, 88.
Syricius not to be condemned on the bare authority of, 125.
Jerusalem, council of, 224; monks, the *Egyptian*, make themselves masters of, and commit great cruelties. *Juvenalis*, bishop, escapes, and *Theodosius* is ordained in his stead. The emperor quells the disturbances, 232; Pope *Innocent* writes to *John* of, 148.
Jesuits, foundation of the system of, the, 158.
JOHN, a Tuscanian, fifty-second pope, 324—327. *Arians*, the, commanded to deliver all their churches to the catholics, 324; *King Theodoric* interferes, 325; the edict is revoked, 326.
 dies in prison, 327.
 pontificate of, short and unhappy, 324.
 received at Constantinople with extraordinary honour—his pride—imprisoned on his return—probable reasons why, 326.
Theodoric, king of Italy, sends the pope as ambassador to the emperor *Justin*, 325.
JOHN II., a Roman, fifty-fifth pope, 333—336.
 consults the Roman clergy and other learned men, and declares that orthodox which his predecessor had declared heretical, 336.
 death of, 336.
 election of, sharply contested, with most scandalous practices, 333.
 emperor, the, makes *St. Peter* a present, 335; and pays great regard to, when he agrees with him, 336.
 Gaul, bishops of, consult, 336.
 pontificate of, 336; simoniacal practices at this time, 333.
JOHN III., a Roman, sixtieth pope, 374—380.
 death of, 380.
 election, alone, whether it confers the papal dignity, 375.
 Gaul, bishops of, and, 379.
 ordination of, 374.
 pontificate of, 380.
JOHN IV., a Dalmatian, seventy-first pope, 438—441.
 death of, 441.
 Easter, Scotch bishops write to, about, 438.
 ecsthesis, the, is condemned by, 439; and confirmed by *Pyrrhus* of Constantinople, who charges Pope *Honorius* with having held the same doctrine, 439; which *John* endeavours to excuse, 439. The emperor revokes it, 441.
 misrepresentations of, 440.
 Monothelite doctrine, confutation of, by, 440.
 ordination of, 438.
 pontificate of, 441.
JOHN V., a Syrian, eighty-first pope, 489, 490.
 death of, 489.
 maintains the rights of his see, 489.
 ordination and pontificate of, 489.
John, bishop of Lappa, appeals to Pope *Vitalianus*, 464, and is absolved, 465.
Jovinian, character and doctrine of, 116; law enacted against him and his followers, 117.

- Julian*, the Apostate, recalls the exiled bishops, 78.
Julian, bishop of Eclana, is driven from Constantinople, with other Pelagian bishops, 157; writes to Zosimus, 156.
- JULIUS**, thirty-fourth pope, 54—59.
 Arians, the, write to, against Athanasius, 54; desire a council to be assembled—but decline appearing at Rome; assemble a council at Antioch, and depose Athanasius, 55.
 Athanasius is not restored by, nor any other bishop, 55.
 death of, 58.
 Eusebians, the, write to, and threaten to separate themselves from his communion—his answer, 56; write a second letter to, which is answered by Pope Liberius, who summons Athanasius to Rome, 59.
 not banished, 59.
 pontificate of, 58.
- Justin*, emperor, Acacius and others, their names struck from the diptychs, during his reign, 318.
 confirms the acts of a council at Constantinople, and commands all his bishops to receive that of Chalcedon on pain of deposition, 316.
 Constantinople, the patriarch of, remonstrates against the extraordinary demands of the pope, but obliged to comply with them by, 317; his policy and address, 318.
 death of, 329.
 heretics, issues an edict against all, 324.
 Justinian succeeds, 329.
 legates requested to be sent into the east by, 316; Hormisdas, pope, sends them—their instructions, 317; their favourable reception and treatment everywhere, 317.
 Manichees, issues a severe edict against the, 324.
 orders the articles sent from Rome to be signed by the other patriarchs—the result, 319.
 pope, writes to the, desiring to put an end to the schism, 316; same terms are insisted on, 316.
- Justin*, (the younger,) emperor; church, endeavours to restore peace to the, 378; publishes an edict, by which peace is restored in the east, 379.
- Justin*, martyr, at Rome; his writings and martyrdom, 13.
- Justinian*, emperor; Acephali, resolved to proceed against the, 353.
 Arian clergy, advises the pope in regard to the, 337.
 character of, 377.
 church, acts as head of the, during his whole reign, 378.
 congratulates Pope Vigilius on his accession, 353.
 death of, 377.
 dispute about the expression, "one of the Trinity," revived and maintained by, denied by some monks; both have recourse to the pope. The emperor sends St. Peter a present, 335, and the pope coincides with him, 336.
 Eutychian party, banishes the leading men of the, 334.
 Eutychius of Constantinople, deposed and exiled by, 377.
 Goths, makes war on the, 339.
 has a great regard for the pope, when he agrees with him, 336.
 "incorruptibility," an edict in favor of, issued by, 376.
 Italy, attempts the reduction of—state of its affairs at this time, 338.
 Lombards, the, are invited to settle in Pannonia, by; and into Italy, by Narses, 380.
 Pelagius, promised the papal dignity by, 371; opposed by the people, but is ordained, the emperor supporting him, 371.
- Justinian*, emperor; Pope Agapetus quarrels with—they are reconciled; but the pope's conduct no proof of supremacy, 340.
 "three chapters," the, writings condemned under the name of the, by, 354; Pope Vigilius defends them, in a constitution issued by him, 362, which he sends to the emperor, 363, and the emperor sends to the council, where it is read, and a comparison instituted between it and his judicatum, 363; he had solemnly promised to condemn them. The council determines concerning them in general, and each of them in particular, 364. The dispute is continued, 383.
 Vigilius, pope, confesses the faith he had anathematized, to, 352; is ordered to repair to Constantinople—arrives—condemns the imperial edict, 355, but yields, 356; overreaches the emperor, 357; flies to a sanctuary, from whence the emperor orders him to be taken, but he is rescued, 358. The emperor sends a deputation, who prevail upon him to quit his asylum, 358; is ill used, escapes to Chalcedon, but is induced to return to Constantinople, 359; agrees to the assembling of a council, on conditions in which he overreaches the emperor again, 360; the council however meets, 361; the emperor's letter—he complains of the pope, 361; defends the "three chapters," 362; changes his opinion the fourth time, concerning them, and now condemns them by a solemn constitution, 367.
- Justinian II.*, emperor, orders the pope to be seized and sent prisoner to Constantinople, 494; the soldiery declare in his favour, and drive the officer sent to apprehend him, out of Rome, 495.
- Keys*, miraculous, 463.
Kiss, the effect of a, 248.
Kissing the pope's feet, custom of, 491.
- Lappa*, John, bishop of, appeals to the pope from the judgment of his metropolitan, 464, and is absolved, though his authority is disputed in Italy itself, 465.
- Lapsed*, the, 24, 25.
- Larissa*, bishop of, deposed by the patriarch of Constantinople, recurs to the pope, who holds a council on the occasion. Jurisdiction claimed by the popes over Illyricum, 332.
- Lateran palace*, a query concerning the, 44; plunder of the, 437.
- Laurentius*, a Roman presbyter, chosen at same time with Pope Symmachus, which causes a civil war in Rome, 296; reference had to King Theodoric by both, and the see adjudged to Symmachus, 296. The partisans of Laurentius demand of the king a visitor, 298, whose appointment is productive of no benefit, by reason of rash conduct, 299; a battle between the parties, 301.
- Law* to restrain the avarice of the Roman clergy, enacted by Valentinian, emperor, 88, 89.
- Lay-communion*, opinions concerning, 280, 281.
- Lazarus*, character of, 152; false accusations against, 153; Pope Zosimus excommunicates and degrades him—the injustice of this act, 153.
- Legates*, powers of, 104; their appointment no proof of the pope's universal jurisdiction, 105.
- Lent*, institution of, ascribed to Pope Telesphorus, 11.
- LEO**, (the great,) a Roman, forty-fourth pope, 189—248.
- Ælurus*, Timotheus, excommunicates, 235.

- LEO**, (the great;) Anatolius of Constantinople, receives a letter from, anathematizes Nestorius, Eutyches, and others, 210; is forced to succumb to the pope, 219; his letter to Leo, unworthy of him, 220; Leo is reconciled, 221.
- archdeacon of Rome, 189.
- baptism, doctrine of, concerning, 239.
- celibacy, extends law of, to subdeacons, 189.
- Celidonius, deposed in Gaul, applies to, and is admitted to his communion, 190.
- character of, 247.
- chosen whilst absent from Rome, 189.
- condemns the doctrine of Eutyches, 203.
- confession, public and private, opinions concerning, 246.
- council at Rome, assembled by, 207.
- councils general, the pope owns their authority to be greater than his own, 230.
- death of, 247.
- Dioscorus excommunicates, 209; accusations against, 212; is condemned, deposed, banished, 213.
- emperor, applies to the, for, and obtains a re-script establishing his authority in Gaul, which is no proof of the pope's authority there, 192. The emperor and empress write to Theodosius, and entreat him to assemble a general council, but in vain, 208; summons all the bishops to meet at Nice, in Bithynia, 210, but transfers it to Chalcedon; legates attend in the name of Leo, 210; Leo invited to Constantinople; the answer. Leo's letter sent to Elurus, 238.
- employments of, previous to election, 189.
- Eutychians, the, raise new disturbances in Egypt, 234; they demand a council, which is opposed by, 235; diverts the emperor from assembling it, 236; objects to disputing with the—reason alleged, 238.
- Genesius, king of the Vandals, masters and plunders Rome, which cannot be prevented by, 233.
- Hilarius of Arles, quarrels with—the occasion, 189; visits Rome, and speaks freely with Leo, before whom he hears Celidonius. Leo's representation of his behaviour, who causes him to be seized, 190; effects his escape from Rome, 191; unjustifiable conduct of Leo at this time—whom he cuts off from his communion, 191; strives to appease Leo, by writing and sending deputies to Rome. Auxiliarius employed to mediate a reconciliation, writes to Hilarius. Hilarius firm, 193.
- Hilarius, the legate of, protests against sentence of council of Ephesus, 205, and leaves the city clandestinely, 207.
- immoral and irreligious conduct of, 193.
- kiss, the effect of a, on, 248.
- legates, sends four into the east, 209; their arrogance, 212; their conduct—its effect—they withdraw from the council of Chalcedon, 217; but their example is not followed, 218; they oppose the decree of the council, 218; the authority assumed by them in this council, no proof of the pope's supremacy, 224; their haughty behaviour, 225; similar powers not assumed by the legates of any other pope, 226; their encouragement to it—but its exercise no proof of a right to it, 226.
- letters of, 189; to Flavianus, 203.
- office, applies himself with zeal to the duties of his, 189.
- ordination of, 189.
- pontificate of, 247.
- Pulcheria, empress, marries Marcian, on whom she bestows the empire—writes to Leo, 209.
- LEO**, (the great;) sacrifices truth to the exaltation of his see, 192.
- sermons of, 189.
- sins, the custom of publicly confessing private, suppressed by, 241.
- Stylites, Simeon, and Baradatus, the anchorites, are written to by, 236, 237; some account of them, 236, 237.
- virgins, law concerning, not to be consecrated under forty years of age, not owing to, 239, 240. They are now allowed to take the veil at sixteen. Benedict XIII. attempted, but unsuccessfully, to correct that abuse, 240.
- writes to the emperor for a general council, 207; to Empress Pulcheria, and others, 207; Theodosius and Pulcheria, 209.
- writings of, 248.
- LEO II.**, a Sicilian, seventy-ninth pope, 486, 487.
- anathematizes Honorius, 486.
- death of, 487.
- emperor's letter to, 486.
- letters, writes several, and in all mentions the condemnation of Honorius, 486.
- ordination of, 486.
- pontificate of, 487.
- Ravenna, obtains a decree of the emperor, subjecting to Rome the see of, 487.
- Leontius**, bishop of Arles, courts the favour of the pope, against the bishop of Vienne, 249.
- Hilarius, pope, writes to, and is mindful of the dignity of his see, in his first letter, 249; answers the letter of Leontius, 249, and again writes to him, reprimanding him for not informing him of the appointment of Hermes, bishop of Narbonne, 250; his conduct concerning Hermes, 251; is provoked against Leontius and Mamertus, 252.
- Libellatici**, the, 24.
- LIBERIUS**, thirty-fifth pope, 59—82.
- Arles, council of, 60.
- Arians, the, communicate with, 60; new confession of the, rejected, and they are condemned and deposed, 74; Sirmian confession signed by the, 75; the semi-Arians and the, condemn and depose each other, 76; Arianism universal, 77; by whom extirpated, 81.
- Athanasius is excommunicated by, 60; and his legates sign his condemnation, 60; also the pope, and embraces the doctrine of Sirmium, 64.
- banished to Berea, in Thrace, 62; recalled, 64.
- Constantius endeavours in vain to gain—who is sent prisoner to Milan, 62; visits Rome, and promises to recall Liberius, 63; who is recalled, 64.
- council asked for by, and granted to, assembles at Milan, 61.
- death of, 80.
- defence of, by Baronius and Bellarmine, 65.
- emperor, his interview with, 62; attempts to establish Arianism, 69.
- Eusebians, the, write to Pope Julius, which is answered by—who summons Athanasius to Rome, 59.
- Felix chosen in the place of, 62; the consequences of his intrusion, 62; is driven out, 66; how esteemed by the ancients; sainted, why, 66; which is called in question and confirmed, 67; did not excommunicate Constantius, an anti-pope, 68.
- firmness of, 62.
- Hilarius anathematizes, 64.
- intercession for, made by the Roman ladies, 63.
- Macedonians, the, persecuted by the emperor Valens, deliver their confession of faith to—who admits them to communion, 80.
- pontificate of, 81.

- LIBERIUS**, Rimini, did not assist at council of, 81.
 sainted, 81.
 semi-Arians, signs the doctrine of the, 65.
 Sirinian confession, probably signed by, 77.
 writes to the eastern bishops, 64.
 writings falsely ascribed to, 82.
- LINUS**, first pope, 4, 5.
 books ascribed to, 5.
 Clement not the first pope, 4.
 death of, 5.
 not a martyr, though placed amongst the martyrs, 5.
 pontificate of, 5.
- Lombards**, the, Abloinus, their king, proclaimed king of Italy, 332.
 dukes of the, 399.
 embrace the catholic faith, 398.
 government of the, 399.
 Italy, leave Pannonia for, 381, and enter it without opposition, making themselves masters of Aquileia, Friuli, and several other places, 382; commit dreadful ravages in, 382, and pursue with great success the conquest of, 384.
- Justinian, emperor, invites to settle in Pannonia, 380.
 Narses invites into Italy the, 380.
 origin of the, 380.
 pope, the, applies to the emperor and Guntram, king of Burgundy, for relief, but in vain, 384; he negotiates unsuccessfully with the, 414.
 renounce the doctrine of Arius, in the time of Pope Adeodatus, 467.
 truce between the Greeks and, 385.
- Rotharis, first lawgiver of the—a great warrior, and progenitor of their kings, 458.
- Lucifer**, bishop of Cagliari, schism formed by—he dies out of the church, 78; imprudent conduct of, 91; his partisans persecuted by Damasus, 93.
- LUCIUS**, twenty-first pope, 29.
 pontificate, banishment, and martyrdom of, 29.
- Lucius**, a British king, conversion of, fabulous, and other monkish fables concerning, 16.
- Lupercalia**, feasts of the, suppressed, and, the feast of the Purification substituted, 236.
- Lustral water** of the pagans, supposed to have originated the holy water of the Romish church, 10.
- Luxury**, debauchery, and ignorance of the ecclesiastics at Rome, in the time of Damasus, 107.
- Macarius** of Antioch, answers the pope's legates in the council of Constantinople, 474.
 and others, condemned, are sent to Rome, 486.
 disciples of, some recant, 487.
 explains the Monothelite doctrine, 475, on refusing to anathematize which, he is driven from the council, 476.
 prefers death in exile, rather than a renunciation of his opinion, and restoration to his see, 488.
- Macedonians**, the sect of the, deliver their confession of faith to Liberius, pope, who admits them to communion, 80; but they are persecuted by the emperor Valens, 80.
- Macedonius**, bishop of Constantinople, chosen in place of Euphemius, 292; driven out by the emperor; and Timotheus, an Eutychian, placed in his stead, 305.
- Mahomet** and **Mahometanism**, 431.
- Manichees**, an account of the, 194—196.
 Africa, fly from, to Rome, 194.
 bishops, all the, are warned against the, 197.
 elect of the, and the monkish orders, great conformity between, 198.
- Manichees**, Leo, pope, discovers them in Rome, and procures from the emperor a severe law against them, 198.
 many of them seized, together with their bishop, 197.
 mysteries of the, 197.
 principles of the, 195.
 Rome, their conduct in, 196.
 some are converted, others banished, 197.
- MARCELLINUS**, twenty-eighth pope, 38—40.
 aspersed, unjustly, by the church of Rome, 38; the object, 39.
 commended by the ancients, 39.
 death of, 38.
 Marcellus and, confounded by some writers, but distinguished by others, 40.
 martyr, falsely supposed to have died a, 40.
 pontificate of, 38.
- MARCELLUS**, twenty-ninth pope, 40, 41.
 acts of, fabulous, 41.
 pontificate, banishment, and relics of, 41.
- Marcian**, emperor, bishops, summons to meet at Nice, in Bithynia, 210; but is transferred to Chalcedon, 211.
 Chalcedon, council of, is visited by, 214.
 friendly to Leo, causes the bishop of Constantinople to succumb to him, 219.
 Leo is favoured by—the cause, 220.
 suppresses the disturbances caused by the monks at Jerusalem, 232.
 writes twice to Pope Leo, 209.
- Marcion**, a native of Pontus, excommunicated by his father, visits Rome, 12.
- MARK**, thirty-third pope, 54.
 pontificate and death of, 54.
- Maronites**, the, 489.
- Marriage**, Leo's errors concerning, 239.
- Martial**, of Merida, excommunicated, appeals to Rome; but that is no proof of the pope's supremacy, 31.
- MARTIN**, an Umbrian, seventy-third pope, 446—456.
 banished to the Sarmatian Chersonesus, 455.
 character of, 456.
 chosen—is confirmed by the emperor, who exhorts him to conform to the "type," 446.
 complaints of, 455.
 council assembled in Rome by—his speech to the bishops, in which he misrepresents the purport and meaning of the "type." A letter from Maurus of Ravenna, read in the council; also several petitions, 447. The acts of this council sent to the chief bishops in the east and west, 450.
 crimes laid to the charge of, his trial, 453.
 death of, 456.
 exarch of Italy, the, is ordered to seize, 451; enters Sicily, to defend it against the Saracens, and dies. His successor receives the same command, and to force the Romans to choose another in his room, 451; marches to Rome, and seizes the pope in the Lateran church; conveys him by night on board a vessel, and lands him on the island of Naxos, after suffering great hardships, and also during his imprisonment there, 452. At the end of a year is removed to Constantinople, where he is cruelly treated, 453.
 forgotten by his own church, 455.
 high treason, declared guilty of, and used with great barbarity, but his life spared, 454.
 interrogated concerning the abjuration of Pyrrhus at Rome, 455.
 not a martyr, 456.
 partiality of—to his predecessor, Honorius, 449.
 power and jurisdiction in the east, bold attempt to establish his 450.

- MARTIN*, proposes to acquaint the emperor, by a solemn delegation, with the proceedings of the council of Rome, and to employ the subjects of the king of France; but not effecting his design, he does it by letter, 451. sufferings of, 452—456.
 “two wills,” argument of, in favour of, 450.
 “type,” the, rejected, 448.
 Victor of Carthage, ridiculously criticised by, 448.
- Martyrs of Lyons*, the, write to Pope Eleutherius, 15.
- Martyrs*, why the church of Rome is so fond of, 38.
- Mary*, dispute about the perpetual virginity of, 120.
- Matrimonial obligations*, the church of Rome on, 139.
- Mauricius*, emperor, character of, 420; issues an order forbidding soldiers to turn monks, which Pope Gregory remonstrates against, and writes to, owning himself subject to, and bound to obey the commands of, 405; is dissatisfied with the pope, 407; murdered, 419.
- Maurus* of Milan, excommunicated by Pope Vitalianus, excommunicates him in turn, 465. His name struck from the diptychs after death. His example followed by his successor, 466.
- Maximus*, who and what he was, 102; Ambrose and the Italian bishops acknowledge him, 103; writes to Pope Symic, 112.
- Maximus*, emperor, murdered, 233.
- Maximus*, the abbot, advocates the doctrine of the two wills, 443.
- Meats*, error of Pope Leo, concerning the eating of immolated, 239.
- Melania*, character of, Jerom’s treatment of, 125.
- MELCHIADES*, thirty-first pope, 41—45.
 chosen pope, 41.
 death of, 44.
 Donatists, the schism of the, occurs in the time of, 42, 43.
 Lateran palace, query, whether it was given to, 44.
 pontificate of, 44.
- Meletius*, bishop of Antioch, declares in favour of the orthodox, and is banished, 90.
- Mellitus*, first bishop of London, goes to Rome, 428.
- Men*, married or unmarried, indiscriminately raised to ecclesiastical dignities, 110.
- Mental reservations*, equivocations, &c., doctrine of the Roman church concerning, 144.
- Mentz*, council of, establishes the celibacy of the clergy, 109.
- Metropolitans*, duties of, 250; privileges of, 51; the popes have no right to ordain, 52.
- Milan*, council of, 61; edicts of, 42.
- Millenarians*, doctrine of the, 96.
- Miracles* cease, when most needed, 264.
- Miraculous keys*, the, 463.
- Mongus*, *Petrus*, Alexandria, proposed for the see of, 268.
 and Acacius, agreement between—the terms—approved by the emperor, who acquaints the pope with his design of raising Mongus to the see of Alexandria, which he opposes, 268.
 excommunicated anew by the pope, 274.
 receives the henoticon, or decree of union, of the emperor, and is installed bishop of Alexandria, 269; received as such in Egypt, 269.
- Monk*, soldiers forbidden to turn, 405.
- Monothelites*, the, doctrine of, condemned by Pope Severinus, 437; and all the western bishops, 469; also in a council at Hatfield, England, 473.
 found guilty of forgery, 476.
 George of Constantinople, renounces the doctrine of the, 476.
- Monothelites*, Macarius, refusing to renounce, is anathematized, 476.
 quote Pope Honorius, 449.
- Montanists*, the, 334.
- Montanus*, the heresy of, broached in the time of Pope Soter, 14; Eleutherius, pope, did not approve the prophecies of, 15.
 “Mother of God,” the title, how viewed, 175; a particular reason for rejecting that title, 182.
- Narbonne*, council of, 390.
- Narses*, character of—invites the Lombards into Italy, the reason why, 380, 381.
- Nazianzen*, *Gregory*, elected bishop of Constantinople, 101, resigns, finding that he cannot accomplish the object for which he accepted the bishopric, 102, and in his place Nectarius is chosen, 102.
- Nestorianism*, an imaginary heresy, 181.
- Nestorius*, a persecutor, is himself persecuted, 183.
 and Cyril, dispute between—the occasion of it, 174; their characters, 175.
 banished to Arabia, 183.
 books of, forbidden, and ordered to be burnt, 183.
 Celestine, pope, approves the deposition of Cyril, Nestorius, and Memnon, and they are arrested by the emperor’s order, 180.
 condemned by a council at Rome, 176; its proceedings. The sentence pronounced, and in what terms, 178.
 Cyril sends Celestine’s letter to Nestorius, requiring him to retract his pretended errors, on pain of being deposed, 177.
 death of, 183.
 defamed by Cyril to the emperor, 175.
 emperor opposes, although he had favoured him, 180; the cause of this change, 181.
 excommunicates Cyril and his friends, and strives to gain Pope Celestine and the western bishops, 175.
 expresses himself more properly than Cyril, 182.
 homilies of, sent to Celestine, by Cyril, with comments, 175.
 is not allowed to explain his meaning, 175.
 made acquainted with the judgment of the western bishops, 176.
 ordered to return to his monastery, 182.
 orientals, the, divided, some in favour of, 187.
 peacefully inclined, 177.
 substance, Cyril and Nestorius agree in, the whole dispute being about words, 181.
 treated with great barbarity, 183.
- Nice*, the council of, the first œcumenical, held by the church, not convened by the pope, but the emperor, 47. Osius of Cordoua, did not assist at, as the pope’s legate, nor did he preside, 46; the faith of, universally established, 79.
- Nicetas* of Aquileia, consults Leo concerning some points of discipline. He answers, committing errors concerning marriage, and the eating of immolated meats. His doctrine concerning baptism, now heresy in the church of Rome, 239.
- Nicomedia*, a council appointed to meet at, but the city is destroyed by an earthquake, 72.
- Novatian*, a Roman presbyter, aspires to the papal chair, and refuses to acknowledge Cornelius for pope, 25.
 deputies of, rejected and excommunicated in Africa, 27.
 excommunicated, 26.
 first anti-pope, 26.
 Novatus gains many over to the party of, 26.
 Some return to the church—the course taken to keep the rest from following their example, 28.
- Novatus*, a presbyter of the church of Carthage, 26.
 glimpse at the history of, 26.

- Numidia*, council of, 166.
Numidian bishops, do not acknowledge the pope's claims, 147.
- Oaths*, idolatrous and sacrilegious, 358.
- Odoacer*, first king of Italy, character of, 257; law made by him, concerning the election of pope, and alienations of church property, revoked, 303.
- Economus*, the, 271.
- Ecumenical bishops*, the title, 341.
- Ecumenical councils*, assembled by the emperor, not the pope, 209.
 Ephesus, summoned to meet at, 177.
 Nice, of, the first held by the church, not convened by the pope, but the emperor, 47.
 not deemed infallible, 239.
 Pope Leo admits their authority to be greater than his own, 230.
 sixth, held at Constantinople, 474—484.
 Oil, the ceremony of anointing with, 145, 146.
- "*One will*," doctrine of, dispute concerning, 432, 433, 448, 449.
- Oral confession*, controversy about, 245.
- Ordinations, forced*, 259.
- Origen*, the celebrated, and his doctrine, both condemned by Justinian, emperor, 353.
 Anastasius and other bishops condemn, 127.
 condemnation of, chiefly owing to the bishop of Alexandria, 129.
 deposition of, 22.
 errors, chief, of, 128; they are embraced by many at Rome, 127.
 Jerom condemns, 127.
 visits Rome, 19.
- Orleans*, council of, establishes the celibacy of the clergy, 109.
- Orthodox*, division amongst the, 90.
 Miletus declares in favour of the—and is deposed, 90.
 party, triumphant, 79.
 persecuted in the east, 89.
- Valens, emperor, treats them inhumanly, 90.
- Osius*, bishop of Cordova, confined and racked, 70.
 Constantius, emperor, gains him over to the Arian party, 70.
 instructs Constantine, 69.
 life of, 69.
 Maximian imprisons, 69.
 Nice, did not preside at council of, neither did he assist as legate of the pope, 46.
 Nicene creed drawn up, by, 70.
 Sardica, presided at council of, but not as legate, 58.
 signs the Sirmian confession, 71, and is restored to his see, 71.
- Ostia*, bishop of, ordains the pope, 54.
- Pagan ceremonies* directed to be introduced into the Christian worship in Britain, by Pope Gregory, 416.
- Pagans*, lustral water of the, 10.
- Pall*, the, 430.
- Palladius*, first bishop of Ireland, 184.
- Pantheon*, the, turned into a church, 428.
- Papal grandeur* owing to the ambition of the bishops, 249.
 supremacy, origin of the, 426.
 usurpations, first essay at, 18.
- Paplnutus* opposes the decree of celibacy of the clergy, in the council of Nice, 109.
- Paschasius*, character of, 298.
- Patriarch*, primate, archbishop, &c., origin of, 51.
- Paul* and Peter did not certainly suffer in the same year, 290.
 mentions Clement, the third pope, 7.
 never mentions Peter in his letters from Rome.2.
- Paul*, bishop of Antioch, deposed without the knowledge of the pope—keeps possession of the bishop's palace, 36.
- Paul*, bishop of Constantinople, sends confession of faith to the pope, 441; is written to by the pope, 444; causes the ecthesis to be suppressed, and advises the emperor to impose silence on both parties. An edict issued for that purpose, known as the "type," 445; is excommunicated by the pope, 446; declared a professed heretic, 448.
- Paulinus*, bishop of Treves, firmness of; is exiled, 61.
- Pelagius*, a Briton, 149.
 accused in Palestine by Heros and Lazarus, and absolved by the council of Diospolis, 150, is accused to the bishops of Africa, and condemned, 151.
 and Cælestius, doctrine of, 150; both pass into Africa, 150.
 appeals to Rome, 151.
 character of, 149.
 confession of faith transmitted to Pope Zosimus by, 153; is approved, 154.
 council of Carthage condemns the doctrine of, 154, 155.
 doctrine of, condemned by two councils in the east, 157; prevails in Britain, 174.
 excommunicated by Pope Innocent, 147.
 Honorius, emperor, enacts law against the followers of, 155.
 Jerusalem, driven from, 157.
 Pope Zosimus condemns the doctrine he had before approved, and excommunicates Cælestius and, 156.
- PELAGIUS*, a Roman, fifty-ninth pope, 570—574.
 conduct of, whilst nuncio to Silverius and Vigilius, at Constantinople, 370.
 death of, 374.
 emperor, the, promises to raise him to the papal chair; but the people refuse him, and separate from his communion, 371; has recourse to, and is supported by the, 371.
 illegally chosen and ordained, 371.
 letters by, 373.
 Narses prevails on the nobility and clergy to acknowledge, 371, and he strives to stir up Narses to force and violence against the dissenting bishops, but in vain, 372; the bishops of Istria excommunicate, 373.
 ordination of, 374.
 pontificate of, 374.
 writes a circular letter to the whole church, 372, and to the bishops of Tuscany, in favour of the fifth council, 371.
- PELAGIUS II.*, a Roman, sixty-second pope, 382—389.
 Aquileia, Elias of, endeavours to gain over, 383; and makes a new attempt at reconciliation, 385.
 death of, 389.
 decrees ascribed to, 389.
 Istrian bishops, answer of the, to the letter of, 386; the pope's answer; their reply, 386; he answers again, and owns the fallibility of his see, 387.
 ordination of, 382.
 pontificate of, 389.
 spurious writings ascribed to, 389.
 "universal bishop," title of, claimed by John of Constantinople, which alarms, 388.
- Penance*, not a sacrament, till the fifteenth century, 246.
 practice of the primitive church in regard to, 241.
 public, not thought necessary to salvation, 242; nor admitted to twice, 242.
 rigour and severity of, 241.
- Penitentiary*, office of the, when instituted, and the occasion of its suppression, 243.

Persecution, by Arcadius, 135; Chrysostom's friends, of, 135; Decius, 24; Gallus, 28; Justinian, 334; Maximus, 23; of the orthodox in the east, 89; Severus, 19.

Peter, according to tradition, first pope; but tradition is not to be depended upon, 1.

and Paul, why styled bishops of Rome, 3.

appointments by, 4.

authority for asserting he ever was at Rome, 1.

bishop at, not of, Rome, 4.

Clement, third pope, said to be chosen by, 7.

dialogues of, with Apion, 9.

fabulous accounts of, 1.

flight of, 1.

great men imposed on by false traditions, 1.

how or by whom placed in the see of Rome, 4.

not known to have suffered in the same year with Paul, 290.

Paul never mentions in connection with Rome, the name of, 2.

Rome, object of his visit to—and proofs of his having been at, 1; scriptures silent about it, 2; if ever at, not bishop of, 3.

Spanish bishops acknowledge the pope as successor of, 253.

Phocas, emperor, a centurion, 419.

Boniface, pope, prevails on, to take the title of universal bishop from Constantinople, and grant it to him and his successors, 426.

character of, 420.

cruelties of, 422.

deposed and murdered, 429.

Mauricius, emperor, and five of his children, murdered by command of, 419; also another child, and his brother, 419.

Pantheon, the, given to Boniface IV., by, 428.

Pope Gregory writes to, and his answer to a letter from, 420; inexcusable conduct of Gregory, 421.

proclaimed emperor by the soldiery, 419.

received at Constantinople, and crowned, 419.

sends his own and wife's image to Rome—their reception, 420.

Picts, great aversion of the, to the Roman missionaries, 417.

Pilgrimages to Rome, introduction and bad effects of, 493.

PIUS, ninth pope, 12.

death of, 12.

Marcion comes to Rome, 12.

not a martyr, 12.

pontificate and writings of, 12.

Polycarp, at Rome, 13.

PONTIANUS, seventeenth pope, 22, 23.

banishment and death of, 23.

pontificate of, 22.

Pope, ancient and modern flatterers of the, disagreement between, 302.

and other bishops of Italy, chosen by people and clergy, 327.

appeals to the, when first introduced. They now claim as a right, that which was granted as a favour, 57.

atheism, no bar to being, 250.

authority of, disputed, even in Italy, in the time of Vitalianus, 465.

Baronius admits the liability to error of a, 254.

custom of kissing the feet of the, 491.

grandeur of the, owing as much to the ambition of the bishops, as their own, 252.

independency of councils unanswerably confuted, as soon as broached, 302.

in what sense above other bishops, 98.

iniquitous practices at the election of, 23.

law concerning the election of, and alienations, revoked, 303.

manner of electing, in the time of Conon, 490.

name of, formerly common to all bishops, 27.

not a believer in the divine direction of councils, 360; not a patriarch, 51.

Pope, Roman clergy disown the infallibility of the, 24.

Sardica, council of, variance about, 100.

subject to temporal princes, before he himself became one, 297.

subtlety of the, 147.

supremacy of the, 4; not acknowledged in Ireland, 400.

whether a pope, who is not true, is infallible, 351.

Praxeas, heresy of, 19.

Prefectures of Gaul, Italy, and Spain, 50.

Presbyters, office, duty, and qualifications of, 48.

Priests and deacons, obliged to observe celibacy, 108.

Priests of Cybele, 111.

Primacy, the foundation of the, changed by Pope Gelasius, 288.

Primate, exarch, metropolitan, &c., origin of, 51.

Priscilian and several of his followers beheaded, 112; he is honoured as a saint and martyr, 113; his doctrine takes deep root in Spain, 114; is revived there, 198; anathematized, and his doctrine condemned, by two Spanish councils, 199.

Proculus, bishop of Marseilles, excommunicated and deposed by Pope Zosimus, but continues to discharge the functions of his office, 160; steadily opposing the encroachments of Rome, 161.

Purification, feast of the, 286.

Pyrrhus, bishop of Constantinople, and Maximus, form two parties in Africa; public dispute between them. Pyrrhus pretends to be overcome, 444, but retracts his retraction, 445.

Ecsthesis, the, confirmed by, 439.

excommunicated in a remarkable manner, 445; but is restored, 455.

Ravenna, the emperor Honorius orders Boniface and Eulalius, both elected to the papal chair, to attend at—together with those who ordained them. Eulalius disobeys an order of the emperor, who orders him to be driven from Rome, and Boniface to be placed in possession of the see, 163.

Readers, their employments, 49.

Recognitions, the book of the, its authority, 7.

Relics of Pope Alexander, 10.

Religious disputes, results of most, 13, and their unfair character, 476.

Revenues, quadrupartite division of the church, 260.

Rimini, council of, 73.

Rome, Alaric reduces it to great straits, 139.

appeals to, forbidden by the African bishops, 171; no proof of the supremacy of, 31; first introduction of the practice of, 57.

Athalaric orders all suits at law with the Roman clergy to be heard by the pope, 329.

Belisarius takes, 344.

bishops, the eastern, renounce the communion of, 277.

Caius and Proclus, dispute between, at, 20.

Chrysostom did not appeal to, nor know that the right to receive, pertained to, 137, 138; claims of, 35.

church of, abolition, past and present forms of, in the, 246; customs of, from whence derived, 111; Pope Innocent claims all other churches shall follow, 144; discipline, the primitive, utterly disregarded, 89; division of, founded on divisions of the empire, 143; doctrine of, concerning the obligation of confessing to a priest, 246; fast days of the, 145, 146, 494; government of the, during vacancies, 438, 457; inconsistency of the, 285; Marcellinus unjustly aspersed by the, 38; poverty of the, in the time of Agapetus, 339; schism in the, 162, 196; vacancies, the occasion of the long, in the see of Rome, 374; why so fond of martyrs, 38.

- Rome*, demands in favour of, 98.
 disagreement about first bishop of, 4.
 Easter, custom of celebrating, at, 13.
 encroachments of, opposed by Proculus of Mar-
 seilles, 161.
 Genseric, master of—plunders it, not sparing
 the churches, 233.
 Hegisippus, at, 13.
 Illyricum, bishops of, endeavour to withdraw
 themselves from subjection to, 188.
 Justin, at, 13.
 Lateran palace plundered, and the treasure of
 the church seized, 437.
 Lucius is banished from, and returns to, 29.
 Marcion at, 12.
 Origen at, 19.
 Peter and Paul, in what sense styled bishops of, 3.
 pilgrimages to, introduction and effects of, 493.
 popes of, have no right to ordain metropolitans,
 52; their independency of councils, the
 notion first broached, 301; not patriarchs,
 51; not always consulted or regarded, 36;
 Odoacer's law in relation to the, 303; two,
 the election of, creates great disturbances
 at, 83, 84, 296, 298.
 precedence of, attempt to prove the, 220, 221.
 prerogatives of, from whence derived, 142.
 primacy of, to what owing, 232.
 see of, greatly indebted to Pope Innocent for its
 grandeur, 148, and the ambition of the
 bishops, 249.
 senate of, decrees against simony, 331, which
 is confirmed by the king, and set up before
 the church of St. Peter, 333.
 supremacy of, unknown in the time of Leo, 228.
 Theodatus of Byzantium, at, broaches a new
 heresy, 17.
 triumph of, in the dispute concerning striking out
 the name of Acacius from the diptychs, 318.
 vacancy in the see of, year 250, 251, of sixteen
 months, 24, 25; year 258, eleven and a
 half months, 35; year 308, three and a
 half years, 40; year 311, nine months, 41;
 year 337, four months, 54; year 398, twenty
 days, or two months, 126; year 417, six
 days, 149; year 440, six weeks, 189; year
 461, nine days, 249; year 483, six, or twenty-
 six days, 272; year 514, seven days, 310;
 year 523, seven days, 324; year 526, seven
 weeks, 328; year 532, ten weeks, 333;
 year 535, eight days, 337; year 536, forty-
 seven days, 344; year 560, four months and
 seventeen days, 374; year 574, ten months
 and twenty-one days, 380; year 578, four
 months, 382; year 605, six months and one
 day, 424; year 608, nine months and five
 days, 428; year 615, five months and twelve
 days, 429; year 619, one year and fifteen
 days, 430; year 625, five days, 432; year
 638, one year, seven months and seventeen
 days, 436; year 640, four months and twenty-
 four days, 438; year 642, one month
 and thirteen days, 441; year 649, fifty-two
 days, 446; year 655, one year, two months
 and twenty days, 457; year 657, one month
 and twenty-nine days, 459; year 672, two
 months and twenty-five days, 466; year
 676, four months and five days, 467; year
 678, two months and fifteen days, 469; year
 682, seven months and seven days, 486;
 year 684, eleven months and twenty-two
 days, 486; year 685, two months and fifteen
 days, 489; year 686, two months and se-
 venteen days, 491; year 687, two months
 and twenty-four days, 492.
- Rupenses*, the, 98.
Ruffinus, Anastasius, pope, separates himself
 from the communion of, 128.
 and Jerom, quarrel, 124; the occasion of it, 126.
 Aquileia, bishop of, communicates with, 291.
- Ruffinus*, condemned unjustly, 129.
 Jerom's charge against, 127; his answer, 127.
 Origen's Periarchon is translated by, 126.
 summoned to Rome, 128.
Rules, the book of, 132.
- SABINIAN**, a Tuscanian, sixty-fourth pope
 424, 425.
 avarice and ordination of, 424.
 death of, 425.
 reviles the memory of Gregory, and stirs up the
 populace against him, who attempt to de-
 stroy all his books. How they were saved,
 425.
- Sacrificati*, the, 24, 25.
Saints, many ought to be expunged from the cata-
 logue, 21.
Salophacialis, Timotheus, chosen bishop of Alex-
 andria, 247; seeks safety in flight, on the
 restoration of Timotheus Ælurus, by the
 emperor, 261; and on the death of Ælurus,
 is restored, 266; death of, 267.
- Saracens*, origin and character of the, 439; they
 make great conquests in the time of the
 Emperor Constans, 466; they besiege Con-
 stantinople, 489.
- Sarcolaters*, the, 94.
Sardica, council of, 56.
 canons of the, relating to the bishop of Rome,
 57; the practice of appealing to the pope
 first introduced; the popes claim as a right,
 that which was granted only as a favour, 57.
 Celestine, pope, attempts to impose the canons
 of, on the African bishops, for those of
 Nice, 167.
 Osius did not preside as the pope's legate, 53.
 revokes the decrees of the council of Antioch,
 58.
- Saturday*, why deemed an unlawful fast day, 145;
 a fast day in the Roman church, 146.
- Scandalous practices* at elections for pope, 23.
Schisms, various, 28, 96, 162, 284, 296, 318, 492.
Scots, Britons, Picts, their aversion to the Roman
 missionaries, 417; disagreement of the Scots
 with Rome, about Easter, 438.
- Scripture*, Gelasius' decree concerning the canon-
 ical books of, 289.
- Scriptures*, the, the only foundation for faith, 404;
 occasions on which they were not consult-
 ed, 484.
- Secretum*, or secretarium, the, 360, 361.
- Seleucia*, council of, 73: great disagreement in, 76.
- Semi-Pelagian doctrine*, the Jesuits' system found-
 ed on it, 158; Sixtus, pope, a friend, and
 then an enemy to the, 186.
- Serenus* of Marseilles, causes all images in his
 diocese to be pulled down and destroyed,
 416, which Pope Gregory disapproves, 417.
- SERGIUS**, a Sicilian, eighty-third pope, 492—
 496.
 a miraculous child, 496.
 Cadwalla, king of the West Saxons, arrives at
 Rome, 492, is baptized by, 493.
 chosen and confirmed, 492.
 council, quinisexit, canons of, excepted to, and
 condemned by, 494.
 death of, 496.
 emperor, the, orders the seizure of, 494, but the
 soldiery declare in his favour, and drive the
 officer from Rome, 495.
 ordination of, 492.
 pays largely for his confirmation, 492.
 pontificate of, 496.
 shuts up his competitor in a monastery, 492.
- Sergius*, bishop of Constantinople, an Eutychian,
 433; writes to the pope, who declares for the
 doctrine of "one will," 434; the true author
 of the "ecthesis," 436; is condemned by
 the sixth general council, together with
 Cyrus, Pope Honorius, &c., 476.

- "*Servant of the servants of God*," Gregory, pope, assumes as his title, 413.
- SEVERINUS**, a Roman, seventieth pope, 436, 437.
- condemns the Monothelite doctrine, 437.
- death of, 437.
- Lateran palace plundered, and the treasure of the church seized at this time, 437.
- ordination and pontificate of, 437.
- Severus** of Antioch, deposed by a council, 315, which pronounces sentence on him, but he escapes, 316.
- Silentarii**, the, 361.
- SILVERIUS**, a Roman, fifty-seventh pope, 344—347.
- Amator, letter of, to—supposititious, 347.
- Belisarius ordered by the empress to depose, 345.
- chosen, query concerning it, 344.
- empress resolves to have him deposed, and Vigilius chosen in his stead, 345; her terms agreed to by Vigilius, 345.
- exiled by Belisarius. Anastasius' account of the event, 346.
- firmness of, 346.
- high treason, falsely accused of, 346.
- honoured as a martyr, 349.
- letter of, to Vigilius, supposititious, 347.
- ordination of, 344.
- pontificate of, 347.
- returns to Rome, and is delivered to Vigilius, 348; who confines him on an inhospitable island, where he dies, or is murdered, 349.
- Rome taken by Belisarius, 344.
- Vigilius is not chosen anew after the death of, 349.
- Simoniacal** practices at the election of popes, 333.
- Simony** and incontinency of the ecclesiastics, 397.
- SIMPLICIUS**, a Tivolian, forty-sixth pope, 257—271.
- Acacius, chosen bishop of Constantinople, and quarrels with, 258; obtains an edict confirming the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon; aspires to the primacy; is opposed by, 258.
- Ælurus**, the pope, writes to the emperor against, 261.
- Basilicus, emperor, writes to, and is answered, 265.
- death of, 271.
- Gaudentius of Ausinum, accused to the pope of embezzling the church revenues, 260, is severely punished by, 261.
- law forbidding the alienation of church property, 271.
- metropolitans, rights of, invaded by, 259.
- Mongus, about to be raised to the see of Alexandria, is opposed by, 268; the pope to blame in the affair of, 270.
- pontificate of, 271.
- Ravenna, writes to John of, 259.
- writes to Acacius, in behalf of Talaia, 271.
- Simesa**, council of, and its acts, fabulous, 39.
- Sirmium**, the Arians propose a new confession drawn up at, 73; is signed at Nice, in Thrace, 75, 76; the emperor orders all bishops to sign it, 77; Liberius, pope, probably signs it, 77.
- SIXTUS**, sixth pope, 11.
- death, pontificate, relics of, 11.
- decretals ascribed to, 11.
- SIXTUS II.**, twenty-third pope, 34, 35.
- pontificate and martyrdom of, 35.
- Valerian, emperor, persecutes the church, 35.
- SIXTUS III.**, a Roman, forty-third pope, 186—189.
- churches said to have been repaired or enriched by, 188.
- death of, 189.
- SIXTUS III.**, Egyptian and oriental bishops, strives to reconcile the, 186.
- Ephesus, council of, approved and received by, 186.
- letter of, to the eastern bishops, a forgery, 188.
- orientals, the, write to, in favour of Nestorius, 187.
- pontificate of, and sainted, 189.
- semi-Pelagians, a friend, and then an inveterate enemy to the, 186.
- Slavery**, custom of selling their children into, by the Britons, 411.
- Slavi**, or Scavi, the, 441.
- Sophronius**, a monk, 434.
- Jerusalem, now bishop of, writes against the doctrine of "one will," 434.
- opposes the definition of the council of Alexandria, 434; which Sergius of Constantinople confirms, and imposes a general silence concerning, 434.
- SOTER**, eleventh pope, 14.
- liberality of, and death, 14.
- pontificate of, 14.
- Spain**, bishops of, consult the pope, and acknowledge him successor of Peter, 253; but do not admit that he can dispense with the canons, 254; affronting behaviour to them, 255; prefecture of, 50; Priscillian's doctrine takes deep root in, 114.
- STEPHEN**, twenty-second pope, 30—34.
- acts of, fabulous, 34.
- Cyprian, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Firmilian, censure, 33.
- death of, 34.
- Gaul, bishops of, write to, 30.
- heretics, dispute about baptism, by, and of, 31.
- imposed on, 30.
- pontificate of, 34.
- pride and arrogance of, 32.
- rash conduct of, 30.
- relics of, 34.
- St. Mary, the Greater**, founding of the church of, 81.
- Stylites**, **Daniel**, the Anchorite, an account of him.
- Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, engages him in his quarrel with the Emperor Basilicus, to whom he writes; and is finally persuaded to repair to Constantinople, where he raises a mob against the emperor, which obliges him to quit the city. Daniel follows at the head of the monks and rabble, 264; Basilicus submits to Daniel and Acacius, 265.
- Stylites**, **Simeon**, and Baradatus, the famous Anchorites, some account of them, 236, 237.
- Subdeacons**, celibacy, law of, extended to, 189; employment of, 49.
- "**Substance**" and "**consubstantial**," the terms, difficulties about, 75.
- Supremacy**, appeals to Rome, no proof of, 31.
- imperial—proved by the conduct of the commissioners, 228.
- legates, the pope's, their conduct at the council of Chalcedon, no proof of, 224; the fathers of the council act as if they were ignorant of it, 227.
- papal, its origin, 426.
- slender foundation for the pope's, 4.
- what is maintained by the advocates of the papal—in regard to Britain, 418.
- SYLVESTER**, thirty-second pope, 45—54.
- chosen, 45.
- council of Arles held, 45; council of Nice, not convened by, 47.
- death of, 54.
- Osius did not assist at the council of Nice, as legate of, 46.
- pontificate of, 54.
- spurious pieces ascribed to, 53.

SYMMACHUS, a Sardinian, fiftieth pope, 296—309.

and Laurentius chosen on the same day, which causes a civil war in the city; both recur to the king, who adjudges the see to Symmachus, 296; the war rekindled, 298.

battle between the friends of Laurentius and the friends of, 301.

bishops in the east, the orthodox, recur to, who does not even condescend to answer their letter; but the Arian king of the Burgundians writes to the emperor in their behalf, 308.

charged with several crimes, 298, and probably guilty, 309.

death of, 309.

demands that all popes shall adhere to the laws of his predecessor, 298.

emperor and, libel each other, 304.

pontificate of, 309.

regulations made by, 309.

sainted, 309.

wounded in a battle between his own and the friends of Laurentius, 301.

Syncelli, the, 309.

SYRICIUS, a Roman, thirty-seventh pope, 107—126.

chosen and confirmed, 107.

council assembled at Rome by, 114, 115.

death of, 124.

Flavianus is written to by, 119; reconciliation between, 122.

Himerius, bishop of Tarragon, answer to, by, 107.

Jovinian doctrine of, condemned by, 116.

letter of, 111.

Maximus writes to, 112.

not to be condemned on Jerom's authority, 125.

pontificate of, 124.

saint, once honoured as a—why expunged from the calendar, 124.

Talaia, John, bishop of Alexandria, 267.

Antioch, withdraws to, 270.

Felix II., pope, espouses the cause of, 272.

perjury, charged with, whether guilty, or not, 267.

presents a petition to Felix against Acacius, 272.

Rome, repairs to, where he is acknowledged for bishop, 270.

simony, is charged with, 270.

Simplicius, pope, writes to Acacius in favour of, 271.

Tarragon, Himerius, bishop of, Pope Syricius' answer to a letter of—its contents, 107, 108.

TELESPHORUS, seventh pope, 11.

first martyr, 11.

pontificate of, 11.

Temple of Heliopolis, called Balanium, the first pagan, turned into a church, 417.

Tertullian falls off from the church, 20.

THEODORE, a native of Jerusalem, seventy-second pope, 441—446.

a modest proposal, 442.

chosen, 441.

Constantinople, Paul of, sends confession of faith to, 441, who supposes him orthodox, 442; writes to the pope, 444.

death of, 446.

ordination of, 441.

patriarch is excommunicated by; but disregards it, 446.

pontificate of, 446.

Victor, bishop of Carthage, acquaints, with his promotion; but he knows of no power but what was common with him, to all bishops, 443.

writes to Paul of Constantinople, 444.

Theodore, monk, chosen in place of Wighard, deceased. His ordination, why delayed, 463; sets out for England, and arrives at Canterbury, 464.

*Theodore*t, and Cardinal Alan, own that Pope Gelasius denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, 288.

Theodoric, king of Italy, character of, 283.

Arians in the east ordered to deliver their churches to the catholics, implore the protection of, 324; the edict revoked, 326.

appealed to by the factions of Laurentius and Symmachus in Rome, 296.

charge against, 300.

council to try the pope assembled by, 301.

death of, 328.

illiterate, accused of being, 329.

Italy, its happy state under, 299.

pope appointed by, 327.

religious toleration by, 300.

St. Peter, sends presents to, 324.

strange story concerning, 328.

summons a council, its doings, 297.

visits Rome, 299.

writes to the emperor, who pays no attention to him, 325.

Theodatus, king of Italy, sends pope as ambassador to the Emperor Justinian, 339; is deposed, and Vitiges chosen in his stead, 344.

Theodorus of Cæsarea, 353, 354.

Theodosius, emperor, assembles a great council, 99, which revokes the privileges granted to the see of Rome, by the council of Sardica. The popes disagree about this council, 100. The council of Aquileia writes to, 102; his answer, 103; a law of, 164; letter to Cyril, by, 178; two councils anathematize and excommunicate each other: both refer to the emperor, who approves the deposition of Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon, and by his order they are arrested. Favours and then opposes them, 180; the reason of the change, 181. Eutyches applies to the emperor for a general council, which is granted, 203; and meets at Ephesus, 204; Eutyches is absolved and restored, 205; the deposition of Flavianus is confirmed, 207; death of Theodosius, 209.

Theodosius, monk, heads the monks of Egypt and Palestine, and declare against the council of Chalcedon, 231; they master, and commit great ravages in, Jerusalem, where Theodosius is ordained bishop, 232.

Theodotus, heresy of, 17.

Theophilus of Alexandria, and Flavianus reconciled, 122; writes to Pope Innocent, 134.

Thessalonica, great disturbances at. The pope requires the bishop of, to be sent to Rome, but he is tried at Constantinople, and permitted to return to his see, 319.

Theudalinda, queen of the Lombards, sends ambassadors to Gregory, 422; who makes presents to her children, 423.

"Three chapters," writings condemned by Justinian, which became so universally known by the name of the, 354; all the patriarchs enjoined to receive this edict, but it is condemned by almost all the eastern, and entirely by the western, bishops, 354; is condemned in a council, and also by Pope Vigilius, at Constantinople, 355; they are condemned anew, 357.

church, the, still divided about the, 383.

council, judgment of a, concerning them in general, and each one in particular, 364.

Gregory opposes the, 400.

Vigilius condemns them, and issues his judicatum, 356; overreaches the emperor, and gets his judicatum revoked, 357.

- Thurificati*, the, 25.
Titles, value of certain, 341.
Toledo, council of, 487.
Tonsure, quarrel about the ecclesiastical; from whence borrowed, 462.
Torments, persons though forced to err through, not excepted from public penance, 280.
Tours, council of, establishes the celibacy of the clergy, 109.
Tradition, value of; and false, great men have been imposed on by, 1; lightly esteemed by some, 2; but little dependence to be placed upon, 96.
Traditores, the, 42.
Translations, disagreement of opinion about, but great uniformity in practice, 172, 173, 254.
Transubstantiation, doctrine of, unknown in the time of Gelasius, 287; which is owned by Cardinal Alan and Theodoret, 288.
Trinity, dispute whether one of the, or one person of the—should be said to have suffered on the cross, 321, 322.
Tutus, a presbyter of Rome, despatched to Constantinople with the sentence of deposition against Acacius, 275; is gained over by Acacius' gold, and communicates with him, for which he is excommunicated on returning to Rome—and Acacius in turn excommunicates the pope, 276.
"Type," an edict of Constans, emperor, is known as the, 445.
"ecthesis," in what it differs from the, 446; and type, both condemned, and all anathematized who receive either, 449.
Martin, pope, election of, confirmed by the emperor, who exhorts him to conform to the, 446; but he misrepresents its meaning and purport to a council, 447, by which it is rejected, 448.
Unction, extreme, 146.
Universal bishop, the title assumed by the bishop of Constantinople, which alarms Pope Gregory, 408, it being, in his opinion, heretical, antichristian, blasphemous, infernal, diabolical, 409. His zeal not the only motive for his conduct, 410; pronounces the claimant of the title the forerunner of antichrist, 412; the title given to Gregory, but he rejects it, 413; Constantinople better entitled to it than Rome, 427.
URBANUS, sixteenth pope, 22.
 acts of, fabulous, 22.
 pontificate and death of, 22.
Ursacius and Valens, heretics, retract, 58.
Ursinus and Damasus, both elected pope, give rise to great disturbances, 83; various accounts of this election, 84; Ursinus banished and recalled, and again banished, 86; is condemned, and his partisans driven from Rome, and shamefully persecuted, 87; they raise new disturbances in Rome, 93.
Usurpation, first attempt at papal, 18.
Valens and Ursacius, heretics, retract, 58; they are condemned, 87.
Valens, emperor, persecutes the orthodox cruelly, 90.
Valentine and Cerdo, heretics, at Rome, 11.
Valentinian, emperor, recalls Ursinus, 86; restrains the avarice of the Roman clergy, 88; and extends his restrictions, 89; treaty between Attila and, 231.
Valentinians, the, 15.
Venantius, the monk, 396.
Vespasian made no laws against the Christians, 5.
Vicars, the custom of appointing, introduced by Damasus, is improved by his successors, 104; their appointment a most subtle concivance, 258.
VICTOR, thirteenth pope, 17—19.
 death of, 19.
 haughty conduct of, 18.
 infallibility of, how defended, 17.
 Montanus, approves the prophetic spirit of, 17.
 opposed by the bishop of Ephesus, and a council of all Asia Minor, cuts them off from his communion, 18.
 pontificate of, and sainted, 19.
Victorius, Pope Innocent's letter to, 132.
VIGILIUS, a Roman, fifty-eighth pope, 345—370.
 Acephali, communicates with the, 348.
 anathematizes all who acknowledge two natures in Christ, 348.
 Belisarius ordered by the emperor to depose Silverius, and place in his stead, 345.
 character of, whilst antipope, by Baronius, 369, and when, according to him, lawful pope, 370.
 chosen in the place of Silverius, 345—347; and not rechosen on his death, 349.
 condemned in Illyricum, excommunicated in Africa, his own ecclesiastics separate from his communion—he repents, 356.
 confesses the faith to the emperor, which he had anathematized to the empress, 352.
 Constantinople, is ordered to; account of his departure, 355; arrives at, and declares against the imperial edict, 355; yields, and publishes his judicatum, 356.
 council, a general, assembled at request of, but he refuses to assist, 357; consents, and promises to assist in person, 360; it meets, 361; he is invited by a solemn deputation, but excuses himself. The reason alleged. The council decides without him, 362; defends the "three chapters" in his constitution, 362; which he sends to the council, where it is read, and compared with his judicatum, 363. Its judgment concerning the "three chapters" in general, and each of them in particular, 364; confutes the constitution of, 365.
 council of Chalcedon, refuses to condemn, 347, although he had engaged to do so, 348.
 death of, 369, 370.
 decree of council, refusing to sign is exiled, 366, but changes his opinion the fourth time, concerning the "three chapters," 367.
 edict, a new, condemning the "three chapters"—opposed by the western bishops, and, 357.
 election, the lack of a canonical, cannot be supplied, 350.
 emperor, the, congratulates on his promotion, 352; orders him to receive his constitution, 353; overreaches the emperor, and gets his judicatum revoked, 357; complains of the conduct of, 361.
 ill used by the emperor, and kept under restraint—escapes, and gets safe to Chalcedon, but returns, 359.
 is neither pope nor bishop, 351.
 Italy, several privileges obtained for the people of, by, 369.
 monks of Palestine apply to the nuncio of, to condemn Origen, 352.
 ordination of, 347, which, with his election, was null, 350.
 pontificate of, 369.
 Profuturus of Braga, writes to Silverius, which is answered by, 352.
 sainted, and unsainted, 370.
 sanctuary, seeks a—the emperor orders him to be taken, but he is rescued by the populace, 358; a solemn deputation sent by the emperor, prevails on him to quit it, 358.
 Silverius' letter to, supposititious, 347; he returns to Rome, and is delivered to Vigilius, 348; is banished, and dies, or is murdered, 349.

- VIGILIUS*, "three chapters," the, defended by, in his constitution, 362, which he sends to the emperor, 363, though he had promised to condemn them, 364.
 writes to Theodoret, king of Austrasia, and Cæsarius of Arles, 352.
- Virgin Mary*, question about the fact of her perpetual virginity, 120, 121.
- Virgins*, consecration of, 239, 240.
- VITALIANUS*, a Segnian, seventy-fifth pope, 459—466.
 artful conduct of, 460.
 avoids offending the emperor, neither condemning or receiving the type, 459.
 Constans, emperor, visits Rome, 460. His reception by—passes his time pleasantly, in plundering the city, and worshipping, 461.
 death of, 466.
 Easter, disputes concerning the keeping of, 462.
 Lappa, John, bishop of, appeals to, 464, and is absolved, 465.
 ordination of, 459.
 pontificate of, 466.
 Wighard, an English ecclesiastic, dies at Rome, and Theodore, a monk, chosen in his stead, 463, and ordained by, 464.
- Vitalis*, a disciple of Apollinaris, imposes upon Pope Damasus, 95.
- Vows*, some better broken than kept, 133.
- Wighard*, sent from England to be ordained at Rome, 461, dies there, 463. The monk Theodore chosen in his place, 463, and ordained after delay, 464.
- Wilfred* of York, arrives at Rome, 469; appeals to Rome, why—and is well received by the pope, 470; his case examined by a council, and he is declared innocent. Assists at a council at Rome, 471; letter from the council signed by—but not as legate from the English or Scotch nation, 472; pope's decree in favour of, how received in England. Wilfred sent first to prison, and then banished, 473.
- Worms*, council of, establishes the celibacy of the clergy, 109.
- Zeno*, emperor, is driven out by Basilicus, 261; restored, and Basilicus driven out, 265; publishes his "henoticon," or decree of union, 269; death of, 279.
- ZEPHRINUS*, fourteenth pope, 19, 20.
 death of, 20.
 high pontiff, is called, 20.
 pontificate of, 20.
 Theodotian heretics opposed by, 19.
- ZOSIMUS*, a Greek, fortieth pope, 149—162.
 African bishops, haughty letter to the, by, 152; boasting letter to the, by, 155.
 anathemas of—not much regarded, 153.
 Apiarus appeals to—and is restored to his rank by, 167.
 Cælestius appeals to, 150, and repairs to Rome, 151; delivers confession of faith, 151, which is approved, 152; is summoned to appear before the pope to condemn his doctrine—retires from Rome. The confession now condemned, which was before approved, 156; returns to Rome, law against—banished all Italy, and is driven out of Constantinople, 157.
 character of, and death, 161.
 election of, 149.
 excommunicates Cælestius and Pelagius, sending circular letter, which some bishops refusing to sign, 156, are condemned and degraded, 157.
 Gaul, quarrels with some bishops of, 159.
 inexcusable, 152.
 ordination of, 149.
 Pelagius' heresy engages the attention of, 149; appeals to, 150; sends confession of faith to, 153; it is approved by, 154.
 pontificate of, 161.
 Proculus, bishop of Marseilles, excommunicated and deposed by—continues the functions of his office, 160, and steadily opposes the encroachments of Rome, 161.
 sainted, by a mistake of Baronius, 161.
 temerity of, 160.

INDEX TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

- ABELARD, PETER*, is accused of unsparing invectives against the clergy, 473.
- Academical degrees*, first mentioned, 484.
- Adalbert and Clement*, the impostors, disturb the churches of Germany and France, 82.
- errors of, 82.
- Pope Zachary holds a council, which condemns, 83.
- Adoptionarians*, doctrine of the, 165.
- Frankfort, councils of, examines and condemns the doctrine of; and also condemns the council of Nice, 166.
- Ratisbon, council of, examines and condemns, 166.
- Adoration*, difference between kissing and, 154.
- Adventius*, bishop of Metz, writes to Hatto of Verdun, 254. Curious reasoning of, 254.
- Africa*, bishops of, apply to Pope Formosus, 297.
- AGAPETUS*, a Roman, one hundred and twenty-ninth pope, 314, 315.
- councils of Ingelheim and Treves, confirmed by, 315.
- death of, 315.
- ordination of, 314.
- pontificate of, 315.
- Agobard*, bishop of Lyons, obeys the pope, rather than the emperor, 210.
- Aistulphus*, chosen king of the Lombards, 85.
- confirms the peace granted by his predecessors to the pope, 85, 91.
- death of, 103.
- ambassadors received from, and sent to the emperor, by, 92.
- Pepin besieges and defeats, 97.
- pope, the, is commanded to repair in person to the court of, 93; which he does, but is unsuccessful in his negotiations, 94, goes to France, and enters into an alliance with Pepin, 94, 95.
- Ravenna and the Pentapolis reduced by, which terminates the exarchate, 92.
- Romans, summons the, to submission, 92.
- Rome, marches toward, 92; enters the dukedom of, and blocks up the city, 93; renews the war against, 103; raises the siege of, 107.
- Aix-la-Chapelle*, consuls of, year 809, 188; years 860, 862, 238.
- Aleric*, lord of Rome, peace between, and Hugh, king of Italy, 312; strife renewed, 313.
- Albigenses*, crusade against the, 544.
- decrees against the, by the council of Lateran, 522, of Lyons, 510, and Verona, 525.
- various names by which they have been known, 510.
- Alcuin* and Felix of Urgel, dispute between, 175.
- Aldred*, bishop of York, at Rome, 369, 370.
- ALEXANDER II.*, a Milanese, one hundred and fifty-fourth pope, 370—377.
- abbots permitted the use of the mitre, by, 377.
- acts of, 377.
- archbishops of Mentz and Bamberg summoned to Rome by, 374.
- Cadalus defeated, 371, and condemned in the council of Mantua, 374.
- ALEXANDER II.*, Canterbury and York, contest for the primacy of, settled, 376.
- chosen by one party, and Cadalus by another, 371.
- confirms the possession of the English cathedrals to the monks, 376.
- Damian, Peter, sent to France by, holds a council at Chalons, 372.
- death of, 377.
- Florence, monks of, apply to, 372.
- Henry IV., king of Germany, not permitted to divorce his wife by, 374, and is cited to appear at Rome, 377.
- legates sent to England by, 375.
- Lincoln, bishop of, said to have been deposed by, 376.
- miracles of, 377.
- ordeal by fire, a new, 372.
- plenary indulgence, first instance of, on record, 373.
- pontificate of, 377.
- Richard, the Norman, ravages the Roman territories, 373.
- Rome, disturbances in, attend the election of pope at this time, 370.
- standard sent to William, duke of Normandy, by, 373.
- Thomas, archbishop of York, said to have been deposed by, 376.
- writes to the king of England, 376.
- ALEXANDER III.*, a Tuscanian, one hundred and sixty-eighth pope, 502—524.
- Adriatic sea, fable of the grant of dominion of, to the Venetians, by, 520.
- Albigenses, the, condemned by a council held by, 522.
- Alphonso of Portugal, styled king by, 523.
- Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, murdered, 515; reception of the information by, 516; is canonized by, 518.
- bishops driven from their sees, who resist the council of Pavia, 508.
- Calixtus III., chosen in place of Paschal III., submits to, 521.
- character of, 523.
- church, the, is governed by, although absent from Rome, 511.
- death of, 523.
- England and France, kings of, acknowledge, 508.
- flies from Rome, 513.
- Frederic, emperor, besieges the new city of Alexandria, 519; Cistercian order support Alexander, and is driven out of the empire by, 508; concludes peace with the pope, 519; council of Pavia is summoned by, which approves the election of Victor, 507; fable of the pope treading on the neck of, 520; is written to by the cardinals friendly to Alexander, 504; meets the pope, 520; obliged to leave Italy, 515; reduces several cities in Italy, and arrives at Rome, 513; requires the Germans and Italians to acquiesce in the election of Victor, 507; strives to prevent the reception of Alexander in France, 509.

- ALEXANDER III.*, Henry of England, sends ambassadors to Rome, to vindicate his innocence of Becket's death; their reception, 516; his excommunication determined on, how prevented, 517; legates, has an interview with, and is absolved by, 518.
- Landus, fourth anti-pope, elected, but is taken prisoner, and confined for life, by, 521.
- Lateran, council of, year 1179, held by, 522.
- Lawrence, archbishop of Dublin, appointed legate a latere for Ireland, by, 522.
- legates sent to the emperor by, 504; and into Normandy, have an interview with King Henry, 517.
- Lodi, council of, excommunicates, 509.
- Lombard, Peter, doctrine of, condemned by, 522.
- Paris, arrival and reception at, 509.
- Paschal III., chosen in place of Victor III., anti-pope, 511; dies, 514.
- pontificate of, 523.
- Presbyter John, king of India, sends messengers to, 520.
- retires to France, 509.
- Rome, returns to, and his reception there, 511, 521.
- Saracens, their successes supposed to have hastened the death of, 523.
- Sens, chosen for his residence in France, by, 511.
- sets out from Benevento, on his return to Rome, 515.
- Venice, council held at by, 520; congress of, 519.
- Victor III., anti-pope, acknowledged by the bishops sent by the emperor, 506; cardinals friendly to, writes to the patriarchs, &c., 504; council of Pavia approves the election of, 507; death of, 511; elected in opposition to Alexander, and both are consecrated, mutual excommunications following, 503; Germany and Italy required to acquiesce in the election of, 507; writes to the German bishops, 503.
- ALEXANDER IV.*, native of Jeune, one hundred and seventy-eighth pope, 567—571.
- Apulia and Sicily, Manfred is now master of, 570.
- bishops, all the, are written to by, 568.
- Calabria and Apulia reduced by Manfred, the pope's legates enter into an agreement with him, 568.
- death of, 571.
- Dominicans, their cause espoused against the university of Paris, by, 568.
- legate of, taken prisoner by Eccelin, 570.
- Manfred excommunicated by, 570, vainly attempts reconciliation with, 571.
- pontificate of, 571.
- Rome, disturbances in, Alexander retires to Viterbo, 570.
- vacancy of five days, 567.
- Viterbo, council appointed to meet at, by, 571.
- William de Sancto Amore, book of, condemned, 569.
- Alexandria*, in Italy, built, 515; besieged, 519.
- Alexius*, emperor, sends an ambassador to the pope, 448; death of, 455.
- Alfred* of England, at Rome, in the time of Leo IV., 219.
- Alphonso* of Portugal, styled king by Alexander III., 523.
- Alphonso* X. of Galicia and Leon, excommunicated by Pope Innocent III., 536.
- Altheis*, council of, year 916, 309.
- Amore*, William de Sancto, book of, condemned, 569.
- Amphilochius* of Iconium, condemns the use of images and pictures, 40.
- Anacletus II.*, anti-pope, 464.
- death of, 470.
- election of, 464.
- ordination of, declared null, 470.
- Roger, count of Sicily, sides with, 466.
- Anastasius*, emperor, deposed, 21.
- Anastasius*, patriarch of Constantinople, opposes the worship or use of images, 54, 55; then advocates their use, and sets them up again, 79.
- Anastasius*, cardinal presbyter of Rome, deposed, 219.
- declared for pope by the imperial envoys, 227; but consecration being refused, they abandon him, 228.
- excommunicated by Pope Hadrian II., 272.
- ANASTASIUS III.*, a Roman, one hundred and twentieth pope, 307.
- character of, 308.
- death of, 308.
- patriarch of Constantinople writes to, concerning third and fourth marriages, 307.
- pontificate of, 308.
- ANASTASIUS IV.*, a Roman, one hundred and sixty-sixth pope, 485—487.
- death of, 487.
- Frederic of Germany, makes peace with, 485.
- Hospitalers, the, issues bull in favour of, 486.
- pontificate of, 487.
- William, archbishop of York, restored to his see by, 485.
- Anathema*, and excommunication, difference between, 241.
- Anno*, archbishop of Cologne, seizes on the young king of Germany, 371.
- Anselm*, monk, writes to Berengarius, 349.
- Anselm*, archbishop of Canterbury, distinguishes himself in the council of Bari, 423.
- England, king of, agreement between, and, 434, 441; is threatened with excommunication, but saved from it by, 424; duke of Normandy and, reconciled by, 429.
- Rome, visits, 422; returns to England, 428; is again sent to, by the king, 432, and forbidden to return to England, 433.
- Antioch*, besieged and taken from the Turks, 426.
- Aphantopolis*, bishop of, 289.
- Apostles*, power of loosening and binding, common to all the, 403.
- Apulia*, division of, 355; the greater portion of it reduced by the emperor, 469.
- Innocent II. marches to the defence of, and is taken prisoner, 472.
- Manfred reduces all Calabria and, 568.
- Rainulph, created duke of, 470.
- Apulians*, the, prejudice the pope against the Normans, and are bribed to conspire against them, 356.
- Aquileia*, oath taken by the bishop of, 395.
- Arialdus*, canonization of, 374.
- Armenia*, patriarch of, sends deputies to Rome, 484.
- Army*, first, 421; and second, 425, of the crusade.
- Arnold*, archbishop of Rheims, appointment of, 326.
- guilty of treason, is deposed by the council of Rheims; speech of the bishop of Orleans, 327; another council of Rheims restores him, 328.
- Arnold* of Brescia, declaims against the clergy, and raises great disturbances in Rome, for which he is banished, 488; his end, 489; is condemned by the tenth general council, 471.
- Arnulph*, king of Germany, besieges Rome; is admitted into the city. Crowned by Pope Formosus, 298; death of, 303.
- Arragon*, Peter II. of, at Rome, crowned by the pope; oath taken at his coronation, 539.
- Arsenius*, bishop of Orta, sent into France as legate a latere, is well received, 250; and by the king of Germany, 251.
- Lorraine, insolent and haughty behaviour of, at the court of, 251.
- negotiates with Charles of France, 251.
- Astabasus*, usurps the empire, 79; but is conquered by Constantine, 80.
- Athingani*, the, 190.

- Austin, St.*, and, in his time, the church, condemned the worship of images, 41.
translation of the body of, 84.
- Aversa*, city of, built by the Normans; Ranulphus made count of, 355.
- Baldwin*, count of Flanders, and Charles of France, reconciled through the mediation of Pope Nicholas, 240.
- Baldwin*, earl of Flanders, chosen emperor of the east, 540.
- Bamberg* made an episcopal see during the pontificate of John XVIII., 334.
archbishop of, summoned to Rome, 374.
bishopric of, given to the pope, 336.
- Baptism*, Pope Zachary held opinions concerning, not easily reconciled with the present doctrines of the church of Rome, 89.
- Barbanes*, on the murder of the Emperor Justinian, is raised to the throne, 16.
establishes the doctrine of "one will," 18.
is deposed, and the doctrine of "two wills," established by his successor, 19.
- Bari*, city of, totally destroyed, 493; council of, 423.
- Baronius* justifies the unnatural cruelty of the Empress Irene, 184.
papacy of the tenth century, as depicted by, 304.
- Barons* of England, excommunicated by the fourth general council of Lateran, year 1215, 548.
- Basil*, council of, year 1061, 371.
- Basilius*, emperor, addresses the council of Constantinople, 275.
death of, 295.
envoys sent to the pope by, who deliver the acts of the council held by Photius against Pope Nicholas, which are condemned and burnt in a council at Rome, 271.
Marianus, the pope's envoy, imprisoned by, 291.
strives to reconcile the pope and Photius of Constantinople, 293.
written to by Pope Stephen, 294.
- Bavaria*, division of, 72.
- Beards*, disadvantage of shaving off, 224.
- Beauvais*, council of, year 1114, 448; year 1161, 508.
- Becket, Thomas*, archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry II. of England, quarrel between, 510.
canonized, 510; character of, 516.
murdered, 515; effect of the information upon Pope Alexander III. Henry sends ambassadors to Rome to vindicate his innocence; their reception, 516; the pope resolves upon the excommunication of Henry, but is diverted from it, 517.
- Bede's* opinion of the monasteries of his time, 25.
- Bells*, ceremony of christening; not introduced by Pope John XIII., 323.
- BENEDICT III.*, a Roman, one hundred and third pope, 227—229.
consecration of, 228.
death of, 228.
letters of, 229.
Michael, emperor, makes presents to, 228.
office, is stripped of the ensigns of, by Anastasius, anti-pope, 227.
pontificate of, 228.
- BENEDICT IV.*, a Roman, one hundred and sixteenth pope; character, death, ordination, and pontificate of, 304, 305.
- BENEDICT V.*, so styled by some, chosen in the place of John XII., who was murdered, 320.
condemned by a council and deposed, 320.
death of, 321.
- BENEDICT VI.*, a Roman, one hundred and thirty-third pope, 324.
death of, 324.
ordination of, 324.
pontificate of, 324.
Saltzburg, extends the jurisdiction of the see of, 324.
- BENEDICT VII.*, a Roman, one hundred and thirty-fifth pope, 325.
death of, 325.
ordination of, 325.
pontificate of, 325.
- BENEDICT VIII.*, one hundred and forty-third pope, 335—337.
Bamberg, bishopric of, given to, 336.
chosen; driven from his see; restored, 335.
councils, two, held by, 336.
death, and pontificate of, 337.
Saracens, the, driven out of Italy, by, 336.
- BENEDICT IX.*, one hundred and forty-fifth pope, 340, 341.
character of, 340.
deposed by a council, 341.
driven from his see, is restored by the emperor, 340; and again, and again restored, 341.
pontificate sold by, 341; seizes it again, and holds it upwards of eight months, 343.
- BENEDICT X.*, one hundred and fifty-second pope, 365.
simoniacally elected, 365.
Sutri, deposed by the council of; submits, 366.
- Benevento*, councils of, 412, 415.
city of, conquered, 558.
- Beneventum*, council of, year 1060, 369; year 1108, 442.
dukedom of, ravaged by Charlemagne, 162.
metropolis, made a, by Pope John XIII., 323.
- Beneventans*, the, are excommunicated by the pope, 342.
- Berengarius* forces Pope John IX. to crown him emperor, which act he subsequently declared null, 302.
Italy divided between the Emperor Lambert and, 229.
John X. crowned by, 309.
murdered, 310.
- Berengarius*, Anclius' letter to, 349, and the answer to it, 350.
confession of faith prescribed to, 367; which differs from the doctrine now held by the church of Rome, 367.
doctrine of, 347; he abjures it, 394.
writes to Lanfranc, who sends his letter to Rome, where the doctrine contained is condemned; also in Normandy, 349; and by councils of Paris, 350; Placentia, 417; Rome, 366; Tours, 362; Vercelli, 349.
- Berbae*, council of, 400.
- Bishop*, title of universal, refused by John XIX., 337.
- Blondell*, a protestant writer, rejects the account of a female pope as a fable, 226.
- Bohemia*, celibacy opposed by the clergy of, 534.
- BONIFACE VI.*, a Roman, one hundred and eleventh pope; character, death, and pontificate of, 229.
- Boniface*, a monk, at Rome, 23.
Germany, is sent to, by the pope; returns and is ordained bishop; his oath; deposits it in the tomb of St. Peter, 23. Returns to Germany, and is recommended to Charles Martel by the pope, 24.
inexcusable conduct of, 90.
pope resolves some doubts of, 25.
Rome, deputies sent to, by, 70; third time at, 72.
writes to Pope Zachary, 82; the answer, 89.
- Books*, the Caroline, 163.
- Boso*, count, complains to Pope Nicholas against Lotharius, king of Lorraine, 239.
- Bourdin*, elected pope by the imperial party, 451; is taken, ill used, and confined to a monastery, 458.
- Bread*, discussion about leavened and unleavened, 353, 354, 358.
- Bremen*, church of, subjected to church of Hamburg, 229.

- Brizen*, council of, deposes Pope Gregory VII., 396, and chooses Guibert, who takes the name of Clement III., 397.
- Bulgaria*, jurisdiction over, claimed by the pope and the patriarch of Constantinople, 290.
- Pope Nicholas is consulted by the people of, 263.
- Rome, reunited to the see of, 538, and a legate sent into, 539.
- Bull* of Pope Paschal II., in favour of the emperor, 446, for which he is condemned, 447.
- Burning* of the œcumenical master and twelve professors, at Constantinople, 56, 57.
- Cadulus*, bishop of Parma, character of, 371.
- chosen pope by one party, marches to Rome, but is defeated, and Alexander II., chosen by another party, is established in the chair, 371.
- condemned in a council of Mantua, 374.
- Calabria* and *Apulia*, subdued by Manfred, 568.
- Calf*, worship of the golden, 36.
- CALIXTUS II.*, one hundred and sixtieth pope, 456—460.
- Apulia*, goes into, 458.
- birth, and employment of, before his election, 456.
- Bourdin, the anti-pope, taken, and confined to a monastery, 458.
- consecration of, 456.
- councils held at Rheims and Toulouse by, which forbid simony and lay investitures, 456.
- death of, 460.
- elected at Cluny, 456.
- Henry V., emperor, negotiations between, and, 457.
- Henry of England, interview between, and, 458.
- investitures, agreement concerning, between the emperor, and, 459.
- Lateran, ninth general, and first council of, 460.
- legates sent into England by, 459.
- pontificate of, 460.
- Rome, sets out for, and reception there, 458.
- Thurstan, archbishop of York, ordained by, is banished by the king, 458.
- writings of, 460.
- York, declares see of, independent of Canterbury, 458.
- Calixtus III.*, anti-pope, elected on the death of Paschal III., 514, 515; submits to Pope Alexander III., 521.
- Calvin's* opinion of Pepin of France, and Pope Zachary, 88.
- Canonization*, first instance of, 326.
- of saints, reserved to the apostolic see, 523.
- Canons* of the council of Lateran, (first,) 460.
- Rheims, year 1119, 456.
- Rome, year 721, 23; year 1215, 546, 547, 548.
- Troies, year 878, 288.
- Canons* of the Quinisext council sent to Rome by the emperor, 12.
- Canterbury*, ancient jurisdiction restored to see of, by Leo III., 174.
- archbishop of, sent to Rome, 451; at Rome, 462; suspended by fourth council of Lateran, 548.
- York, see of, exempted from jurisdiction of, 458.
- Carutus*, king of England, at Rome, 338.
- Capua*, Pope John XII. makes war upon the prince of, and is defeated, 315.
- principality of, seized upon by the king of Sicily, 469.
- Cardinal*, the term, 118.
- Carloman*, son of Pepin, and his brother Charlemagne, quarrel, 122; are reconciled, 123.
- death of, 126.
- widow of, delivers herself and children to Charlemagne, 130.
- Carloman*, son of Charles Martel, at Rome, 83.
- acts as ambassador for the Lombard king, 96, and at the instigation of the pope, is shut up in a monastery, where he dies, 97.
- councils held by, 83.
- Carloman*, son of Charles the Bald, rebels against his father, and is protected by Pope Hadrian II., 278, and writes to the king in his behalf, 279.
- Caroline Books*, the, 163; Pope Hadrian undertakes to answer, 170.
- Carpocratians*, the, 38.
- Carthusian order*, founded, 426.
- Casimir*, a monk and deacon, absolved from his vows by Pope Benedict IX., 340.
- Cathari*, the, 522.
- CELESTINE II.*, a Tuscanian, one hundred and sixty-third pope, 475.
- absolves the king of France from the interdict of Innocent, 475.
- death of, 475.
- election of, 475.
- pontificate of, 475.
- CELESTINE III.*, a Roman, one hundred and seventy-third pope, 531—534.
- consecration of, 531.
- death of, 534.
- election of, 531.
- England, disturbances in, the originators ordered to be excommunicated by, 532.
- Henry crowned emperor by, 534.
- legates sent into France by, whose sentence relative to the divorcing of his wife, by the king, is reversed, 533.
- ordination of, 531.
- pontificate of, 534.
- CELESTINE IV.*, a Milanese, one hundred and seventy-seventh pope; election, death, pontificate of, 559, 560.
- Celibacy*, effects of a forced, 78.
- Bohemia opposed in, and restored in Poland, 534.
- Century sixth*, images still used as helps to devotion, 42; but in the seventh, looked upon as something more; and in the eighth, commonly worshipped, 43.
- Centumcelle*, city of, which had been abandoned, rebuilt, 219.
- Celurarius*, patriarch of Constantinople, guilty of forgery, 359.
- Leo IX. sends legates to Constantinople, but they are not received by, 358.
- legates, the, excommunicate, 358, and leave Constantinople, 359.
- snare laid for the legates by, 359.
- writes to the pope, 358, and the patriarch of Antioch, 360.
- Chair*, the perforated, 222, 226.
- Chalons*, councils of, 372, 448.
- Charlemagne* of France, 122.
- Benevento, ravages the dukedom of, 162.
- Carloman and, quarrel, 122, and are reconciled, 123; widow of, delivers herself and children to, 130.
- Carloman, son of, is baptized at Rome, 136.
- Caroline books are attributed to, 163.
- confirms the donations of his father to the pope, 130.
- councils of Constantinople and Nice not approved by, 164; of Frankfort, assembled by, 166.
- death of, 191.
- Desiderius' daughter is married to, which alliance was opposed by the pope, 124, but finally sanctioned by him, 125; is divorced from her, 126; submits to Charlemagne. The end of the Lombard kings, 132, but no change made in the government, 133.
- emperor of the east sends an ambassador to, and peace is concluded between the two empires, 187.
- envoys of, conference between the pope and, 189.
- Felix of Urgel, appeals to, 175.

- Charlemagne*, Hadrian, pope, adheres to, and acquaints him with the designs of the Lombards, 128; is put in possession of the places yielded by Pepin, 133; invites Charlemagne into Italy again, 134; returning thence, he takes the duke of Friuli prisoner, and puts him to death, 135. Hadrian's epitaph written by, 172.
- imperial dignity, is raised to the, by the pope, 178, but that is no proof of the temporal supremacy of the pope, 179.
- Irene*, empress, recurs to; proposes a marriage between them, 185, is deposed, 186, banished, dies, 187.
- Leo III.*, pope, repairs to, 177.
- Nice*, council of, not prompted by revenge to condemn the, 169.
- Pavia*, repulsed before, 130; returns to the siege of, 132.
- Rome*, goes to, his reception there, 131, and again, 136; a third time, 162; sends immense treasures to, 173; fourth time at, assembles a council to try the pope, 177.
- Stephen III.*, pope, excuses Desiderius, king of the Lombards, to, 122.
- Verona*, and many other cities submit to, 130.
- Charles* of France, and Baldwin, count of Flanders, Pope Nicholas mediates reconciliation between, 240.
- pope writes to, 254, 281.
- writes to the pope, 262, 281.
- Charles* of Anjou, kingdom of Sicily offered to, by Pope Urban, is accepted by, 573.
- Charles the Bald*, acknowledged king of Lorraine, 276.
- crowned emperor at Rome, and king of Italy at Pavia, but did not yield the dukedom of Benevento to the pope, 284.
- election of, confirmed in a council at Rome, 286.
- pope writes to, 276, and meets at Vercelli, 287.
- poisoned by his physician, 287.
- Charles the Gross*, crowned emperor, 291.
- death of, 296.
- Charles the Simple*, of France, Pope Formosus espouses the cause of, 298.
- Childeric*, king of France, deposed, 86, is confined in the monastery of Sithieu, where he dies, 87.
- Chorepiscopi*, the, 265.
- Christians* did not worship the statue of Christ at Paneas, 31.
- images, first instance of, amongst, 30.
- may fall into idolatry, 99.
- primitive, the, abhorred not only the worship, but the use of images, 45.
- reasons alleged by, against worshipping or using images, 32.
- CHRISTOPHER**, a Roman, one hundred and eighteenth pope.
- An intruder, driven from the see, dies in prison, 306.
- Church*, images not worshipped during the three first centuries of the, 28; their use even as ornaments in the, condemned in the fourth century, 39; condemned by the, in the time of Austin, 41; defence of, a most meritorious work, 103; divided about the use of, into three parties, 44.
- Romish, present doctrine of the, concerning the eucharist, unknown to the English, in the ninth century, 352.
- Cistercian order*, the, driven out the empire by Frederic, 508.
- Clement*, the impostor, condemned in a council at Rome, together with Adelbert, 83.
- errors of, 83.
- CLEMENT II.**, a native of Saxony, one hundred and forty-seventh pope, 342.
- Beneventans, excommunicates the, 342.
- death of, 342.
- CLEMENT II.**, Henry and Agnes crowned emperor and empress by, 342.
- pontificate of, 342.
- CLEMENT III.**, a Roman, one hundred and seventy-second pope, 529—531.
- concludes peace with the Romans, 529.
- death of, 531.
- elected at Pisa, 529.
- holy war, engages all the Christian princes in the, 530.
- pontificate of, 531.
- Saracens, the, are universally routed by Frederic, whose death causes great grief to, 531.
- Scotland, church of, exempted from subjection to the English, by, 530; William, king of, difference between, and the holy see, composed by, 530.
- Treves, schism in the church of, terminated by, 530.
- Clergy*, decree of celibacy of the, not observed in England, 464.
- emperor publishes several edicts against the, 564.
- incontinence of the Italian, 368, and the French, 369, 370.
- marriage of the, and simony, decreed against, 379, 382.
- simony and incontinency of the, universally complained of, 380.
- sons of the, in Spain, 259.
- unmerciful character of the, 438.
- Clermont*, council of, 418; year 1095, projects the crusade, 419; year 1130, 465.
- Cluny*, disturbances at, quelled by Pope Honorius, 461.
- Coin*, papal, 198.
- Colocza*, in Hungary, archbishop of, refuses to take oath or receive the pall; Pope Paschal writes to, 431.
- Cologne*, archbishop of, made chancellor of the Roman church, 347.
- excommunicated, 539.
- privileges granted to, 481.
- Cologne*, council of, 448.
- Communion* enjoined once a year, by the fourth general council of Lateran, 547.
- Concubines*, keeping of, by the clergy, forbidden by the council of Clermont, 418.
- Confession* enjoined once a year, by the fourth general council of Lateran, 547.
- Conrad*, crowned emperor by Pope John XIX., 338.
- death of, 482.
- Conrad*, son of Frederic, succeeds him, 565.
- death of, 566.
- Manfred, his natural brother appointed guardian to his son Conrad in, 566.
- Constance*, bishop of, summoned to Rome by Gregory VII., 379.
- CONSTANTINE**, a Syrian, eighty-seventh pope, 14—20.
- canons of the council in Trullo, probably confirmed by him, 16.
- Constantinople, is ordered by the emperor to repair to, and is every where received with great distinction; reception by the emperor, 15.
- death of, 20.
- John of Constantinople, admitted to the communion of, 20.
- Justinian, emperor, murdered, and Bardanes raised to the throne, 16.
- "one will," doctrine of, defined and established in the east, 18.
- ordination of, 14.
- Philippicus, emperor, excommunicated by, 19; deposed, and Philartemius chosen, 19.
- pontificate of, 20.
- "two wills," doctrine of, again established in the east, 19.

- Constantine*, brother of the duke of Nepi, placed by him in the pontifical chair; strives to gain Pepin, king of France, 115.
- Duke Toto, brother of, killed, and Constantine taken prisoner and degraded, 116.
- ordinations by, declared null, 119.
- sentence pronounced by a council against, 118.
- treated with great cruelty, together with his friends, 117, 118.
- Constantine*, emperor, church, has great regard for the best interests of the, 79.
- death of, 137.
- falsehoods circulated against, 79.
- images, opposes the worship or use of, 138.
- lands, certain, grants to the pope, who pretends great zeal for his service, 80.
- monks, punishes the, with great severity for their insolence, 114.
- Pepin, ambassadors sent to by, 105; speech made by one of them, 106, and Pepin's answer, 107.
- victorious over the usurper of his throne, 79.
- Constantine*, the Great, tale of the baptism of, 144.
- Constantine Monomachus*, emperor, despairing of recovering by force the conquests of the Normans, resorts to other modes, 356.
- writes to Pope Leo IX., 357, who sends legates to, and are well received by, 358.
- Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, Irene, his mother, governs during the minority of, 139.
- conspiracy against, he is seized, and his eyes put out by Irene's orders, 183.
- death of, 183.
- marriage treaty of, with daughter of Charlemagne, broken off, he is married to an Armenian, 140.
- resolves to divest his mother of her assumed power, but his design being discovered, all engaged in it are severely punished, 180.
- She is deposed, treats her with kindness and respect; recalls to court both herself and her favourite minister; the result, 181.
- wife, divorces his lawful, and marries Theodota, 182, on which account the famous monks, Plato and Theodore, separate from his communion, and are severely punished, 182.
- Constantinople*, a woman said to have been raised to the see of, 223.
- church of, and church of Rome reconciled, 310, 334.
- council of, year 711, 18; year 754, meets at the palace of the Hiera, condemns the worship and use of images, 98, adjourns to Constantinople, decree of faith issued by, 100; the decree and canons issued with unanimous consent. This council lawful and general, 101; year 786, 148, obliged by the citizens and soldiers to disperse, 149; image worship condemned by a, 196; year 861, 232; year 869, 273—275.
- court of, great changes in the, 137.
- disturbances in, caused by an edict of the emperor, 44.
- Illyricum, east, subjected to see of, 68.
- Latins, the, take the city of, and choose Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor, 540.
- revolution at, 79.
- Corpus Christi*, festival of, instituted, 574.
- Corsica*, Gregory VII. lays claim to, 407.
- Corsicans*, a colony of, settle at Porto, and the city of Centumcellæ rebuilt, 219.
- Council*, a, may be lawful without the pope or other patriarch, 102.
- Councils* of, Aix-la-Chapelle, year 809, 188; year 862, 238.
- Altheis, year 917, 309.
- Avranches, year 1172, 518.
- Bari, year 1098, 423.
- Basil, year 1061, 371.
- Beauvais, year 1161, 508.
- Councils* of, Benevento, year 1086, 412; year 1091, 415.
- Beneventum, year 1108, 418.
- Berbac, year 1085, 406.
- Brixen, year 1080, 396, 397.
- Chalons, year 1063, 372.
- Clermont, year 1095, 418; year 1130, 465.
- Constantinople, year 730, 53; general, of, 97—101; year 786, 148; year 861, 232; eighth general, year 869, 273, 274; year 880, 390.
- Dijon, year 1201, 538.
- Donzi, year 871, 280.
- Eliberis, year 305, 39.
- Etampes, year 1130, 465.
- Florence, year 1055, 361, 439.
- Frankfort, year 794, 166—170.
- general, make no mention of image worship to the time of Gregory II., 61.
- Gentili, year 764, 111, 112.
- Guastalla, 439.
- Ingelheim, year 946, 314.
- Lateran, 246; by Alexander II., 372; year 1110, 443; year 1112, 447; year 1116, 450; year 1123, 460; tenth general, and second, year 1139, 470; year 1167, 513; year 1179, 522; year 1215, fourth general, 546; refer to *Rome*.
- Limoges, year 1031, 339; year 1096, 421.
- Lodi, year 1162, 509.
- London, year 1107, 441; year 1112, 462; year 1129, 464.
- Lyons, year 1055, 361; general, year 1245, 561.
- Mantua, year 1053, 353; year 1067, 374.
- Melfi, year 1059, 368; year 1090, 414.
- Mentz, year 1085, 401.
- Metz, year 864, 243.
- Mouzon, year 995, 328.
- Montpelier, year 1162, 509.
- New Market, year 1161, 508.
- Nice, year 787, 150—170.
- Nismes, year 1096, 421.
- Northusum, 435.
- Onestrefield, year 702, 10.
- Osbornum, year 1063, 371.
- Paris, year 825, 206; year 1021, 338; year 1050, 350; year 1147, 478.
- Pavia, by Benedict, 337; year 1049, 345, 346; year 1160, 506.
- Pisa, year 1134, 468.
- Placentia, year 1095, 45; year 1132, 467.
- Poitiers, year 1023, 338.
- Pontion, year 876, 284.
- Quintilneburg, year 1085, 400.
- Ratisbon, year 792, 166.
- Ravenna, year 874, 283; year 878, 287; year 898, 302; year 967, 322.
- Rheims, year 991, 327; year 995, 328; year 1049, 345; year 1119, 456, 457; year 1132, 467; year 1148, 479.
- Rome*, year 703, 9; year 721, 22; by Gregory II., 67; by Zachary, 81; year 769, 117, 118; year 799, 175; year 800, 177; year 827, 208; year 853, 218; by Nicholas, 236; year 863, 241, 242; by Hadrian II., 271; year 877, 286; year 898, 302; by Otho, emperor, 317; year 964, 319; by Otho, 320; year 969, 323; year 998, 330, 331; by Benedict VIII., 336; year 1046, 342; year 1049, 345; year 1050, 347; year 1051, 352; year 1052, 353; by Stephen IX., 363; year 1059, 366; year 1061, 369; year 1066, 373; by Gregory VII., 379—387, fourth and fifth of, year 1078, 393, sixth of, year 1079, 394, seventh of, year 1080, 396, eighth of, year 1081, 398, ninth of, year 1083, 399; year 1089, 414; year 1099, 424; year 1102, 430; year 1105, 434; year 1167, 513; year 1168, 514; year 1241, a general, is appointed to meet, but is frustrated by the emperor, 558; refer to *Lateran*.
- Sens, year 1141, 474.

- Councils of*, Sipontium, year 1050, 347.
 Soissons, year 861, 247.
 Sutri, year 1046, 341; year 1059, 366.
 Toulouse, year 1056, 362; year 1119, 456.
 Tours, year 1056, 362; year 1061, 369; year 1096, 421; year 1163, 510.
 Treves, year 949, 315.
 Troia, year 1093, 415; year 1115, 449; year 1128, 463; year 1147, 478.
 Troies, year 867, 262; year 878, 288; year 1107, 440.
 Venice, year 1177, 520.
 Verberie, year 753, 123; year 869, 280.
 Vercelli, year 1050, 349.
 Verona, year 1184, 525.
 Vienne, year 892, 297; year 1201, 538.
 Viterbo, year 1261, 571.
 Wirtzburg, year 1166, 512.
 Worms, year 1048, 343, 384, 385.
- Cousin-germain*, marriage of, forbidden, 82; council at Rome relative to, 373.
- Cremona*, speech of the bishop of, in the name of the emperor, before a council at Rome, 317.
- Crescentius* the tyrant, recalls Pope John XV. to Rome, 326.
 drives Pope Gregory V. from Rome, and plunders the Lateran palace, 329.
 is conquered, and with his accomplices punished, 330.
- Croises*, the, are guilty of great cruelty, 545.
- Crusades*, the; Albigenses, Pope Innocent III. sets on foot one against the, 544.
 armies, first, 421, and second, 423, of bishops, the, preach, with great success, 420.
 Clement III. engages all the Christian princes in, 530.
 Eccelin, head of the Ghibeline faction, Pope Alexander IV. sets one on foot against, 569.
 England, Pope Innocent III. sets on foot one against the king of, 543.
 Gregory VIII. promotes a new, 528.
 Jerusalem conquered, 426.
 line of march taken up, 421.
 origin of, 419.
 Peter the hermit, largely concerned in getting up, 420.
 success of, 426.
 Urban II., pope, urges on, 420.
- Crusaders*, the, arrive at Constantinople; their behaviour in the countries through which they pass, 422—425.
 cruelties committed by the, 545.
 successes of the, 426.
- Cyclades*, the inhabitants of the, revolt, and are all taken prisoners or slain, 45.
- DAMASUS II.*, a Bavarian, one hundred and forty-eighth pope, appointed by the emperor, 343.
 death of, 343.
 pontificate of, 343.
- Dalmatia*, Gregory VII. lays claim to, 408.
- Damascene*, or John of Damascus, is highly esteemed by the caliph of the Saracens; the Emperor Leo accused of attempting his ruin, 58.
 turns monk, 59.
- Dead*, praying for the, 171.
- Decree*, a troublesome, 39.
- Deceit*, of the council of Nice, in Bithynia, 159.
- Deposing power*, the, unknown to the world till the time of Gregory VII., 404; instances alleged by him, in support of his claims, 405.
- Denmark*, Gregory VII. lays claim to, 408.
- Desiderius*, king of the Lombards; Charlemagne marries the daughter of, 124, 125; divorces her, 126; when Desiderius endeavours to enlist the pope in his favour, 126, but he adheres to Charlemagne, 127.
- Desiderius*, defeated by Charlemagne, which ends the Lombard kings, 132.
- Pope Stephen, has an interview with, 120; is obliged to dismiss his two favourite ministers, 121; makes excuses for, to Charlemagne, 122; refuses to enter into alliance with the Lombards, 122.
- Rome, hostilities commenced and continued against, 127; attempts to surprise, 128, but awed by the threats of the pope, retires to his own kingdom, 129.
- Devotion*, images used in the sixth century as helps to, 42.
- Dictatus*, or maxims of Gregory, 401, 402.
- Diet of Gelenbusem*, 527; Mentz, 436—440.
- Dijon*, council of, year 1201, 538.
- Doctrine* of one and two, wills, causes great trouble, 18, 19.
- Dominicans*, the, cause of the, against the university of Paris, espoused by Pope Alexander IV., 568.
- DONUS II.*, a Roman, one hundred and thirty-fourth pope, 324.
 character, election, death, and pontificate of, 324.
- Douzi*, council of, year 871, 280.
- Drago*, bishop of Metz, attends the Emperor Lotharius to Rome, 215; wise conduct of, 216.
- Dublin*, Lawrence, archbishop of, appointed legate for Ireland, 522.
- East Saxons*, the son of the king of the, and the king of the Mercians, embrace the monastic life at Rome, 15.
- Ebbo*, archbishop of Rheims, preaches the gospel to the Danes, 199.
- Ebionites*, practice of the, in celebrating the eucharist, 354.
- Eccelin*, the leader of the Ghibelines in Italy, treats with great cruelty, the adherents of the pope, 568.
 crusade against, 569.
 defeats the pope's legate, and takes him prisoner, 570.
- Ecclesiastics*, manner of proceeding against, 547.
- Edessa*, Abgarus, king of, fable of the picture of the Saviour received by, 28.
 city of, taken by the Turks, 477.
- Edict*, against images, 54, 60.
- forbidding the pope to be ordained till his election is confirmed by the emperor, 216.
 monks and clergy, the emperor publishes several against, 564.
- Edward* the Confessor, absolved from a vow, by Leo IX., 352.
- Elections*, laws concerning, 547.
- Electoral college*, the, not instituted by Pope Gregory V., 329.
- Eliberts*, council of, year 305, 39.
- Elipandus* of Toledo, propagates the adoptionarian doctrine; arguments for and against it, 165; condemned in a council at Rome, 175.
- Emperors*, the, not made sovereigns of Rome by the popes, 198.
- Empire*, revival of the, 178.
- England*, Alcuin, in the name of the bishops of, confutes the council of Nice, 164.
 Anselm, forbidden to return to, 433.
 crusade against the king of, set on foot by Pope Innocent III., 543.
 disturbances in, the pope orders the originators to be excommunicated, 532.
 eucharist, doctrine concerning the real presence in the, unknown in, at the time of Leo IX., 350.
- France and, kings of, wait upon the pope in France, 465, they acknowledge Alexander III., 508.
- Gregory VII. lays claim to, 408, and exercises power in all countries but, 409.

- England*, interdict laid under, by Innocent III., 542.
 king of, excommunicated, 543; required to pay homage to the pope; the king's answer, 395.
 legates sent into, by Alexander II., 375; by Calixtus II., 459; by Honorius II., 462; by Innocent III., 543.
 legatine power, the pope attempts to introduce into, 429.
 Normandy, duke of, invades, 429.
 Paschal II. writes to the king of, 429—431, 432; complains that his see is disregarded in, 449.
 queens of, protected by Pope Honorius III., 550.
 Rome, not tributary to, 25, but subjection was claimed on the score of "Peter pence," 25.
 Urban, pope, owned in, 417; threatens the king, but is appeased, 424.
 Urban III. is indulgent to king of, 528.
Engraving and painting supposed by some to be forbidden by the second commandment, 33.
Eon, the madman, 480.
Epiphanius, a zealous Iconoclast, 39; the use of images, in his opinion, contrary to scripture, 40.
Eucharist, Berengarius, Johannes Scotus, and Paschasius, doctrine of, concerning, 347—354, 394.
 Ebionites, practice of the, in celebrating the, 354.
 treatises on the, 347—354.
EUGENE II., a Roman, ninety-eighth pope, 202—203.
 chosen, but not without opposition, which he overcomes, 202.
 council held by, 203.
 death of, 203.
 Gallican bishops, the, do not believe the pope incapable of erring, 203.
 Lewis, emperor, writes to, 207.
 Lotharius sent into Italy by his father Lewis, reforms the government, and revives some ancient customs, 202.
 Michael, emperor, enjoins silence in regard to images, 203.
 pontificate of, 203.
EUGENIUS III., native of Pisa, one hundred and sixty-fifth pope, 477—485.
 academical degrees instituted by, 484.
 Armenia, patriarch of, sends deputies to, 484.
 Cologne, grants privileges to archbishop of, 481.
 crusade, the, is zealously promoted by, 484.
 death of, 483.
 Edessa, is alarmed at the loss of, 477.
 Germany, Conrad, king of, dies; Frederic is elected; treaty between, 482; misunderstanding between, 483.
 Henry I., emperor, is canonized by, 483.
 Ireland, establishes four archbishoprics in, 481.
 Italy, returns to, 480.
 Jordan, scandalous conduct of the legate, 482.
 Paris, holds council at, 478.
 pontificate of, 483.
 Presbyter John, now first heard of in the west, 484.
 Rheims, holds council at, 479.
 Rome, obliged to quit, 477; forces it to submission and returns, 478; again leaves and arrives in France, 478; returns to, and is again forced to quit, 481; returns again, 482.
 Treves, holds council at, 478.
 William, archbishop of York, deposed by, 479.
Europe, Gregory VII. lays claim to most of the kingdoms of, 406.
Eutychius, the exarch, charges against, 50; gains the king of the Lombards—they besiege Rome, 51.
Exarchate of Ravenna terminated, 92.
Excommunication and anathema, difference between, 241.
Exhilaratus, duke of Naples, opposes image worship, 49; accusation against, he is torn to pieces, 50.
False alarms, 287.
Fasting, 258, 259.
Fathers, the, understood the second commandment as forbidding the worship and use of all images; and some as forbidding the arts of engraving and painting, 33.
 quotations from, 153, 154, 158.
 testimonies from, 153.
Felix of Urgel, and Elipandus of Toledo, propagate the adoptionarian doctrine, 165; arguments for and against it, 165.
 character of, 176.
 condemned in a council at Rome, appeals to Charlemagne; convinced of his error by Alcuin, renounces it for the fourth time, but embraces it again, and dies in that persuasion, 175.
Ferdinand, king of Castile, ordered by Pope Victor II. not to take to himself the title of emperor, 362.
Figures, emblematical, 30.
Fire, a new kind of ordeal by, 372.
Florence, council of, year 1053, 361, 439.
 monks of, quarrel with the bishop of, 371.
Fondi, donation of the county of, to the pope, confirmed, 546.
Formosus, bishop of Porto, charge against, and sentence of, 285.
 council of Troies anathematizes, 288.
 Hadrian III. restores, 293.
 Romanus, pope, said to have declared the proceedings against, null, 301.
 Theodore II. annuls the acts of Stephen, against, 302.
FORMOSUS, one hundred and tenth pope, 297, 299.
 Africa, bishops of, apply to, 297.
 Arnulph, king of Germany, crowned emperor, by, 298.
 Charles the Simple, the cause of, espoused by, 297.
 character of, 299.
 commended by several writers, 297.
 death of, 299.
 England, letter or bull, to Edward, king of, a forgery, 299.
 Italy, great revolutions in, 298.
 Leo, emperor, sues for dispensation in favour of his brother, which is refused, but he is nevertheless raised to the patriarchate, 297.
 pontificate of, 299.
 Rome besieged by Arnulph, king of Germany; the Romans yield, and admit him; their oath, 298.
 Vienne, council of, 297.
France and Germany, churches of, disturbed by two impostors, 82.
 clergy of, guilty of incontinence and simony, 82.
 councils held in, by Urban II., 421.
 Eugenius III. goes to, 478.
 Gelasius II. retires to, 455.
 Gregory VII. lays claims to, 407.
 king of, absolved from an interdict, 475.
 Paschal II. goes to, 440.
 pictures introduced into churches of, by Severus, bishop of Bourges, 40.
 pope claims and exercises power over, 408.
Frankfort, council of, year 794. condemns the doctrine of the council of Nice in Bithynia, 166, 168.
 canons of, not grounded on a mistake, 169.
 image worship not looked upon by the fathers of, as an indifferent thing, 169, but they evidently condemn the doctrine and council of Nice, 170.

- Frederic*, crowned emperor, 490; Pope Alexander III. excommunicates, 508.
Alexandria, in Italy, is besieged by; is defeated, 519.
 death of, 531.
 elected king of Germany, treaty between, and Pope Eugenius III., 482.
Lombardy rebels against, and is subdued, 488.
Lucius III., the cause of, espoused by, 525.
Pavia, appoints a council to meet at, 506; requires his German and Italian subjects to acquiesce in the decision of that council, 507; bishops not conforming to, driven from their sees, 508.
 pope and, treaty between, 482; misunderstanding between, 483, settled, 485, interview between, 489, 520; that he trod on the neck of *Frederic*, a fable, 520; quarrel between, 495; the pope writes to, 497; appeased—quarrel again, 498; writes to, and is answered, 499; proposes an agreement which is rejected, 499, and their difficulties increase, 500; *Rome*, arrives with his army before, the pope flies, 513; the city is reduced, 514; contagion breaks out in the army, which obliges him to retire to *Lombardy*, 514; and is obliged to leave Italy, 515; opposes the pope to the utmost of his power, 518; peace concluded between, 519.
 Urban III. and, quarrel between, 527.
Frederic, king of Sicily, 543.
Benevento and other cities belonging to the church, taken by, 558.
 character of, 565.
Conrad, his son, succeeds, 565.
 clergy, publishes several edicts against the, 564.
 death of, 564.
 disagreement between the pope and, 551.
 elected emperor, 543, and crowned by Pope *Honorius III.*, 551.
 embassy sent to Pope *Innocent IV.*, by, 560.
 excommunicated by *Gregory IX.*, 555, and submitting, is absolved, 555; excommunicated again, 557, and by *Innocent IV.*, 563.
Gregory IX. stirs up the subjects of, to rebel, 554; a new quarrel between, 557; appoints a general council, the bishops repairing to it in opposition to the emperor's orders, are taken prisoners, and severely punished, 558.
Holy Land, *Gregory* presses him to repair to the, 550; for which he embarks, but returns, and is excommunicated; re-embarks, 553.
Honorius III., conference between, and, 551.
 Italy, returns to, 555.
Jerusalem, recovers kingdom of, by treaty, 554.
Lombardy, makes war on the rebels of, and gains complete victory, 556.
 monks, publishes several edicts against the, 564.
Otho, emperor, is conquered by, 550.
Rome, marches against, but not able to subdue it, 557.
Saracens, concludes peace with the, 554.
 treaty, a new one begun, but not successful, between the pope and, 561.
 war between the pope and, 554; a new war between them, 557.
Free will and grace, dispute about, 220.
Friuli, duke of, takes the title of king of *Lombardy*, 135.
Gallican bishops, the, did not believe the pope incapable of erring, 208.
 letter to the pope from, 281.
 quarrel between the pope and, 326.
Gautler the "Moneyless," 421.
GELASIUS II., a Campanian, one hundred and fifty-ninth pope, 453—455.
 death of, 455.
 emperor, the, at *Rome*, 453; sends embassy to, 454.
France, retires to, 455.
Frangipani seizes and barbarously treats, but he is liberated and crowned, 453.
Gaeta, retires to, 454.
Gallican bishops are informed of his promotion, by, 454.
 pontificate of, 455.
Ravenna, the see of, reinstated in its former jurisdiction, by, 455.
Rome, disturbances in, 453, 454.
Gelenbusem, diet of, year 1186, 527.
Gentili, council of, assembled about images; their worship not approved by it, 111, but condemned, whilst their use is approved, 112.
Genoa and *Milan*, fierce war between, 571.
 see of, erected into a metropolis, 467.
George, an advocate of image worship, anathematized by a council of *Constantinople*, 101.
Gerard of *Toul*, canonized, 347.
Gerbert, bishop of *Rheims*, subsequently pope, disregards the pope's deposition, 327.
 deposed, and *Arnold* restored, 328.
 letters of, 327, 328.
Germanus, bishop of *Constantinople*, 20.
 anathematized by council of *Constantinople*, 101.
 images, opposes the issuing of the edict against, by *Leo*, 45, 46.
Leo, emperor, resolves upon removing, 52.
 resignation of, 53.
Germany, bishops of, write to the pope, 303.
 churches of, disturbed by two impostors, 82.
 divided into three bishoprics, 78.
 embassy from the king of, to the pope, 440, 442.
Gregory VII. writes to the people of, 387.
 investitures, the right to, maintained by the king of, 439.
 legates sent into, 384.
Philip elected king of, 539.
 three pretenders to the crown of, 537.
 war in Italy and, the king killed, 564, *Urban IV.* endeavours to restore peace, 573.
Ghibelines and *Guelphs*, origin of the, 554.
 Italy divided by the factions of the, 558.
Gislebert, bishop of *Poitiers*, doctrine of, 479, condemned in a council, 480.
Gnostics, the, 38.
God, reasons against worshipping an image as, 64.
Gratian, a Roman commander, accused of treason, tried and acquitted, 220.
Greeks, Italy, defeated in, 163.
Normans, the, gain several victories over the, 355.
 opinion of the, concerning leavened bread, 353.
 Pope *Paul* strives to keep up the variance between the French, *Lombards*, and the, 109; they complain to *Pepin* of the pope, 110.
GREGORY II., a Roman, eighty-eighth pope, 20—69.
Anastasius, patriarch of *Constantinople*, opposes image worship; the pope declares him deposed, if he does not renounce his heresy, 54.
Anastasius, emperor, is deposed, 21, and *Theodosius* raised in his stead, who resigns, and retires to a monastery; *Leo Isauricus* chosen to succeed him, is congratulated on his accession by, 22.
Bede's opinion of the monasteries, 25.
Boniface comes to *Rome*, and is sent by the pope to *Germany*, 23; returns, and is ordained, the oath he took, 23; returns to *Germany*, 24; the pope's answer to some doubts of, 25.

- GREGORY II.**, church, the, divided into three parties about the worship of images, 41.
 death of, 69.
 emperor, the pope strives to divert the, from his purpose in relation to images, 47; charged with hiring assassins to murder the pope, 47; the charge false, 48; orders the pope to be seized and sent to Constantinople, and the edict against images to be published at Rome, 48; writes to the pope, the answer filled with abuse, and his arguments in favour of image worship foreign to the purpose, 60, and the same as used by the pagans in justification of their idolatry, 62; proposes a council, the pope's answer; another letter to the pope, 64; not excommunicated by the pope, but exhorted to change his opinion, 67; the pope endeavours to stir up the people against, and forbids the payment of tribute to him, 67; resolved to abolish image worship, 26.
 images were not worshipped during the first three centuries, 28; protracted discussion and warfare about, 26—71; arguments of Gregory about, not logical, 66.
 Ina, king of the West Saxons, embraces the monastic life at Rome, 24.
 Italy, the pope stirs up the people of, against the emperor, 49.
 John of Constantinople writes to; dies; Germanus translated to the see, 20.
 Lombards, the pope repairs to the camp of the king of the, 51, who oblige the pope and the Romans to submit to the emperor, 52.
 monkery prevails chiefly in England; the evils arising thence to the state, 24.
 officer, an imperial, murdered, of which the pope approves, 63.
 pontificate of, 69.
 Rome, councils held at, by, 22, 23, 65.
 Scripture, utterly unacquainted with the, 62.
 Venetians, the, are excited to revolt, by, 47.
GREGORY III., a Syrian, eighty-ninth pope, 69—76.
 baptism by pagans declared null, which is now rank heresy, 70.
 Boniface at Rome again, 72.
 churches of Rome filled with images and pictures, 71.
 Constantinople, a second and third legation sent to, but without success, 71.
 death of, 75.
 distressed state of the pope and the Romans, 73.
 France, sends legation to, 73, 75.
 emperor, the, sends a fleet against the pope and the other Italian rebels, which is wrecked, 72.
 image worship declared for by, 69; is established by a council at Rome, 71.
 legate sent to Constantinople, cowardly behaviour of; returns to Rome, and is sent back; on his way, is arrested by the emperor's orders, 70.
 Martel, Charles, resolves to apply to, and sends legation, but assistance is refused, 73, 74; treaty between, 75.
 Rome, dukedom of, invaded by the king of the Lombards, Rome besieged, 72; withdraws from, 75.
 writings of, 75.
GREGORY IV., a Roman, one hundredth pope, 209—214.
 bishops of the emperor's party, write to; his answer, 211.
 death of, 214.
 emperor, the rebels against, send the pope to the, the emperor delivers himself to them, 212; how far the pope is to blame in this affair; the emperor restored, 213.
- GREGORY IV.**, France, attends Lotharius into; the bishops of, forbidden to wait upon, 210.
 Ostia fortified by, 213.
 pontificate of, 214.
 Rome, authority of the imperial judges in, 214.
 writings of, 214.
GREGORY V., one hundred and thirty-eighth pope, 329—331.
 council held by, 330.
 Crescentius and his accomplices punished, 330.
 death of, 331.
 elected whilst at Ravenna, 329.
 electoral college not instituted by, 329.
 John XVI., anti-pope, excommunicated by, 330.
 ordination of, 329.
 Otho crowned emperor, by, 329.
 pontificate of, 331.
 Robert, king of France, and his queen, excommunicated, 330.
 Rome, driven from, 329.
GREGORY VI., a Roman, one hundred and forty-sixth pope, 341.
 Benedict, Silvester, and, deposed by a council, 341.
 character, death, and pontificate of, 341.
 simony, raised to the pontifical throne, by, 341.
GREGORY VII., a Tuscan, one hundred and fifty-fifth pope, 377—410.
 birth, education, and employments of, 378.
 bishops, several, and the king of Germany, excommunicate, 386.
 Brixen, council of, deposes, 396.
 canonized, 409.
 Canusium, the pope retires to, 389.
 character of, 378, 401.
 claims unlimited power, 408.
 clergy, decrees against simony and incontinency of the, 379; and against the marriage of the, 382.
 consecration of, 378.
 conspiracy against, 383.
 death of, 401.
 deposing power, the, unknown to the world till the time of, 404; his reasons in favour of, inconclusive, 405.
 dictatus, or maxims of, 401, 402.
 election of, 377, approved by the king, and he is the last pope whose election was referred to the emperor or king, before consecration, 378.
 England, requires king of, to pay him homage, 395.
 Europe, lays claim to most of the kingdoms of, 406.
 fathers, the, inculcated obedience even to wicked princes, as a duty, 404.
 Germany, bishops of, invited to a council at Rome, 380, some of them side with the pope, and some with the king, 386; legates sent to, 379, 384; the pope writes to the people of, 387; a powerful league formed against the king in, 387.
 Gubert, chosen pope by the council of Brixen, in the place of, takes the name of Clement III., and is acknowledged by all the bishops of the council, 397.
 Guiscard, Robert, duke of Apulia, excommunicated by, 379; an alliance with, entered into by, 392.
 Henry, king of Germany, made acquainted with the decree against investitures; replies to the pope's letters, 383; disregards the decree, 384; excommunicated and deposed in a council at Rome, 385, the sentence pronounced by the pope, 386; hard conditions imposed upon, 388; goes to Italy, 388, his reception there; sues for absolution, 389; is treated with great indignity; terms of the absolution, 390; resolves to break

GREGORY VII., continued,
treaty with the pope, 391; notifies the pope of his deposition, and writes to the Romans, 397; excommunicated again; marches into Italy; reduces the Leonine city, 399; takes Rome, and is crowned emperor by Guibert, 400.
infidels, designs to lead an army against the eastern, 380.
investitures, decree against, 383.
Lombardy, bishops of, confirm the decree of the council of Worms, 385.
papal grandeur, considered the father of the, 409.
Philip of France, insolent behaviour to, 378, 381.
pontificate of, 401.
power, claims unlimited, 408.
princes, power of deposing, claimed by, 386; and first by him, 402; the popes had owned them for their lords, 403.
Rome, holds councils at, 379, 381, 385, 393, 394, 396, 398, 399.
Rudolph killed, the pope resolves to set up another king, 398.
sacrament, takes the, as a proof of innocence, 390.
Salerno, retires to, 400.
Slavonian, divine service forbidden in the, 395, which had been allowed by other popes, 396.
Spain, Germany, and in all countries but England, exercises same power over princes as over bishops, 409.
Worms, council of, deposes, 384.
writes to the abbot of Monte Cassino, 398.
writings of, 410.
GREGORY VIII., a Beneventan, one hundred and seventy-first pope, 528.
character of, 529.
crusade promoted by, 528.
death and pontificate of, 529.
GREGORY IX., native of Anagni, one hundred and seventy-sixth pope, 552—559.
Benevento, and other cities belonging to the church, taken by the emperor, 558.
council appointed by the pope, the bishops repairing to it in defiance of the emperor's orders, are taken prisoners, and severely punished, 558.
death of, 559.
Frederic, emperor, is pressed to repair to the Holy Land, by, 552; sets out, but returns and is excommunicated; re-embarks, 553; returns to Italy, is excommunicated anew; submits to the pope, and is absolved, 555.
Italy, the faction Ghibelines and Guelfs revived in, 554, 558.
pontificate of, 559.
Rome, is driven out of, 555.
war between the emperor and, 554.
writings of, 559.
Gregory the Great, condemned the worship of images, 42.
Gregory of Neocæsarea, recantation of, 152.
Gregory of Syracuse, anathematized by a council at Rome, 241.
Guastalla, council of, year 1106, 439.
Guelfs and *Ghibelines*, the, 554.
Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, elected pope by the council of Brixen, in the place of Gregory VII., deposed by it, 397.
Benevento, council of, 412, and Quintilburg, 401, anathematize.
death of, 427.
Rome, recalled to, 415.
Guiscard, Robert, duke of Apulia, excommunicated by Gregory VII., 379; absolved, and a treaty entered into between the pope and, 392; renews his oath to the pope, 393.
pope, the, besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, is delivered by, 400.

Gunthier, archbishop of Cologne, at Rome, deposed, 243; writes to the bishops of Lorraine and the pope, 244; his letter laid on the tomb of St. Peter, 245; absolved, 270.
HADRIAN, a Roman, ninety-fourth pope, 126—172.
birth, education, &c., 126.
Caroline books, the, 163; undertakes to answer them, 170.
Charlemagne divorces the daughter of the king of the Lombards, who strives to gain the pope to revenge the affront, 126, but the pope adheres to Charlemagne, 127, to whom he has recourse. Charlemagne sets out for Italy with a large army, 128, but finding the passes well guarded, proposes an accommodation, which is rejected; resolves to return to France, but the Lombards being seized with a panic, he advances, 130; besieges Pavia, and is repulsed with great slaughter, 130; returns to siege of, and is victorious, which ends the Lombard kings, 132, goes to Rome, his reception by the pope and people; confirms the donation of Pepin, 131, 132; invited again by the pope into Italy, who falsely charges the Lombard dukes with conspiracy, 134; returns to Italy, but does not visit Rome, 135; visits Rome, 136; settles the affairs of Italy, 137; persuaded by the pope to yield to St. Peter the palaces taken from the duke of Benevento, 162; writes the pope's epiphany, 172.
death of, 171.
Desiderius, king of the Lombards, sends ambassadors to the pope; the answer given them; exarchate is invaded by; promises to forbear hostilities on conditions which the pope refuses, and he redoubles hostilities, 127; attempts to surprise Rome, 128; begs an interview with the pope, is awed by his threats, and returns to his own kingdom, 129; submits to Charlemagne, 132.
image worship is approved by, 145; quotes passages from the fathers, which are foreign to the purpose, 146.
Irene, governs the east, during the minority of her son Constantine, 139; establishes the worship of images, 159; invites the pope to a council, 143, declines assisting, but sends a legate, 147; the council obliged by the citizens and soldiery, to break up; the opposing troops are disbanded, 149; the council meets at Nice, 150, and establishes image worship, 159.
Lombardy, Charlemagne makes no change in the government of, 133.
monk, story of a troubled, 155.
Nice, in Bithynia, council of, year 787, 150.
Pepin's donation, the pope is put in possession of, 131.
pontificate of, 171.
Ravenna, the bishop of, claims and seizes on the exarchate of, 134.
Rome, Desiderius attempts to surprise, 128.
Tarasius of Constantinople, the pope complains of the promotion of, but submits, if by that means image worship is restored, 146.
writings of, 172.
HADRIAN II., a Roman, one hundred and fifth pope, 267—282.
Anastasius, cardinal presbyter, excommunicated by, 272.
Basilicus, emperor, sends envoys to, 271, who deliver to him the acts of a council by Photius, against Pope Nicholas, which are condemned in a council and burnt, 271; writes to the pope, 282.

- HADRIAN II.** Carloman rebels against his father, and is protected by, 278, 279.
 Charles the Bald, acknowledged king of Lorraine; the pope declares that kingdom to belong to the emperor, but no regard is paid to him; writes to Lewis and Charles on this occasion, 276.
 Charles of France writes to, 276, the answer, 281; and again, but in a very different style, 282.
 chosen with great unanimity, 267.
 consecration of, 268.
 council general, eighth, of Constantinople, 273—275.
 death of, 282.
 France, insolent behaviour of the legates in, 278.
 Gallican bishops, the, write to, 281.
 Gunthier of Cologne, absolved by, 270.
 Hincmar of Rheims, written to by, 276; his answer, 277.
 Ignatius of Constantinople, disregards the menaces of, and keeps Bulgaria, 282.
 Laon, bishop of, ordered to be sent to Rome, by, 281.
 legates sent into the east by, 273; taken by pirates on their return, 276.
 Lorraine, king of, writes to, and is permitted to visit Rome, 268.
 Lotharius has an interview with, at Monte Cassino, 269; is admitted to mass, and the eucharist, 270; death of, 271.
 pontificate of, 282.
 Spoleti, duke of, plunders Rome, 268.
 Theutberga goes to Rome, and applies for a divorce, but in vain, 269.
 Waldrada, excommunicated by his predecessor, is absolved by, 269.
- HADRIAN III.**, a Roman, one hundred and eighth pope, 293, 294.
 Basilus, emperor, strives to reconcile with Photius of Constantinople, 293.
 death of, 294.
 decrees of, 294.
 pontificate of, 294.
- HADRIAN IV.**, an Englishman, one hundred and sixty-seventh pope, 487—502.
 actions of, some particular, 502.
 adventures of, before promotion, 487.
 Arnold, and the Arnoldists raise disturbances in Rome; Arnold is banished, and peace restored, 488; end of, 489.
 death of, 500.
 emperor, marches to Rome, 488; interview between the pope and, 489; quarrel commenced between, 495; the pope writes to, which gives great offence to the German princes, 495; complains of the pope in a letter to the German princes and bishops; the pope writes to the bishops, 496; their reply; the pope sends legates with another letter to the emperor, 497; they are taken and robbed, but rescued; the pope retracts in his second, the contents of the first, letter to the emperor, which appeases him; they quarrel anew; the occasion, 498; the pope writes again, the emperor's answer; terms of agreement proposed by the pope, are rejected, 499.
 Henry II. of England writes to, 488; is written to by, 500.
 pontificate of, 500.
 Salisbury, private conversation between, and John of, 500.
 William of Sicily, quarrels with; war ensues; is driven to great straits, 492; sues for peace, but in vain; terms he offered the pope; gains a victory; besieges the pope in Benevento, who is obliged in turn to sue for peace, 493; terms upon which it was granted, 494.
- Hand*, the right, deemed most honourable in Pope Leo's time, 192.
Handkerchief, a miraculous, 29; "altar of the most holy," 29.
Heathen philosophers, 35; the, neither worshipped their images as gods, nor false gods through them, 34.
Helps to devotion, 42.
Henry I. of England, and Anselm, quarrel, 430; agreement between, 434; Anselm forbidden to return to England, 433; is recalled, 428; he triumphs, 434.
 Normandy, duke of, and, reconciled by Anselm, 429.
 pope, the, writes to, 431, 432.
Henry II. of England, the pope is indulgent to, 528.
Henry II., king of Germany, Bamberg, gives the bishopric of, to the pope, 336.
 crowned emperor by Benedict VIII., confirms all the donations of preceding emperors, 335.
 "symbol," causes the, to be sung at mass in Rome, 336.
Henry III., king of Germany, Clement II. appointed pope by, 342.
 crowned emperor, and his wife empress, by Pope Clement, 342.
 Damasus II. appointed pope by, 343.
 death of, 362.
Henry IV., king of Germany, Conrad, son of, rebels against, 415.
 council of Brixen deposes the pope, he is notified of it by, 397.
 crowned emperor by Guibert, 400.
 death of, 438.
 excommunicated and deposed by a council at Rome, 385; submits to hard conditions, goes to Italy, 388; his reception, sues for absolution, 389; is treated with great indignity, terms of absolution, 390; excommunicated anew, 396, 399, 430.
 Forcheim, diet of, declines appearing at, 392.
 Henry, son of, rebels, 435; his artful conduct, 436; the rebels defeated by the emperor, but Henry gains over most of the commanders of his father's army, and seizes on all his treasures, 436; betrayed, seized, and imprisoned by Henry his son, the emperor is obliged to surrender the ensigns of the imperial dignity; escapes from prison, 438.
 investitures, disregards decree against, 383.
 Lombard lords provoked with his submission to the pope, he resolves to break his treaty, 391.
 pope, attempts reconciliation with the, 436; deposition of, and his son's promotion, approved by the, 437; writes to the, 383.
 Rome, cited to appear at, 377; council of, ambassadors from Henry and Rudolph assist at, both promise to stand to the judgment of the apostolic see, 394; taken by, 400, who also reduces several places in Italy, 414, 415.
 Rudolph chosen king, 392, is defeated by Henry, and he in turn by, 393; is killed, 398.
 wife, the pope will not allow to divorce his, 374.
Henry V., king of Germany, crowned by Paschal II., 446.
 death of, 461.
 embassy to the pope from, 442.
 excommunicated by several councils, and by the pope's legate in France, 442; sends deputies to Rome to get sentence revoked, 451; excommunicated by council of Rheims, 457.
 investitures, maintains his right to, 440.
 pope, bull granted to, by the, 446; for which he is blamed; the grant revoked, 447; negotiations between, and, 457.

- Henry V., king of Germany*, Rome, goes to, enters the Leonine city; reception by, and interview with, the pope; arrests the pope; the Romans strive to rescue him; great slaughter on both sides, 444; the emperor retires from the Leonine city, taking the pope and the cardinals with him; the pope withstands the menaces of the emperor, but yields at last, 445; articles of agreement between, 446; returns to Germany, 447; goes to again, the pope retires; is admitted into the city; crowned anew by the pope's legate; retires to Tuscany, and the pope returns to, 452; arrives unexpectedly at, 453; the pope retires to Gaeta; embassy from the emperor to the pope, and the answer, 454.
- treaty between the pope and, 443.
- Henry VI.* is crowned emperor by Pope Celestine, 531; death of, 461; Frederic, his son, crowned king of Sicily, 534.
- Henry*, landgrave of Thuringia, chosen king of Germany, 563; is killed, 564.
- Henry*, a hermit, teaches doctrines which are condemned by the pope in a council at Pisa, year 1134, 468.
- Heresy* at one time, sound faith at another, 70.
- Heretics*, the use and worship of images first introduced by, 38.
- Hildesheim*, bishop of, complains to the pope of his metropolitan, whose conduct is disapproved by a council, 332.
- Hildebrand*, archdeacon of Rome, the famous Gregory VII., 377.
- Hincmar* of Laon, incurs the displeasure of the king; his unwarrantable proceedings, 279; appeals to the pope, but tried in France, notwithstanding, 280.
- Historians*, unpardonable partiality of, 69.
- Holy Ghost*, question concerning the procession of the, revived, and determined in a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, 188.
- Holy War*, the, 420—425.
- HONORIUS II.*, native of Bologna, one hundred and sixty-first pope, 461—464.
- Cluny, quells disturbances at, 461.
- death of, 463.
- election of, 461.
- England, sends legate to, 462.
- Normandy, William of, excommunicated by, 461.
- pontificate of, 463.
- Roger, count of Sicily, and, quarrel, 462; is excommunicated, 463; the pope raises an army, and marches against; is obliged to conclude a disadvantageous peace, 463.
- Rome, archbishop of Canterbury at, 462.
- HONORIUS III.*, a Roman, one hundred and seventy-fifth pope, 550—552.
- death of, 552.
- emperor of the east crowned by, 550.
- Frederic II., crowned emperor, by; quarrel commences between; conference between, at Ferentino and Veroli, 551.
- Man, the king of the Isle of, makes himself a vassal of the church of Rome, 550.
- pontificate of, 552.
- queens of England, protects the two dowager 550.
- writings of, 552.
- Hospitallers*, bull of Pope Anastasius IV., in favour of the, 486; complaints against the, 494.
- Hugh*, king of Italy, and Alberic, lord of Rome, quarrel; are reconciled, 312.
- Hungary*, Gregory VII. lays claim to, 407.
- Iconoclasts*, the 26; are declared worse than Jews, Mahometans, &c., 157.
- Epiphanius, in the fourth century, a zealous, 39; also Leo, the emperor, 26.
- Idolatry*, to worship the true God in an image, or to give any religious worship whatever to a creature, 36; or to worship the most perfect creature, 37.
- Ignatius* of Constantinople, council, summoned to a, 232; his behaviour there, 233.
- confinement, escapes from, 234.
- cruelty, treated with great, 231.
- death of, 289.
- deposed, 231, 233; restored, 260.
- excommunicated, 231, 233.
- Latins, the, are driven out of Bulgaria by, 276.
- monastery, allowed to return to his, 234.
- Photius, his successor, treats with great cruelty, 233; his contrivance to ruin, 237; deposed, Ignatius is restored, 260.
- Pope Nicholas purposes the sending to Rome, of Photius and, 257; informed by the emperor of the restoration of, 261.
- see, driven from his, and exiled, 230.
- writes to the pope, but disregarding his menaces keeps Bulgaria, 282.
- Ignorance*, the eighth century characterized by, 142.
- Illyricum*, east, subjected to the see of Constantinople, 68.
- Images*, abuses introduced by the worshippers of, 204.
- antiquity of, attempts to prove the, 29.
- bishop, a, miraculously cured by an, 156.
- Christ, supposed statue of, at Paneas, no proof of the use of, amongst Christians, much less their worship, 31, 32.
- church, divided into three parties about, 44; doctrine and practice of the primitive, concerning, 28.
- Constantine assembles a general council at Constantinople, to put an end to the dispute about, 97, which condemns the use and worship of, reasons alleged against, 98, 99; monks in the east refuse to comply with the definition of the council against, 113; and their insolent behaviour to the emperor is punished with great severity, 114.
- Constantinople, council of, condemns, 196, and they are removed from all public places, 197.
- councils, the, offer no proof of the worship of, 154.
- councils, the general, never mention, 65.
- devotion, used as helps to, in sixth century, and also beginning of seventh, 42; middle of seventh century looked upon as something more than helps, and commonly worshipped in the eighth, 43.
- east, worship of, suppressed in the, and the worshippers anathematized, 101.
- edict against the worship of, which only it forbids, 27; published in Rome, 48.
- Epiphanius declares the use or worship of, contrary to Scripture, 40.
- fathers, the, understood the second commandment as forbidding the use and worship of all, and some as extending to the arts of engraving and painting, 33.
- Frankfort, fathers of the council of, do not look upon the worship of, as an indifferent thing, 169.
- Genilli, council of, disapproves the worship of, 111.
- godliness, height of, in the ninth century, to worship and defend, 45.
- Gregory the Great, condemns in the strongest terms, 42.
- Gregory I. and II., great difference between, on the subject of, 62, the latter quotes Scripture in favour of, 65.
- heathen neither worshipped their, as gods, nor false gods through them, 34.
- heretics first introduced the use and worship of, 38.

- Images*, idolatry to worship the true God in an, 36.
 Irene undertakes to re-establish the worship of, 140, of which the pope approves, 144—146.
 Leo Armenus' opinion concerning the worship of, 195.
 Leo, emperor, shocked at the worship given to, resolves to abolish it, 26.
 Michael, emperor, enjoins silence concerning, 203.
 Nice, in Bithynia, council of, assembled to establish the use and worship of, 150—160; the council adores an, 158; decree of, confirmed by Constantine and Irene, 159.
 of Berytus and Edessa, 155; of God the Father and the Trinity condemned, 64.
 offence of worshipping, 37.
 opposed in the fifth century, 40.
 ordered to be cast out of the churches and broken, which causes great disturbances, 54, 55; the edict executed all over the east, and images are every where destroyed, 59; Leo resolves to enforce his edict in the west, is abused by Pope Gregory II., whose arguments are not pertinent to the case, 60, being founded upon mere fables, 61, and the same used by the heathen to justify their idolatry, 62.
 reasons why they were neither used or worshipped in primitive times; reasons alleged by the advocates of, 31, 32.
 Rome, a council of, appoints and decrees worship of, 66, 71; churches of, filled by the pope with pictures and, 71; another approves, 119.
 use of, as ornaments in churches, condemned by a Spanish council in the fourth century, 39; obtains universally in the sixth, and as soon as introduced into the churches, worshipped; that worship condemned by St. Austin, and in his time by the church, 41.
 worship, different grades of, 35; had only obtained as yet in the empire, 44; true and real to be given to, 161, which popish divines disagree about, 161.
Ina, king of the West Saxons, embraces the monastic life at Rome, 24.
Incontinence of the clergy, decrees against, 379, 380.
Ingelburga, divorced by the king of France and a council; Pope Celestine III., reverses the decree, 533; reprimands the bishops for settling so weighty a matter without appealing to him, 534.
Ingelheim council of, year 946, 314.
Ingeltrude, wife of Count Boso, complained of, to the pope, 239.
INNOCENT II., a Roman, one hundred and sixty-second pope, 464—475.
 Anacletus II., elected in opposition to; character of the two competitors, 464; death of, 470.
 Apulia invaded, 471, marches to its defence, is taken prisoner, concludes peace, 472; returns to Rome, 473.
 cities, several, revolt from, 474.
 death of, 474.
 emperor, disagreement between the, and, 470.
 France, visits several cities in, 466; quarrels with the king of, 474.
 Germany, bishops of, acknowledge, 466.
 Italy, returns to, 467.
 Louis VII., crowned by, 467.
 Lotharius crowned by, 466; and emperor, 468.
 Malachy appointed legate for Ireland, 471.
 Pisa, holds council at, 468; and also at Placentia, 467.
 pontificate of, 474.
 Rheims, holds council at, 467.
 Roger, count of Sicily, sides with Anacletus, 466.
INNOCENT II., Rome, partisans of Anacletus drives from, retires to France, owned there and waited on by the kings of England and, 465; arrives at, 468.
 Victor elected instead of Anacletus, resigns, which ends the schism, 470.
INNOCENT III., native of Anagni, one hundred and seventy-fourth pope, 535—549.
 Albigenes, crusade against the, 544.
 Armenia, ambassadors from king of, 538.
 Arragon, the king of, at Rome, is crowned by the pope, his oath, 539.
 Bulgaria united to the apostolic see, 538; legate sent there, 539.
 Canterbury, archbishop of, suspended, 549.
 character of, 549.
 cities, recovers several, as the patrimony of St. Peter, 535.
 Cologne, archbishop of, excommunicated, 539.
 death of, 549.
 England, quarrels with King John, of, who writes to, the answer of; lays the kingdom of, under interdict, 541; legates sent to, and king of, excommunicated and deposed; crusade set on foot against him, 543; is forced to submit, 544; barons of, excommunicated, 549.
 Fondi, country of, given to, 546.
 France is put under interdict, 538.
 Galicia, excommunicates king of, 536.
 Germany, sends legates to, 536; three pretenders to the crown of, Otho is declared for, 537; crowned at Rome, 542, excommunicated and deposed, 543.
 Greek emperor sends an embassy to, 537.
 heretics, canons against, 546.
 Latins, the, take Constantinople; the Latin patriarch confirmed, 540, whom the pope censures, 541.
 Philip of Germany, reconciled to, 541.
 pontificate of, 549.
 Rome, subjects the city of, to his see, 535.
 Sicily, revokes some privileges of the king of, 535; made guardian of the young king of, 537; quells disturbances in, 537.
 Toulouse, count of, excommunicated, 544; and deprived of his dominions by the pope and fourth council of Lateran, 547.
 transubstantiation established, 546.
INNOCENT IV., a Genoese, one hundred and seventy-eighth pope, 560—567.
 death of, 567.
 elected after a long vacancy, 560.
 emperor, rupture between, and; a new treaty begun, but unsuccessful, 561; excommunicates and deposes the, 563; death of, 564.
 France, retires to, holds a council at Lyons, 561; interview between the king of, and, 563.
 Manfred defeats the army of, 566.
 pontificate of, 567.
 Sicily, offers kingdom of, to several princes, 565.
Irene, empress, an Athenian, 139.
 army, gains over some of the chief officers of the, 182, who conspire with her to seize the emperor, but fail, 183.
 Charlemagne, marriage proposed to, by, 185.
 conscience, grants liberty of, 141.
 Constantine, her son, governs during the minority of, 139.
 deposed, 186, banished, dies, 187.
 guards, bribes the emperor's; he is confined, and his eyes put out by order of, 183.
 craft and address of, 142.
 deposed, and her son placed on the throne; she is recalled, 181.
 emperor's brothers, the late, causes them to be shaved and ordained, 139.

- Irene*, image worship, undertakes the re-establishment of, 140; calls a council for that purpose, is prostrated in her design, but pursues it, 149.
- marriage, proposes, between her son and the daughter of Charlemagne; breaks it off, and forces him to marry an Armenian, 140.
- ministers, chooses her, 140.
- monks, recalls the banished, 141.
- Nice, in Bithynia, council of, called, 150; its acts confirmed by, 159.
- pope, writes to the, 143.
- saint, commended as a, by the holy men of her day, 184.
- Saracens, defeats the, 140.
- unnatural conduct of, justified by Baronius, 184.
- Ireland*, four metropolitans established in, 481.
- Italy*, divided, 299.
- Ghibelines and Guelfs, divide, 558.
- Hadrian, pope, invites Charlemagne into, 134, who settles the affairs of, 137.
- Paulinus of Nola, introduces pictures into the churches of, fourth century, 40.
- revolution in, 298.
- Saracens driven out of, 336.
- Jacobites*, the, 556.
- Jerusalem*, siege and conquest of, 426, re-conquest of, 554.
- Jews*, commanded by the Emperor Leo, to be baptized, 26; worshipped the true God in the golden calf, and yet guilty of idolatry, 36; cruelties inflicted upon, by the crusaders, 421.
- Joan*, pope, a female, 221.
- account of, fabulous, 224.
- adventures, as related by several writers, 221; they were unknown to Marianus, 222.
- Anastasius, account of a female pope, foisted into some copies of, 225.
- beards, disadvantage of shaving off, 224.
- chair, the perforated, 222, 226.
- Constantinople, a woman said to have been raised to the see of, 223.
- delivered of a son in the public street, 222.
- fable of, by whom invented, 225, 226; is now universally rejected, 227.
- not impossible for a woman to have been raised to the pontificate, 223.
- pope, is chosen, 222.
- pope, female, conjectures concerning the origin of the fable of the, 226; Blondell and Sarau, protestant writers, unanswerably confute it, 226.
- statue of, in the cathedral of Siena, 225; great care taken to abolish all remembrance of, 226.
- unknown to the contemporary Latin and Greek writers, 224.
- Johannes Scotus*, doctrine of, 348.
- JOHN VI.*, a Greek, eighty-fourth pope, 9—12.
- chosen and ordained, after a vacancy of fifty-four days, 9.
- death of, 12.
- England, supremacy of the pope not yet owned in, 12.
- generosity of, in the redemption of captives, 9.
- pontificate of, 12.
- Tiberius ApSIMARUS, emperor, orders him to be driven from his see, but the soldiery successfully defend him, 9.
- Wilfrid, cause of, espoused by, 9; absolves Wilfrid, 11; the English pay no regard to his degree in favour of, 10.
- JOHN VII.*, a Greek, eighty-fifth pope, 12, 13.
- canons of the Quinisext council sent to, by the emperor, which he returns without approving or disapproving, 13.
- death of, 13.
- JOHN VII.*, ordained after a vacancy of one hundred and nineteen or twenty days, 12.
- patrimony in the Alpes Cottiae restored, 13.
- pontificate of, 13.
- pope, origin of the fable of the she, 13.
- JOHN VIII.*, a Roman, one hundred and sixth pope, 283—292.
- appeal to the pope, abuse of, complained of by the emperor, 285.
- Charles the Bald, crowned emperor at Rome, but did not yield the dukedom of Benevento to the pope, 284; crowned king of Italy at Pavia, 284.
- Charles the Gross, crowned emperor, but lends the pope no assistance against the Saracens, 291.
- cruelty of, 292.
- death of, 292.
- election and consecration of, 283.
- emperor, the, besieged in a tower by the duke of Benevento, capitulates, but is absolved from the oath he took on that occasion, 283; death of, 284; is pressed to assist the pope, and marches to his assistance, 286; they meet at Vercelli, 287; is poisoned to death by his physician, 287.
- Formosus, bishop of Porto, sentence pronounced against, by, 285.
- Hincmar of Laon, kindly treated by the pope, and the bishops of the council of Troies, 288.
- Ignatius of Constantinople, dies, Photius is restored and acknowledged by the pope's legates, 289.
- legates, sends into the east, for the recovery of Bulgaria, 289.
- Lewis of France, crowned king by the pope, 288, but could not be prevailed upon to crown the queen, 289.
- Marianus is sent into the east, annuls the acts of the council of Constantinople, 291.
- Moravians, the, were allowed by, to say the canonical hours in their own tongue, 292.
- Naples, bishop of, excommunicated in a council at Rome, 291.
- Photius of Constantinople, absolved from excommunication, and receives him upon condition of renouncing all claim to Bulgaria, 290; letter from, answered by the pope, 290; the pope's legates restore the ensigns of the patriarchal dignity in full council, and condemn the eighth general council, 290, for which they are condemned, 291; is excommunicated again, 291.
- pontificate of, 292.
- Ravenna, holds council at, 283.
- Richilda, crowned empress at Tortona, by, 287.
- Rome plundered by the duke of Spoleti, and the pope confined; on his retreat, repairs to France, 287; holds council at Troies, which anathematizes the duke of Spoleti and Formosus of Porto, 288.
- Saracens, the, overrun several provinces in Italy, 285; the duke of Naples joins them; the bishop of Naples, his brother, treacherously seizes him, puts out his eyes, and sends him to Rome, for which he is highly commended by the pope; the bishop takes upon himself the government, and joins the Saracens; the pope excommunicates him, and presses the emperor to hasten to his relief, 286; agrees to pay a yearly tribute to the, 287.
- Sens, archbishop of, appointed primate of France, by, 284.
- writings of, 292.
- JOHN IX.*, a Tivolian, one hundred and fifteenth pope, 302—304.

- JOHN IX.**, approves of an election, of which his predecessor had disapproved, 303.
 Berengarius compels him to crown him emperor, which he immediately declares null, 302.
 character of the popes of the tenth century, 304.
 death of, 303.
 eastern bishops are not allowed to communicate with those whom Photius had ordained, 303.
 Germany, letter from the bishops of, 303.
 pontificate of, 303.
 Ravenna, holds council at, 302.
 Rheims, answer to the archbishop of, concerning the wickedness of the Normans who had embraced Christianity, 303.
 Saltzburg, letter from the archbishop of, finding fault with the pope's conduct, 304.
 writings of, 303.
- JOHN X.**, a Roman, one hundred and twenty-second pope, 308—311.
 Altheis, appoints council of, 309.
 Berengarius crowned emperor by, 309.
 deposed, and dies in prison, 310.
 first pope that led an army, 311.
 Hugh, count of Provence, crowned king of Lombardy, 310.
 Mosarabic missal approved of, with some alterations, 310.
 pontificate of, 311; how raised to it, 308.
 Rheims, approves the election of a child to the see of, 310.
 Rome, unites the churches of Constantinople and, 310.
 Saracens, engages the Italian princes in a league against the, 309; marches against the, who are all cut off, or taken prisoners, 309.
- JOHN XI.**, a Roman, one hundred and twenty-fifth pope, 311.
 an intruder, 311.
 confined, and dies in prison, 312.
 grants a charter to Odo, abbot of Cluny, 311.
 pontificate of, 312.
- JOHN XII.**, one hundred and thirtieth pope, 315—319.
 an intruder, 315.
 Benedict chosen instead of, 320.
 Capua, makes war upon the prince of, and is defeated, 315.
 council held by, its acts, 319.
 council assembled by the emperor to try the pope; speech of the bishop of Cremona, in the emperor's name, 317; letters of the pope and the emperor to the, and its reply, 318.
 crimes laid to, 317.
 debaucheries of, 317.
 deposed, 319.
 Leo VIII. chosen instead of, 319; conspiracy against, 319; John's cruelty to the friends of, 319.
 murdered, 320.
 Otho is invited into Italy by; crowned emperor by, whose famous diploma is still to be seen in Rome, 316; marches to Rome, the pope flies, 317.
 pontificate of, 320.
 Romans are stirred up against the emperor by, 319.
 St. Peter's church plundered by, 317.
- JOHN XIII.**, a Roman, one hundred and thirty-second pope, 321—323.
 bells, the ceremony of christening, not introduced by him, 323.
 Beneventum made a metropolis by, 323.
 Capua, takes refuge in, and erects it into a metropolis, 321.
 death of, 323.
 driven from Rome for his haughty behaviour, soon after his ordination, 321.
- JOHN XIII.**, London, acts of a council held in, confirmed by, 323.
 Otho marches to Rome to restore the pope; punishes the Romans as rebels, 322.
 Otho, the younger, crowned emperor, 322, and his wife empress, 323.
 Poland converted in the time of, 323.
 pontificate of, 323.
 Prague made an episcopal see by, 323.
- JOHN XIV.**, a Roman, one hundred and thirty-sixth pope, is chosen; driven from the see by Franco, a Roman deacon. John, elected, but not reckoned amongst the popes, 325.
- JOHN XV.**, a Roman, one hundred and thirty-seventh pope, 326—329.
 canonization, first instance of a solemn, 326.
 Crescentius, the tyrant, recalls to Rome, 326.
 death of, 329.
 England, mediates a peace between the duke of Normandy and the king of, 326.
 France, king of, writes to, who sends legate into, 326.
 Gallican bishops and, quarrel, 326.
 Gerbert's letter on occasion of the council of Rheims, 327; another, 328; speech of; deposed, 328.
 Mouson, council of, 328.
 pontificate of, 328.
 Rheims, council of, against Arnold; bishops of, suspended by the pope, 327.
 Rome, leaves, soon after his election, 326.
- JOHN XVI.**, a Calabrian, anti-pope, purchases the see with the plunder of the church of Placentia, 330.
 excommunicated by Gregory V., 330.
 Gregory V., friends of pope, capture, put out his eyes, cut off his nose, and tear out his tongue, 330.
- JOHN XVII.**, a Roman, one hundred and fortieth pope; ordination, death, and pontificate of, 333.
- JOHN XVIII.**, a Roman, one hundred and forty-first pope; election and ordination of; sends legate into Germany; reunites the churches of Constantinople and Rome; death and pontificate of, 334.
- JOHN XIX.**, one hundred and forty-fourth pope, 337—339.
 Conrad crowned emperor by, 338.
 Constantinople, refuses title of universal bishop of the east, to the patriarch of, 337.
 death of, 338, and what happened afterwards, 339.
 Girona, grants the use of the pall to the bishop of, 338.
 pontificate of, 338.
 writings of, 339.
- John**, archbishop of Ravenna, and Pope Nicholas quarrel, 266; his see entirely subjected to Rome, 267.
- John** of Salisbury, private conversation between him and Pope Hadrian IV., 501.
- John**, Presbyter, king of India, first heard of in the west, 484; sends messengers to Pope Alexander III., 520; his kingdom, 521.
- John**, king of England, and Pope Innocent III. quarrel; the king's letter to the pope, with the answer, 541.
 excommunicated, deposed, and a crusade set on foot against, 543.
 forced to submit, yields up his kingdom to the pope, and becomes his vassal, 544.
 interdict, Pope Innocent III. lays England under, 542.
- Judith**, empress, charge against her; she is shut up in a monastery, 209.
- Justinian** causes Felix of Ravenna to be taken prisoner, and sent to Constantinople; puts his eyes out; subjects the see entirely to the see of Rome, 14.

Justinian, Constantinople, orders the pope to repair to; reception there by the emperor, 15. cruelty of, 17. murdered; Bardanes is raised to the throne, 16.

Keys, custom of sending, to princes, 173.

Kiss, difference between adoration and a, 154.

LANDO, a Sabinian, one hundred and twenty-first pope; death and pontificate of, 308.

Landus, fourth anti-pope, taken and confined for life, 521.

Lanfranc, appointed archbishop of Canterbury, 375; goes to Rome, and receives the pall, 376.

Langres, the bishop of, restored to his see by Benedict IV., 305; crimes laid to the charge of the bishop of; he is deposed, 346.

Lateran, councils of; refer to *councils*.

Latria, worship of, 38; now given to images, though not allowed by the council of Nice, 170.

Lawrence, archbishop of Dublin, appointed legate for Ireland, 522.

Laymen, many raised to the episcopal dignity, 118. *Leavened and unleavened bread*, discussion about, 353.

Legates, rapaciousness of the pope's, 431.

Legatine power, Pope Paschal II. attempts to introduce, into England, 429, and again, 451.

Legends, fabulous, and incredible stories, quoted by the council of Nice, in Bithynia, 155.

Lent, different modes of keeping, 259.

Leo Isauricus, character of, 76.

chosen emperor, received with loud acclamations at Constantinople, and crowned by the patriarch, 22.

council, assembles a great, in which it was determined that images should be cast out of the churches and broken, 53.

Cyclades, the inhabitants of, revolt; are generously treated by, 45.

Damascene, Leo charged with attempting the death of, 57, and by what means, 58.

death of, 76.

edict, resolves to have his, against images, published in the west, 60.

faith, sends his confession of, to the pope, 22.

Germanus of Constantinople, opposes, in relation to images, the reason he alleges, 45;

resigns his dignity, and is not ill used, or put to death by the emperor, 53.

Gregory II. is said to have excommunicated, 66.

Gregory III. sends legations to, 71.

Illyricum, east, subjected to the see of Constantinople, 68.

images, is shocked at the worship given to; resolves to abolish it; acquaints the clergy and the senate with his design, and issues an edict against, forbidding the worship only, and not commanding them to be destroyed, 27.

Jews, commands the, to receive baptism; they comply, 26.

Montanists, commands the, to receive baptism, which they refuse, 26.

œcumenical master and twelve professors, is accused of having them burnt, together with their college, 56; a mere fable, as there is no account of it in the more ancient writers; the library consumed long before

Leo's time, 57.

patrimonies of the Roman church confiscated by, 68.

pope, the, congratulates him on his promotion, 22; writes to the pope, his answer most abusive, 60; again, 65; stirs up the people against the emperor, and forbids the payment of tribute, 67.

Leo Armenus, emperor, opposes image worship, 195; recalls the banished monks, 197; is barbarously murdered, 200; remarkable instance of his love of justice, 201.

LEO III., a Roman, ninety-fifth pope, 173—192.

Canterbury, see of, restored to its ancient jurisdiction, by, 174.

Charlemagne is informed of his promotion, to whom the Romans swear allegiance, 173; sends immense treasures to Rome; how employed by the pope, 173; the pope repairs to, how received by, 177; at Rome, assembles a council to try the pope, 177; the clergy decline trying him, and he clears himself by an oath, 178; promotion to the imperial dignity no proof of the temporal supremacy of the pope; only the bare title was given him, and that not by his own authority; in what sense may have been said to be made emperor, 179; conference between the pope and the envoys of, 189.

chosen and ordained, 173.

conspiracy against, by the nephews of the late pope, by whom he is seized and treated with great barbarity; rescued by the duke of Spoleti, 176; puts to death all concerned in it, 192.

conspirators, the chief, seized and imprisoned, 177.

council assembled to try the pope, 177; the clergy decline trying; he clears himself by an oath, 178.

death of, 192.

eyes and tongue falsely said to have been pulled out and restored by miracle, 176.

hand, the right, now deemed the most honourable, 192.

Holy Ghost, question concerning the procession of, revived, and decided in a council at Aix-la-Chapelle, 188.

keys, custom of sending, to princes, 173.

Northumberland, king of, driven from his throne, is restored by, 187.

pontificate of, 192.

Rome, returns to, and is well received by the Romans, 177.

symbol, will not allow the words, "and from the Son," to be added to the, 189.

triculum, the pope's, in the Lateran palace, 174.

LEO IV., a Roman, one hundred and second pope, 217—220.

Anastasius deposed by the pope and council, 219.

chosen and ordained, before his election was confirmed by the emperor, 217.

churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, enriched by, 217.

death of, 220.

grace and free will, dispute now commenced about, 220.

Leonine city founded by, 217; consecrated, 218.

Lewis, king of Italy, crowned emperor, 218.

miracle attributed to, 220.

pontificate of, 220.

Rome, fortified by, 217; holds council at, 218.

sainted, 220.

Saracen fleet destroyed, 217.

LEO V., native of Ardea, one hundred and seventeenth pope, 306.

chosen, driven from his see, thrown into prison, 306.

death of, 306.

pontificate of, 306.

LEO VI., one hundred and twenty-third pope, succeeds John X.; dies, after a short pontificate, 311.

LEO VII., a Roman, one hundred and twenty-sixth pope, 312.

character of, 312.

death of, 313.

election of, 312.

- LEO VII.**, German churches, letter by, concerning abuses that prevailed in the, 312.
 Hugh, king of Italy, and Alberic, lord of Rome, reconciled by means of, 312.
 pontificate of, 313.
 questions, answer to some, by, 312.
 St. Martin, writes to the abbot of, at Tours, 313.
- LEO VIII.**, a Roman, one hundred and thirty-first pope, 319.
 conspiracy against, obliged to quit Rome, 319.
 death of, 320.
 election of, 319.
 ordination of, 319.
 pontificate of, 320.
- LEO IX.**, one hundred and forty-ninth pope, 343—361.
 Berengarius' doctrine condemned in several councils, 349, 350.
 character, family, &c., 344, 361.
 chosen whilst in Germany, 343.
 Cologne, makes the archbishop of, chancellor of the Roman church, 347.
 Constantinople, patriarch of, guilty of forgery; snare laid for the pope's legates, by; sentence against, left by the legates at their departure, 359.
 death of, 361.
 Edward the Confessor absolved from a vow, by, 352.
 election, opposes his own, but yields upon being freely elected by the clergy and people of Rome, 344.
 emperor of the east, and the patriarch of Constantinople, write to the pope, desiring to restore peace to the two churches, 357.
 France, goes to, 345.
 Gerard of Toul, canonized by, 347.
 Germany, visits, 352.
 legates sent into the east, by; they are well received by the emperor, but the patriarch declines all conference with them; they publish a treatise in defence of unleavened bread; they excommunicate the patriarch, 358; snare laid for them by the patriarch; leave sentence against the patriarch at their departure, 359.
 Mantua, holds council at; disturbances on that occasion, 353.
 Mentz, holds council at, 346.
 Monte Gargano, visits, 347.
 Normans, makes war upon the, 354; the Apulians prejudice the pope against, and the pope the emperor, 356; the pope marches in person against the, who strive to divert him from the intended war, but in vain; they gain a complete victory; take the pope prisoner, but treat him with great respect and kindness, 357.
 Pavia, holds council at, 345.
 pontificate of, 361.
 Ratisbon, canonizes two saints at, 353.
 Rheims, holds council at, 345.
 Richenou, consecrates the abbot of, 345.
 Rome, holds councils at, 345, 352, 353; returns to, 347, 361.
 Sipontum, holds council at, 347.
 St. Arnulpheus, church of, at Mentz, consecrated by, 346.
- Leonine city**, building of the, 217; consecration of the, 218.
- Lewis** the Debonaire, emperor of the West, agrees to the proposal of assembling a council in France to examine the doctrine of the Greeks in relation to images, 205; the council meets, their decree, their letter to the emperor, 206; the emperor sends two bishops to acquaint the pope with the result of the council; the instructions given them; the emperor's letter to the pope, 207.
- Lewis** the Debonaire, Adrobald, the abbot, sent to Rome by, 213.
 bishops of France forbidden to wait on the pope, 210; letter from those who espouse the cause of, to the pope; his answer, 211.
 crowned in France, by Pope Stephen, 193.
 donations of his father and grandfather, to the pope, confirmed, but nothing added to them, 194.
 Lotharius, delivers himself up to his son; reconciled; rebels again, and persuades the pope to accompany him into France, 210; the pope sent by the rebels to; his reception; the emperor delivers himself up to the rebels, 212; how far the pope was to blame in this affair, 213.
 restored, 213.
 sons, quarrel between, and his three sons, 209; reconciled, 210.
 Stephen IV., obliges the Romans to swear allegiance to, 192.
- Lewis**, king of Lombardy, lays waste the Roman territories, 215; is crowned emperor at Rome, 218; visits Rome, 219.
- Lewis II.**, emperor of the West, besieged in a tower by duke of Benevento, capitulates, but is absolved by the pope from the oath he took on that occasion, 283.
 death of, 284.
 pope, honours paid to the, by, 229; goes to Rome to chastise, 243, but is reconciled, 244.
- Lewis** the Stammerer, crowned king of France by Pope John VIII., 288.
- Lewis** of Arles, crowned emperor by Pope Benedict IV., 305.
- Lewis VII.** of France, crowned by Pope Innocent II., 467; they quarrel, 474.
 eastern Christians, resolves to succour, 477.
 informs the pope of the death of Becket, 516.
- Limoges**, councils of, year 1031, 339; year 1095, 421.
- Lincoln**, bishop of, said to have been deposed by Pope Alexander II., 376.
- Lodi**, council of, excommunicates Pope Alexander III., 509.
- Lombard**, Peter, doctrine of, condemned by Pope Alexander III., 522.
- Lombardy**, bishops of, confirm sentence of the council of Worms, 385.
 civil war kindled in, 554.
 character of the people of, 133.
- Desiderius**, king of, holds some places belonging to the pope; advances on Rome with his army; has an interview with the pope in the church of St. Peter, 120; obliges the pope to dismiss his two favourite ministers, 121; the pope excuses him to Charlemagne; refuses to perform promises to the pope, 121; proposes certain marriages, 123; the pope adheres to Charlemagne and acquaints him with the designs of; invades the exarchate; promises to forbear hostilities on conditions, which not being complied with, he redoubles them, 127; attempts to surprise Rome, 128; returns to his own kingdom, 129; Charlemagne subdues, which ends the Lombard kings, 132.
 dukes of, false charges against, 134.
- Luitprand**, king of, reduces Ravenna, 47; protects the pope, 48; conquers the Pentapolis, 50; Eutychius, exarch of Ravenna, gains over the king to the emperor, 51; obliges the pope and the Romans to submit to the emperor, 52; invades the dukedom of Rome, 72; Charles Martel declines taking part with the pope against, 73; but subsequently does, 75; withdraws troops from the Roman territory, 75; Pope Za-

- Lombardy*, Luitprand, king of,—*Continued*:
 chary sends legation to; visits the king at Terni; his reception; persuades the king to restore the four cities he had conquered, 77; peace concluded, 78; enters the ex-archate again, 80, but his hostile intentions are overcome by the pope, who met him at Pavia, 81; character and death of, 84.
- Pepin of France, resolves to make war on, 96; defeats the Lombards, obliges them to submit, 97.
- Rachis, king of, invades the Roman dukedom, 84; the pope persuades him to desist and restore the places already taken; resigns his kingdom and retires to a monastery, 85. rebels against the emperor, 556.
 reunited to the apostolic see, 439.
- London*, council of, year 1107, 441; year 1122, 462; year 1129, 464.
- Lorraine*, origin of the name, 238; king of, writes to the pope, 268, his reply, 269.
- Lotharius*, crowned emperor and king of Italy, at Rome, by Pope Paschal, 198.
- Rome, reforms government of; revives ancient custom, that the pope should not be ordained till his election is approved by the emperor, 202.
- Lotharius*, king of Lorraine, Adventius writes to the pope in favour of, 253.
 charges his wife Theutberga with incest; she is cleared and recalled to court, afterwards forced to acknowledge herself guilty; allowed by a council to put her away and marry another, 238; marries Waldrada, 239.
- Cologne, archbishop of, abandoned by, makes disclosures unfavourable to, in the affair of Theutberga and Waldrada, 246.
- death of, 271.
- Hadrian II., is written to by, 268.
- Italy, goes to, and has an interview with the pope at Monte Cassino, 269; is admitted to mass celebrated by the pope; follows the pope to Rome, 270.
- Metz, council appointed to meet at, to determine the affair of; pope sends legates, 239; who are gained over by, 242.
- Nicholas, pope, sends Arsenius to France, as legate, to determine the affair of Theutberga and Waldrada; his insolent behaviour at the court of; obliges Lotharius to take back Theutberga, 251; writes to Lotharius, what restrained him from excommunicating him, 254; Lotharius writes most submissive letters to, 255.
- Lotharius*, duke of Saxony, elected king of Germany, 461.
 crowned emperor at Rome, by Innocent II., returns to Germany, 468.
 Innocent II. and, disagree, 470.
 Italy, returns to, and reduces most places in Apulia, 469.
- LUCIUS II.*, native of Bologna, one hundred and sixty-fourth pope, 476.
 bulls of, 477.
 death of, 477.
 election of, 476.
 pontificate of, 477.
 Roger, count of Sicily, quarrels with, 476.
 Romans, the, in a state of rebellion, 476, 477.
- LUCIUS III.*, native of Lucca, one hundred and sixty-ninth pope, 524—526.
 Albigenes, the, anathematized and condemned, 525.
 chosen and consecrated at Vetri, 524.
 death of, 526.
 encroachments of the popes, 525.
 first pope elected by the cardinals alone, 524.
 pontificate of, 526.
- LUCIUS III.*, Rome, is forced to leave; returns to; forced out again, 525.
 Scotland, absolves William, king of, 524; decides controversy between the two pretenders to the see of St. Andrews in, 524.
 Verona, holds council at, 525.
- Lupus*, abbot of Ferrieres, writes to the pope, 228.
- Magdeburg*, erected into a metropolis, by Pope John XIII., 322.
- Magic*, Pope Silvester II., accused of the practice of, 332.
- Majolus* of Cluny, declines the pontifical dignity offered by the emperor, 325.
- Malachy*, bishop, appointed legate for Ireland, by Pope Innocent II., 471.
- Malta*, the knights of, 486.
- Man*, the king of the Isle of, makes himself a vassal of the Roman church, 550.
- Manfred*, prince of Taranto, defeats the pope; reduces Apulia and Calabria, 568; crowned king of Sicily; excommunicated, 570; vainly attempts reconciliation with the pope, 571; a crusade against; Urban IV., excommunicates; daughter of, married to the eldest son of the king of Arragon; negotiation between the pope and; broken off, 572.
- Mansur*, or Damascene, anathematized by the seventh general council, as a worshipper of images, 101.
- Mantua*, a miraculous sponge discovered at, 187; council of, year 1053, 353; year 1067, 374.
- MARINUS*, native of Tuscany, one hundred and seventh pope, 292.
 death of, 293.
 elected unanimously, 292.
 Formosus restored by, 293.
 pontificate of, 293.
 writings of, 293.
- MARINUS II.*, or *MARTINUS III.*, a Roman, one hundred and twenty-eighth pope, 314.
 character of, 314.
 death of, 314.
 monks, a great friend to the, 314.
 pontificate of, 314.
- Martel*, *Charles*, the pope resolves to apply to, for assistance against the Lombards, 73; the pope's letters to, 73, 74; sends legation into France; proposals made; their effect; treaty between, and the pope; death of, 75.
- Marriages*, incestuous; of priests, 368; third and fourth, 307.
- Mary*, assumption of the Virgin, 252.
- Mathilda*, countess, army of the, defeated by Henry IV., of Germany, 399; supports Pope Victor III., 411; death of, 452.
- Melf*, council of, year 1059, 368; year 1089, 414.
- Mentz*, archbishop of, summoned to Rome, 374; council of, 346, 401; diets of, 436, 440; made metropolitan see of Boniface, 90.
- Mercians*, the king of the, embraces the monastic life at Rome, 15.
- Metz*, bishop of, writes to the pope; his answer, 245; council of, 243.
- Meulan*, count of, excommunicated, 434.
- Michael Balbus*, crowned emperor of the east, 201.
 embassy sent to the emperor Lewis by, 203; presents brought by them; they propose a council to examine the doctrine of the Greeks in relation to image worship, 205; which meets at Paris, 206.
 faith of, confession of, 205.
 images, silence in regard to, enjoined by, 203.
 raised to the throne on the death of Leo, 200.
 writes to Lewis, 204.
- Michael Rhangabe*, raised to the throne, in the east, 190, resigns, 191.

- Michael*, emperor of the east, sends presents to the pope, 228; writes to the pope, 255; is murdered, 260.
- Milan*, church of, abuses in the, legates sent to reform, 368; archbishop of, accused of simony, is acquitted, 434; archbishop of Ravenna and, dispute between, 342.
- Miracle* by Leo IV., 220.
- Miraculous sponges*, 69.
- Monasteries*, Bede's opinion of the, in his time, 25.
- Monk*, a troubled, 155.
- Monks*, several edicts are published against the, 564; are treated with great severity by the governors of the provinces and banished Constantinople; some of them quit their profession, 113; insolent behaviour of, to the emperor, 114; banished, are recalled, 141, 197; of Palestine write to Tarasius, 147; Pope Marinus a great friend to the, 314.
- Monkery* prevails chiefly in England; the evils arising thence to the state, 24.
- Monkish orders*, suppressed in the east, 114.
- Monothelite doctrine*, prevails all over the east, but is universally condemned in the west, 18.
- Montanists*, the, are commanded by the emperor to receive the sacrament of baptism; which they resist, 26.
- Montpellier*, the lord of, attends Pope Alexander III., as his equerry, 509.
- Moravians*, the, are allowed by Pope John VIII., to say the canonical hours in their native tongue, 292; conduct of, in relation to the Bavarians, 304.
- Mouzon*, council of, year 995, 328.
- Murder* of two persons in the pope's (Paschal's) palace; the pope accused of being privy to it, clears himself by an oath; but nevertheless held guilty, 199.
- Murder* of three children by their father; penance enjoined by Pope Nicholas, 266.
- Naples*, the duke of, joins the Saracens; the bishop of, his brother, treacherously seizes him, puts out his eyes, and sends him to Rome, which Pope John VIII. applauds. The bishop takes upon himself the government and likewise joins the Saracens, for which the pope excommunicates him, 286; bishop of, excommunicated at Rome, 291.
- Neuf Marché*, council of, year 1161, 508.
- Nice*, conquest of, year 1097, 426.
- Nice*, in Bithynia, council of, year 787, 150. adoration of an image by the, 158. bishops of, sensible that their doctrine was not to be proved from Scripture, 153. bishops, some, abjure their former doctrine, and are allowed to take seats, 151; one of the, miraculously cured by an image, 156. Charlemagne confutes, 163, 164. decree and definition of faith of, 159; confirmed by the emperor and empress, 159. emperor's letter read to the, 150. fathers, testimonies from the, 153; none of the first three centuries quoted, 154. Frankfort, council of, condemns the, 166, 167, 170. Hadrian, pope, letter of, read to the, 152. Iconoclasts declared worse than Jews, Mahometans, &c., 157. images, use, as well as worship of, condemned by the council of Constantinople, that council is condemned, 98; reasons against the worship of, how eluded by the, 99; no proof from the councils for the worship of, 154; worship appointed to be given to, by, 160. Jew, dispute between a Christian and a, 157. legends, fabulous, and incredible stories related to, 155. monk, story of the haunted, 155.
- Nice*, not a general council, 159, and not received in the west, 160. pagan and a saint, conference between, 157. presiding officer of, 150. Scripture quoted by Tarasius in favour of image worship, 152; strange misinterpretation of, 153. *Nicephorus*, raised to the throne of the east, on the deposition of Irene, and crowned, 186; concludes treaty with Charlemagne, 187; is killed, 190. *Nicephorus Phocas*, emperor of the east, murdered, 323. *Nicetas*, treatise of, against the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist; the emperor forces him to condemn, to gratify the pope, 358. *NICHOLAS*, a Roman, one hundred and fourth pope, 229—267. apostates, chorepiscopi, suicides, &c., concerning, 265. archbishops of Cologne and Treves, deposed, apply to the emperor, 243. baptism, doctrine concerning, of, 265. Bremen, church of, subjected to that of Hamburg, 229. Bulgarians, the, consult the pope, 263, 264. character of, 263. charity and munificence of, 263. Charles of France, and Baldwin, count of Flanders, reconciled by, 240. crowned, the first pope that was, 229. death of, 263. Emperor Lewis, how he honoured the pope, 229. Empress Theodora, confined to a monastery, 230. Gallican bishops, contest between the pope and, 261. Gunthier, archbishop of Cologne, writes to the pope and the bishops of Lorraine, 244; his letter laid on the tomb of St. Peter, 245; deposed, applies to the emperor, 243; abandoned by Lotharius, makes disclosures to the pope, but is not restored to his see, 246. Ignatius of Constantinople, driven from his see, and sent into exile, 230; treated with great cruelty, excommunicated and deposed, 231; summoned to a council, 232, his behaviour there; appeals to the pope; deposed by the council, and treated with great barbarity by Photius, 233; escapes, and is allowed to return to his monastery, 234; the pope's legate consents to the deposition of, for which he is deposed in a council, 241; sentence in favour of, 242. Lent, different modes of keeping, 259. Lotharius, king of Lorraine, charges his wife with incest; allowed by a council to put her away, and marry another; informs the pope of the decision of the council, 238; Count Boso complains to the pope of, for harbouring his wife, who had eloped from him; the pope's letters on that occasion; council of Metz to determine the affair of; the pope sends legates, 239; the pope condemns the council, 243; goes to Rome, 243; the pope takes refuge in St. Peter's; they are reconciled, 244; Arsenius is sent into France as legate a latere, to determine the affair of, 250; insolent behaviour of, at the court of Lorraine; obliges Lotharius to take back Theutberga, 251; writes to the pope, 253; why the pope did not excommunicate him, 254; writes submissive letters to the pope, 255. Metz, council of, condemned by the pope, 243; bishop of, writes to the pope, the pope's answer; bishops of the council retract the judgment they had given in favour of Lotharius, 246.

- NICHOLAS**, penance enjoined by, on a father who had murdered his three children, 266.
- Photius** raised to the see of Constantinople, 230; applies to the pope, 231; the pope writes to; acknowledges, 232; writes to the pope, 234, 235; contrivance of, to ruin Ignatius, 237; sentence pronounced against, in a council at Rome, 241; the Emperor Michael writes to the pope concerning, the pope's answer, 255, 256; proposes to send Ignatius and Photius to Rome, 257; sends legates into the east with letters, 257; who are not admitted, 258; the pope excommunicated and deposed by; makes charges against the church of Rome, 258; exhorts the eastern bishops to join him against the pope; is deposed, 260; papers of, seized, and amongst them the acts of his pretended council, 261.
- pontificate of, 263.
- Ravenna, see of, entirely subjected to Rome, 267.
- Rome, the emperor goes to, 243.
- Rothade appeals to the pope, 247; the pope orders him restored to his see, 248; goes to Rome, and is restored, 249.
- Theutberga, wife of Lotharius, charged with incest, is cleared and recalled to court; but afterwards forced to own herself guilty; the king puts her away, 238, and marries Waldrada, 239; the pope's legate forces Lotharius to take her back, 251; she is re-instated, 252; applies to the pope for leave to resign her dignity, which he refuses, 253.
- Treves, archbishop of, submits to his sentence; and the bishops of the council of Metz retract, 245.
- writes to the emperor and Photius, 236; and the faithful in the east, 237.
- writings of, 263.
- Wulfade, letter from the king to the pope, in favour of, 262.
- NICHOLAS II.**, a Burgundian, one hundred and fifty-third pope, 366—370.
- Benedict, elected in opposition to, is deposed in the council of Sutri, 366.
- Beneventum, holds council at, 369.
- Berengarius, condemned in a council at Rome, 366; confession of faith prescribed to, 367.
- church, belief of the, differs from what it was in the time of Berengarius, 367.
- death of, 370.
- election of, 366.
- enthroned in the council of Sutri, 366.
- Monte Cassino, goes to, 369.
- Normans, the pope makes an agreement with the, 368; conditions, 369.
- pontificate of, 370.
- Rome, council of, 366; decree concerning the election of pope, 367; other decrees, 368; another council held by, at, 369.
- York, grants the pall to Alfred of, 370.
- Nismes, council of, year 1096, 421.
- Normandy, duke of, invades England, 429.
- Normans, Apulians, the, conspire against the, and prejudice the pope, and the pope the emperor, 356.
- Aversa, city of, built by, 355.
- bishops excommunicated by the pope's legate, 449.
- emperor, serve under the, and under the Italian and Greek princes, 355; he grants investitures of the countries conquered by, to the, 356.
- Greeks, the, defeat the, 354; several victories gained over the, by the, 355.
- Gregory VII. enters into alliance with the, 392.
- Italy, occasion of their coming into 354; extend their conquests in, 372.
- Normans, Nicholas II. enters into an agreement with, 368; conditions, 369.
- Paschal II. enters into alliance with the, 443.
- pope, the, makes war upon the, 354; marches in person against; they strive to divert him from the war—in vain; they gain a complete victory; take the pope prisoner, and treat him with great respect, 357.
- Roman territories ravaged by, 373.
- William Bras-de-fer, chosen for their leader, by the, 355.
- Northumberland, the king of, is driven from his throne; restored by the pope, 187.
- Northusum, council of, 435.
- Obedience, even to wicked princes, recommended by the fathers as a duty, 404.
- Ecumenical master and twelve professors, with their college, said to have been burnt by order of the Emperor Leo, 56; a mere fable, 57.
- One will, doctrine of, defined in a council, 18.
- Onestrefield, council of, year 702, 10.
- Orleans, speech of the bishop of, before a council of Rheims, 327.
- Ostia fortified by Pope Gregory IV., 213.
- Otho, emperor of the west, crowned emperor at Rome, 316.
- death of, 324.
- diploma of, still shown at Rome, 316.
- east, sends ambassadors into the, to propose a marriage between his son and the daughter of the Emperor Romanus, 322, which is accomplished, 323.
- Italy, marches into, 316; and to Rome, the pope abandoning the city; crimes laid to the pope's charge, 317.
- Otho, the younger, crowned, 322.
- Pope John XII. revolts from, 316; the emperor writes to, his answer; is deposed, 318; Leo chosen instead of; John stirs up the Romans against the emperor, who defeats, but forgives them, 319.
- Rome, marches against, again, subdues it, 320; and again, punishing the Romans as rebels, 322.
- Otho II., emperor of the west, crowned by Gregory V., 329.
- Majolus, abbot of Cluny, declines the pontifical dignity offered by, 325.
- Otho, palatine of Witelspach, crowned emperor at Rome, 542.
- excommunicated and deposed; Frederick, king of Sicily is chosen, 543.
- Innocent III. declares for, 537.
- oath taken by, 542.
- Pagan arguments, to justify their idolatry, the same as used by Gregory II. in favour of image worship, 62; ceremonies still prevail in Rome in the year 743, 78.
- Pall, oath required of those who receive the, 430.
- Painting and engraving, some of the fathers understood the second commandment as forbidding the arts of, 33.
- Papacy of the tenth century, character of the, 304.
- Papal coin, 198; grandeur, father of the, 108; power, establishment of the, 406; attributed to Gregory VII., 409.
- Paris, council of, year 825, declares it lawful to set up images, but unlawful to worship them, 206; year 1021, 338; year 1147, 478.
- PASCHAL, a Roman, ninety-seventh pope, 193—201.
- chosen unanimously, 193.
- churches, rebuilds, enriches, and repairs many, 198.
- death of, 199.
- emperor, notifies the, of his promotion, 193.

- PASCHAL*, legates sent into France by, on occasion of the murder in his palace, 199.
- Leo, opinion of the emperor, concerning image worship, &c., 195—197; is murdered; character of, 200; love of justice of, 201.
- Lotharius crowned emperor and king of Italy by, 198.
- murder of two persons of rank in the palace of; is suspected of participating; clears himself by an oath, nevertheless deemed guilty, 199.
- pontificate of, 199.
- Rome, the emperors not made sovereigns of, by the popes, 198.
- Theodore Studita, the monk, implores the protection of, 194; the pope's answer, 198.
- PASCHAL II.*, native of Tuscany, one hundred and fifty-eighth pope, 427—452.
- Alexius, emperor, sends embassy to, 448.
- anti-popes, three, 428.
- Beneventum, council held at by, 442, 452.
- birth, education, &c., 427.
- Canterbury, privileges of the see of, confirmed by, 451.
- Colozca, the pope writes to archbishop of, 431.
- consecration of, 427.
- crusade, is informed of the success of the, 427.
- death of, 452.
- election of, 427.
- emperor, the, is excommunicated, 430, deposed, 437; escapes from confinement, and retires to Liege; writes to his son, the king of France, and the bishops and princes of Germany; death of; his body is dug up after his death, 438.
- England, the pope attempts to introduce the legatine power into; the legate is sent back; invaded by the duke of Normandy; the pope's letter to the king of, 429, 431; sends Anselm, and William of Warlewast to Rome; William's bold speech to the pope; the pope's resolute answer; writes again to the king, 432; Anselm forbidden to return to, 433; agreement between Anselm and the king of; investitures given up, 434; agreement concerning, 441, makes formal resignation of his right to, 442; the pope complains that his see is disregarded in, 449.
- Florence, council held at, by, 439.
- France, Philip of, excommunicated, 428; absolved, his oath, 433; the pope goes to, 440.
- Germany, king of, sends embassy to; maintains his right to investitures, 440; another embassy from, 442; treaty between the pope and, 443; enters the Leonine city; reception by, and interview with the pope; arrests the pope; the Romans strive to rescue him, which is attended with great slaughter on both sides, 444; retires from Rome, taking the pope and cardinals with him; the pope yields to menaces, 445; agreement between the pope and; bull granted to by the pope; is crowned, 446; returns to, 447; the pope censured for the bull; revokes the grant, 447; excommunicated by the pope's legates in France, and by several councils, 448; sends embassy to Rome, to have sentence revoked, 451; goes to Rome, the pope retires, is crowned by the legate; retires to Tuscany, and the pope returns to Rome, 452.
- Gustalla, council held at, by, 439.
- Guibert, anti-pope, death of, 427.
- Henry, the emperor's youngest son, rebels against his father; overruns all Saxony; assembles a council at Northusum, 435, his artful conduct; several places reduced by; gains over most of the commanders in his father's army, and seizes on all his treasure, 436; the emperor betrayed and imprisoned by, is deposed, and Henry promoted, which the pope approves, 437.
- PASCHAL II.*, heresy, charged with, by some, and defended by others, bishops, 450.
- investitures, the king of Germany resolves to maintain his right to, 439; condemned in a council at Troyes, 440; agreement between king of England and Anselm, concerning, 441.
- Lateran, council held in, by, 450.
- legates, rapaciousness of the apostolic, 431.
- legatine power attempts to introduce into England; the archbishop of Canterbury sent to Rome to remonstrate against the attempt, 451.
- Lombardy reunited to the apostolic see, 439.
- Milan, archbishop of, is accused of simony, but cleared, 434.
- Norman bishops excommunicated by legate of, 449.
- pontificate of, 452.
- refuses to excommunicate the emperor, 450.
- Rome, council of, year 1102, 430; year 1105, 434; the pope returns to, 442; disturbances at, 450.
- Treves, archbishop of, deposed; restored in a council at Rome, 434.
- Troia, council of, held by, 449.
- York, archbishop of, favoured by, 451.
- Paschal III.*, anti-pope, chosen in place of Victor, 511; death of, 514.
- Paschasius*, doctrine of, 347; unknown to the English church in the time of Leo IX., 350.
- Pataveni*, (the Albigenses) decree against, 520.
- PAUL*, a Roman, ninety-second pope, 109—114.
- chosen after a vacancy of one month and five days, 109.
- death of, 112.
- Gentili, a council assembled about images at, which disapproves of the worship of, 111; but allows their use, 112.
- monkish orders suppressed in the east, 114.
- monks in the east refuse to receive the definition of the council of Constantinople against images; are banished Constantinople and treated with great severity; some quit their profession, 113.
- ordination of, 112.
- pontificate of, 112.
- Pepin, and the French nation, the pope courts the favour of; receives assurances of protection; complains to, of the Lombards, and strives to keep French, Greek, and Lombards at variance, 109; the Greeks and Lombards complain of the pope to Pepin, 110; satisfied that the Greeks are not heretics, but unwilling to displease the pope rejects alliance of marriage proposed by the emperor, 112.
- treasure discovered in Rome in the time of, 113.
- Pavia* besieged, 130; is conquered by Charlemagne, 132; council of, 336; year 1049, 345; year 1160, 506.
- Penance* enjoined by Pope Nicholas on a father who had murdered his three children, 266.
- Pepin* of France, anointed by Pope Stephen II., 95.
- Childeric, king of France, deposed and confined to a monastery, to make room for Pepin, 86; death of, 87.
- Constantine, an usurper of the papal chair, strives to gain, 115.
- crown, forms design of seizing on the, 85, which Pope Zachary approves, 86.
- death of, 117.
- donations to the pope by, 132.
- emperor, the, sends ambassadors to, 105; speech of one of the, 106; the answer of, 107; proposes a marriage between his son and the daughter of, 110, rejected by, 112.
- France, the pope is congratulated on his arrival in; his reception by, 94.

- Pepin*, Greeks complain of Pope Paul, to, 110.
Hadrian, pope, is put in possession of the places yielded to him, by, 133.
Italy, returns to, and besieges Pavia, 105.
king, chosen in the assembly of the states, 86.
Lombards, resolves to make war on the, 96;
 defeats the; terms granted to the, 97;
 complaints against Pope Paul, 109; they
 complain of the pope to, 110.
Paul, pope, courts favour of, 109.
St. Peter is promised the places he may take
 from the Lombards, by, 95.
Stephen II. applies for assistance to, 93; writes
 again in the name of *St. Peter*, 105.
- Peter-pence*, 25.
Peter, *St.*, styled the key-bearer, 173; door keeper
 of heaven, 173.
Peter the Hermit, chief instigator of the crusade,
 420.
Petrus de Bruis, and his followers called Petrobru-
 sians, condemned by the second council of
 Lateran, 471.
Petrus Damianus, made cardinal, and bishop of
 Ostia, 364.
Petrus Igneus, 372.
Persecution of the Albigenses and others set on
foot by Pope Innocent III., 544, 545.
Philartemius chosen emperor on the deposition of
Philippicus; a zealous advocate of the doc-
 trine of two wills, 19.
Philip, a monk, made pope and deposed, 116.
Philip Augustus of France, and Richard, king of
 England, depart for the Holy Land, at the
 head of powerful armies, 531; Philip is
 forced by the pope to recall his wife *Ingel-
 burga*; his kingdom put under interdict, 538.
Philip of France, insolent behaviour of Pope *Gregory VII.* to, 378—381; excommunicated
 by the pope's legate, 416, and by Pope *Urban*
 and a council of Clermont, 418; and
 by *Paschal II.*, 428; absolved; oath he
 took on that occasion, 433.
Philip of Germany, and Pope *Innocent III.* re-
 conciled, 541; murdered, 542.
Photius of Constantinople, bishops of the east ex-
 hort to join him against the pope, 260.
 deposed, 260; and again, and confined in a mo-
 nastery, 295.
 excommunicated, 274.
Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, driven
 from his see and exiled, 230; treated with
 great cruelty and deposed by a council, 231;
 summoned to a council, 232; his behaviour
 there, 233; appeals to the pope; deposed by
 a council and treated with great barbarity,
 by *Photius*, 233; escapes, is allowed to re-
 turn to his monastery; appeals to the pope;
 ruin of, endeavoured to be accomplished by
Photius, 237; is restored, 260; death of, 289.
Michael, emperor, writes to the pope concern-
 ing the affair of, 255; the pope's answer,
 255, 256, proposing to send *Photius* and
Ignatius to Rome, 257.
 papers of, seized, 261.
 patriarchate of Constantinople, raised to, 230.
 pope, the, is applied to by, 231; writes to; his
 legates acknowledge, 232; *Photius* writes
 to the, 234, 235; writes to *Photius* again,
 236; the pope condemned and deposed by,
 258; absolved and received as colleague
 upon condition of renouncing all claim to
 Bulgaria; the legates restore the ensigns
 of the patriarchal dignity to, in a full coun-
 cil, and condemn the eighth general coun-
 cil, 290, for which they are deposed on their
 return; *Photius* is excommunicated anew,
 291, and by Pope *Marinus*, 293; the Em-
 peror *Basilius* strives in vain to reconcile
 the pope and, 293.
- Photius*, Rome, condemned in a council at, 241.
Phylacteries, 78.
Pictures introduced into some churches as orna-
 ments about the latter end of the fourth
 century, 40; churches of Rome filled with
 pictures and images by Pope *Gregory III.*,
 71; picture of *Gregory VII.* in the church
 of *St. Severino*, at Naples, 410.
Pisa, council of, year 1134, 468.
Placentia, council of, year 1095, 417; year 1132,
 467.
Plenary indulgence, first instance of, 373.
Poitiers, bishop of, accused of heresy, 479; coun-
 cil of, year 1023, 338.
Poland, celibacy restored in, 534; conversion of,
 323; *Gregory VII.* lays claim to, 408.
Polden, council of, year 1001, 332.
Pontifical dignity, not impossible for a woman to
 have been raised to the, 223.
Pontion, council of, year 876, 284.
Pope, the first army headed by a, 311.
Benedict IX., awful character of, 341.
 carried on men's shoulders, *Stephen II.* was the
 first, 91.
 councils lawful without the, 102.
 election of, decree concerning, 367.
 female, fable of the, 221, 290; its origin 13,
 226, now universally rejected, 227; statue
 of the, in the cathedral of Siena, 225.
 pope, grandeur of the, *Stephen II.* said to have
 been the founder of the, 108.
Gregory VII., the last, the decree of whose
 election was transmitted to the emperor or
 king before consecration, 378.
 image worship, arguments in favour of, by a
 pope, the same as used by the pagans to
 justify their idolatry, 62.
Innocent III., unbounded ambition of, claimed
 as absolute monarch of the universe, the
 power of putting up and pulling down kings,
 and disposing of kingdoms at pleasure,
 549.
 ordinations once considered necessary to qualify
 as, 91.
 perfidy, treachery, treason, and rebellion, one
 of the most shocking instances of, that oc-
 curs in history, approved and ratified by a,
 437.
 power of the, establishment of, 406, attributed
 to *Gregory VII.*, 409.
 prince, made a, 108.
 she, origin of the fable of the, 13, 226.
 supremacy of the, not owned in England in the
 time of *John VII.*, 12.
Popes of the tenth century, character of the, 304;
 and by the bishop of Orleans, 327; three
 anti, 428; had not set up for princes in the
 time of *Gregory II.*, 88.
Power of loosening and binding, 403, 405; of de-
 posing princes, first claimed by *Gregory VII.*, 402.
Prague made an episcopal see by *John XIII.*, 323.
Praying for the dead, 171.
Presbyter John, first heard of in the west, 484;
 sends messenger to the pope, 520; his king-
 dom, 521.
 "Prester John," see *Presbyter John*, 521.
Primicerius, the, and secundicerius, 116.
Princes, the popes had not set up for, in the time
 of *Gregory II.*, 68; power of deposing first
 claimed by *Gregory VII.*, 386, 402; the
 popes had owned for their lords, 403; obe-
 dience and subjection even to wicked, re-
 commended by the fathers as a duty, 404.
Proselytes to Christianity in danger of relapsing
 into idolatry by the worship of images, 37.
Publicani, the, 522.
Quintilineburg, assembly of, 400.

- Rachis*, king of Lombardy, invades the dukedom of Rome, and besieges Perugia; the pope repairs to his camp, 84; persuades him to raise the siege and restore the places he had taken; resigns his kingdom and retires to a monastery, 85.
- Rainulph*, count of Avelino, created duke of Apulia by Pope Innocent II., 470.
- Ramirus*, monk and priest, made king of Arragon, and marries, 468; resigns and retires to his monastery again, 469.
- Ratisbon*, council of, year 792, 166; pope canonizes two saints at, 353.
- Ravenna*, Aistulphus reduces the Pentapolis and; the exarchate ended, 92.
archbishops of Milan and, dispute, 342.
council of, year 874, 283; year 878, 287; year 898, 302; year 967, 322.
exarchate of, claimed and seized by the bishop of, 134.
Lombards, the king of the, reduces, 47.
people of, create great disturbances about image worship, 46.
see of, entirely subjected to Rome, 14, 267; re-instituted in its former jurisdiction by Pope Gelasius, 455.
- Raymund*, count of Toulouse, excommunicated, 544; absolved; penance imposed on him, 545; deprived of his dominions by the pope and a council, 547.
- Relics* at Rome, 549.
- Rheims*, a child elected to the see of, approved by Pope John X., 310.
council of, against Arnold, 327, 328; year 1049, 345; year 1114, 448; year 1119, 456, 457; year 1132, 467; year 1148, 479.
- Richenon*, abbot of, consecrated by Leo IX., 345.
- Richard*, king of England, and Philip Augustus of France, with two large armies, depart for the Holy Land, 531; Richard is shipwrecked on his return and imprisoned by the duke of Austria, 532; purchases his liberty, 533; Innocent III. causes the ransom money to be repaid to, 536.
- Riot* in Constantinople on occasion of breaking and destroying the images under the Emperor Leo's edict, 55.
- Robert*, king of France, and his queen excommunicated, 330.
- Rodoade*, the legate, excommunicated and deposed, 246.
- Rodolph II.*, king of Burgundy, crowned king of Italy at Milan, 310.
- Roger*, count of Sicily, and the pope quarrel, 462; excommunicated, and why; the pope marches against, and is obliged to conclude a disadvantageous peace, 463; sides with the anti-pope Anacletus, 466; excommunicated, 471; quarrels with Pope Lucius II., 476; victories of, 481; character of, 491; succeeded by his son William, 492.
- Roman Catholic* writers on the subject of heathen idolatry and image worship, 35.
- ROMANUS*, native of Galliesium, one hundred and thirteenth pope, 301; said to have declared proceedings against Formosus null; death and pontificate of, 301.
- Rome*, besieged by the exarch and the Lombard king, submits to the king, 52; year 741, 72; is reduced to the utmost distress, 73; the Lombard troops withdrawn from, 75; besieged again, 93; the siege raised, 107; by Arnulph, king of Germany, year 895, 298.
Charlemagne at, 131, 162, 177.
church of, patrimonies of the, confiscated, 68; schism in, 114; belief of, difference in, 367.
councils of, year 703, 9; year 705, 11; year 721, 22.
- Rome*, councils of, by Gregory II., 65; by Zachary, 81; year 769, 117—120; year 799, 175; year 800, 177; year 853, 218; by Nicholas, 236; year 863, 241, 242; by Hadrian II, 271; year 898, 302; by Otho, emperor, 317; year 964, 319, 320; year 969, 323; year 998, 330; by Benedict VIII., 336; by Clement II., 342; year 1049, 345; by Leo IX., 347; year 1051, 352; year 1053, 353; year 1057, 363; year 1059, 366; year 1061, 369; by Alexander II., 372; year 1066, 373; by Gregory VII., 379; year 1075, 381, 382, 385, 386; year 1078, 393; year 1079, 394; year 1080, 396; year 1081, 398; year 1082, 399; year 1084, 400; year 1089, 414; year 1099, 424; year 1105, 434; year 1110, 443; year 1112, 447; year 1116, 450; year 1139, 470; year 1167, 513.
disturbances in, 18, 115, 120, 370, 454, 488, 570.
East Saxons, son of the king of the, embraces the monastic life at, 15.
encroachments of, 525.
fortified by Leo IV., 217.
Frederick, emperor, arrives before, 513.
Henry IV., king of Germany, conquers, 400.
Henry V., at, 453.
imperial judges in, authority of, 214.
Innocent III. subjects the city of, to his see, 535.
Lombardy and, peace concluded between, 78.
Mercians, the king of the, embraces the monastic life at, 15.
Otho conquers, 320, 322.
people of, revolt against the emperor, 49.
republic, a species of, 72.
Spoleto, duke of, plunders, 268.
treasure, an invaluable, discovered at, 90, 113.
vacancy, of one month and nineteen days, year 708, 14; forty days, year 715, 20; one month and five days, year 757, 109; 7 days, year 772, 126; 10 days, year 816, 192; 4 days, year 824, 202; a few days, year 827, 208; short, year 827, 209; 15 days, year 858, 229; 33 days, year 1003, 333; 4 days, year 1119, 456; 3 days, year 1114, 476; 6 days, year 1159, 502; one year and seven months, year 1241—1243, 560; 5 days, year 1254, 567; 3 months, 4 days, year 1261, 571.
- Rose*, ceremony of blessing a golden, 421.
- Rothade*, bishop of Soissons, dispute between Hincmar, bishop of Rheims, and; is suspended, and appeals to the pope; deposed in a council and imprisoned, 247; the pope orders his restoration; he is released, and allowed to go to Rome, 248; reinstated in his dignity, and restored to his see, 249.
- Rudolph*, duke of Suabia, chosen king of Germany, 392; defeated by his competitor Henry, and he in turn by, 393; both send ambassadors to the sixth council of Gregory VII., 394; is killed, 398.
- Russia*, Gregory VII. lays claim to, 408.
- Ruterni*, the, 260.
- Saints' day*, all, 75; canonization of, 559, reserved to the apostolical see, 523.
- Saladin* and Saphadin, letters of, to Pope Lucius, 526.
- Salerno*, archbishop of, released from imprisonment, 536.
- Saltzburg*, letter of the archbishop of, to Pope John IX., 304; jurisdiction of see of, extended by John VII., 324.
- Saracens*, Alexander III., pope, seeks new supplies to carry on the war against the, 523.
conquests of the, 17.
fleet of the, destroyed, 217.
Frederic, emperor, the terror of the, 531.
Irene, empress, defeats the, 140.

- Saracens*, Italy, several provinces in, overrun by the, 285; they are driven out of, by Pope Benedict VIII., 336.
- John X., pope, marches in person against the, 309.
- Monte Cassino, monastery of, burnt by the, 293.
- Naples, duke of, joins the; also his brother the bishop, 286.
- Rome, descent on, by the, retiring with immense booty, and a great number of captives, unmolested, 216.
- Victor III., pope, sends fleet against the African, 411.
- Sarau* and *Blondell*, protestant writers, utterly confute the fable of Pope Joan, 226.
- Sardinia*, Gregory VII. lays claim to, 407.
- Saxony* is claimed by Gregory VII., 408.
- Scholasticus*, exarch of Ravenna, 47.
- Schism* in the church of Rome, 114; a long, 521.
- Sclavonian*, Pope Gregory VII. forbids divine service in the, 395, which had been allowed by other popes, 396; and is again by Innocent IV., 567.
- Scotland*, difference between William, king of, and the holy see, adjusted; the church of, exempted from all subjection to the English, 530.
- Scripture*, Pope Gregory II., entirely unacquainted with, 62; strange misinterpretation of, 153.
- Secundicerius*, the, and *primericus*, 116.
- Sens*, council of, year 1141, 474.
- SERGIUS II.*, a Roman, one hundred and first pope, 215, 216.
complaints against, 215.
death of, 216.
Drogo appointed vicar in France and Germany, by; conduct of, 216.
edict, forbidding the pope to be ordained till his election is confirmed by the emperor, 216.
election of, 215.
emperor, the, resents his being ordained before his election was confirmed, 215; the pope and the Romans take an oath of allegiance to, 216.
Lewis crowned king of Italy by, 215.
pontificate of, 216.
- SERGIUS III.*, a Roman, one hundred and nineteenth pope, 306, 307.
actions of, some of the, 307.
an intruder, 306.
character of, 306.
death of, 307.
pontificate of, 307.
- SERGIUS IV.*, a Roman, one hundred and forty-second pope, 334, 335.
called *Os Porci*, or *Hog's Snout*, 335.
character of, 335.
death of, 335.
pontificate of, 335.
- Sicily*, bull of the monarchy of, by Urban II., 423.
Charles of Anjou, Urban IV. offers kingdom of, to, 573.
disturbances in, 537.
Innocent III., made guardian to young king of, 537; revokes some privileges of king of, 535.
Innocent IV. offers kingdom of, to several princes, 565.
king of, seizes on the principality of Capua, 469.
Manfred crowned king of, 570.
Roger, count of, excommunicated, 463, 471; victories of, 481; character of, 491; succeeded by his son William, 492.
- Siena*, statue of the female pope in the cathedral of, 225, 226.
- SILVESTER*, native of Auvergne, one hundred and thirty-ninth pope, 331—333.
chosen unanimously, 331.
death of, 332.
- SILVESTER*, generous to Arnold of Rheims, 331.
Hildesheim, the bishop of, complains to, of his metropolitan, 332.
Hungary, Stephen, king of, made perpetual legate, by, 332.
magic, charged with the study of, 332.
Polden, council of, 332.
pontificate of, 332.
writings of, 333.
- Simon* the sorcerer, introduces the worship of images in the first century, 38.
- Simoniacal practices*, 341.
- Simony*, canons of the council of Mentz against, 346.
council of Rome against, 368, 378.
Gregory VII. in relation to, 380.
universally prevalent in the west, 342.
- Sipontium*, council of, year 1050, 347.
- SISINNIIUS*, a Syrian, eighty-sixth pope, 14.
chosen, 14.
death of, 14.
pontificate of, 14.
- Soissons*, council of, year 861, 247.
- Sons* of the clergy, 259.
- Spain*, Gregory VII. lays claim to, 406, and exercises power in, 409.
- Spanish bishops*, a council of, in the fourth century, condemn the use of images as ornaments in churches, 38.
- Spoleti*, city of, taken and destroyed by the emperor, 491.
duke of, anathematized by council of Troies, 288.
dukedom of, given to the pope, 132.
Rome plundered by a duke of, 287.
two dukes of, rebel against the king, and are protected by the pope, which the king resents, by laying waste and destroying the dukedom, besieges Rome, 72; which is reduced to the utmost distress, 73, the king obliging the Romans to join him against the, 77.
Wido, duke of, chosen emperor, crowned at Rome, 296.
- Sponges*, miraculous, 69, 187.
- STEPHEN II.*, a Roman, ninety-first pope, 90—108.
Aistulphus, peace with confirmed by, 91; renews war upon the Roman dukedom, 103.
chosen, dies before his ordination, 90.
Clement V. settles a dispute about an important point, 91.
counted by the moderns, but not by the ancients, among the popes, 91.
death of, 108.
employments of, 102.
first who was carried on mens' shoulders, 91.
France, goes to, 94.
illness of, 95.
images, the emperor assembles a council to settle dispute about, 97—101; worship of, suppressed in the east, 101.
king of the Lombards enters the Roman dukedom, and blocks up Rome; the emperor orders the pope to repair to the, 93; negotiates unsuccessfully, 94; defeated by Pepin, 97.
Pepin of France, promises St. Peter the places taken from the Lombards, 95; sets out on his march for Italy, 97; the pope writes to; besieges Pavia, 105.
pontificate of, 108.
pope, the, formerly not thought true pope till ordained, 91.
prince, made a, 108.
Romans forced to submission by the king, 92.
- STEPHEN III.*, a Sicilian, ninety-third pope, 114—125.
Charlemagne, marriage of, opposed by, 124.
chosen, 116.

STEPHEN III., Constantine, yet a layman, raised by his party to the see, 114; strives to gain Pepin; his letter to him; gives him an account of the state of religion in the east, 115; taken, and dragged to prison; is degraded, 116; treated with great cruelty, also his friends, 117, 118; is brought before a council at Rome, 117; sentence pronounced against, 118; deacons, presbyters, &c., ordained by, ordered to be re-ordained, 119.
 council held by, at Rome, 117; approves of image worship, 119.
 death of, 125.
 doubt, in a state of, 122, from which he is delivered, 123.
 Lombards, king of the, is pressed to give up some places still held by him, 120; interview between, and, 120; excuses made for, to Charlemagne; refuses to perform his promises to the pope, 122.
 ministers, forced to give up his two favourite, 121; who are seized, and used with great barbarity, 121.
 ordination of, 117.
 Pepin and his two sons written to, by, 117.
 Philip, a monk, made pope, and deposed, 116.
 pontificate of, 125.
 Rome, great disturbances in, 114, 120.
 Toto, duke, brother of Constantine, killed, 116.
STEPHEN IV., a Roman, ninety-sixth pope, 192, 193.
 allegiance to the emperor, requires people of Rome to take, 192.
 chosen, 192.
 death of, 193.
 emperor, crowned by, 193.
 France, goes into, 193.
 pontificate of, 193.
 Rome, returns to, 193.
STEPHEN V. or VI., a Roman, one hundred and ninth pope, 294—296.
 actions of, some, 296.
 Basilus, emperor, letter to his predecessor, answered by, 294; letter from Basilus to, 295, the pope's answer, 296.
 chosen unanimously, 294.
 death of, 296.
 letters of, 296.
 liberality of, 294.
 miracle by, 294.
 ordination of, 294.
 pontificate of, 296.
 Wido, duke of Spoleti, crowned emperor, at Rome, 296.
STEPHEN VI. or VII., a Roman, one hundred and twelfth pope, 300.
 an intruder, 300.
 death of, 300.
 dungeon, thrown into a, and strangled, 301.
 Formosus, condemnation and barbarous treatment of, by; ordinations of, declared null, 300.
 Hadrian, decree of, relative to the consecration of the pope, reversed by, 300.
 pontificate of, 301.
STEPHEN VII. or VIII., a Roman, one hundred and twenty-fourth pope; death and pontificate of, 311.
STEPHEN VIII. or IX., a German, one hundred and twenty-seventh pope, 313.
 Cluny, abbot of, sent for by, 313.
 death of, 314.
 face, so disfigured in the, by Alberic, lord of Rome, that he was ashamed to appear in public, 313.
 Lewis d'Outremer, zealously espouses the cause of, 313.
 pontificate of, 314.
 Rheims, pall sent to archbishop of, by, 313.

STEPHEN IX. or X., one hundred and sixty-first pope, 363—365.
 councils held at Rome, by, 363.
 death of, 364.
 election of, 363.
 employments of, 363.
 family of, 363.
 illness of, 363.
 Monte Cassino, at, 363; seizes on the wealth of, but restores it, 364.
 Petrus Damianus made cardinal, and bishop of Ostia, by, 364.
 pontificate of, 364.
 successor, issues a decree concerning his, 364.
 writings of, 364.
Stephen, king of Hungary, made perpetual legate by Pope Silvester II., 332.
Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, deposed in a council at Winchester, 375.
St. Andrew's, in Scotland, controversy between two pretenders to the see of, decided by Pope Lucius III., 524.
St. George, who fought the dragon, head of, discovered at Rome, 90.
St. Germano, congress of, 555.
St. Luke, an artist; his pictures, 30.
Sutri, council of, 341.
Tarasius, appointed patriarch of Constantinople, in the place of Paul, resigned, 142.
 Hadrian, pope, notified of the promotion of, 143; complains of its uncanonical manner; but submits, as he hopes thereby the worship of images may be restored, 146.
 Iconoclasts are styled worse than Jews, Mahometans, &c., by, 157.
 image worship, pretended to be defended from Scripture, by, 152, 153.
 Irene, empress, craft and address of, and, 142; written to from Nice, in the name of council of, by, 159.
 monks of Palestine write to, 147.
 Nice, in Bithynia, presided at, or controlled council of; speech of, on opening the council, 150; acts and decrees of that council, 150—160.
 patriarchate, raised to, expressly for the restoration of images, 160.
Theodora, empress, 264.
Theodora of Rome, the celebrated courtesan, and her daughters, 306, 310.
THEODORE II., a Roman, one hundred and fourteenth pope, 302.
 character of, 302.
 death of, 302.
 Formosus, annuls acts of Pope Stephen against, and restores his body to its sepulchre, 302.
 pontificate of, 302.
Theodore Studita, abbot of the monastery of Studius, near Constantinople, 194.
 emperor, opposition to the, instigated by, 196.
 exiled, 204.
 imprisoned, 197, released, 201.
 letters of, 197.
 Paschal, pope, protection of, sought by, 194; the pope's answer, 198.
 refractory conduct of, 195.
Theodosius, emperor, chosen, on the deposition of Anastasius, 21; resigns, and retires to a monastery, 22.
Theoposchites, the, 24.
Theutberga, wife of Lotharius, king of Lorraine, charged by him with incest, is cleared, and recalled to court, but afterwards forced to own herself guilty; Lotharius is permitted by a council to put her away, 238, but obliged by pope's legate to take her back, 251; is reinstated in her dignity, 252; seeks permission from the pope to resign her dignity, which is refused, 253; goes to Rome, and applies in vain, for a divorce, 269.

- Thurstan*, archbishop of York, ordained by the pope, 457.
- Toledo*, archbishop of, appointed primate of all Spain, by Pope Urban II., 414.
- Toulouse*, council of, year 1056, 362; year 1119, 456; count of, excommunicated, 544; submits to penance imposed on him, 545; deprived of his dominions by Pope Innocent III. and a council, 547.
- Tours*, council of, year 1055, 362; year 1060, 369; year 1096, 421; year 1163, 510.
- Transubstantiation* established, 546.
- Treasure* discovered in Rome, 90, 113.
- "*Treuga Dei*," or Truce of God, 419.
- Treves*, archbishop of, deposed; restored in a council at Rome, 434; council of, year 1147, 478.
- Trinity*, Gregory II. condemns all images of God the Father, and the, 64.
- Troia*, council of, year 1093, 415; year 1128, 463.
- Troies*, council of, year 878, 288.
- Troyes*, council of, year 867, 262; year 1107, 440.
- Tusculum*, totally destroyed by the Romans, 532.
- Two wills*, Emperor Philartemius, a zealous asserter of the doctrine of, 19.
- Ulm*, diet of, 416.
- Universal* bishop of the east, Pope John XIX. refuses title of, to the patriarch of Constantinople, 337.
- URBAN II.**, native of Rheims, one hundred and fifty-seventh pope, 413—426.
- Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, goes to Rome, 422.
- Bari, council held at, by, 423.
- Benevento, council of, by, 415.
- birth, education, &c., 413.
- Carthusian order founded, 426.
- character of, 426.
- chosen unanimously, 413.
- Clermont, council of, held by, 418; decrees of, 418, 419.
- Conrad, the emperor's son, interview between the pope and; attends as equerry, 417.
- cross, all are exhorted to take the, by, 420.
- crusade is projected, 419; second army of the, 425.
- crusaders, the, begin their march, 421; their behaviour in the countries through which they pass; arrive at Constantinople; pass the Hellespont, and are cut to pieces by the Turks, 422.
- death of, 426.
- election of, 413.
- England, owned in, 417; king of, threatened with excommunication, 424.
- France, in; Philip of, excommunicated, 418; councils held in, by, 421.
- Guibert, anti-pope, recalled to Rome, 415.
- legate of, excommunicates Philip, king of France, 416.
- letters, circulatory, of, 413.
- Melfi, council held at, by, 414.
- Placentia, council of, 414.
- pontificate of, 426.
- Rome, council held at, by, 414; leaves, 414; returns to, 416.
- rose, ceremony of blessing a golden, by, 421.
- Sicily, bull of the monarchy of, by, 423.
- Toledo, archbishop of, appointed primate of all Spain, by, 414.
- Troia, council held at, by, 415.
- URBAN III.**, one hundred and seventieth pope, 527, 528.
- death of, 528.
- election of, 527.
- emperor, quarrel between the, and, 527.
- England, indulgent to the king of, 528.
- letters and pontificate of, 528.
- Saladin, victories of, supposed to have so much grieved, as to hasten his death, 528.
- URBAN IV.**, native of Troyes, one hundred and seventy-ninth pope, 571—574.
- birth, education, &c., 571.
- cardinals, several created by, 572.
- consecration of, 571.
- Corpus Christi, festival of, instituted by, 574.
- death of, 574.
- Germany, endeavours to put a stop to the war in, 573.
- letters of, 574.
- Manfred, crusade against, set on foot by; excommunicated, 572; negotiation between and, begun and broken off, 572.
- pontificate of, 574.
- Rome, obliged to leave, 572.
- Sicily, kingdom of, offered to Charles of Anjou, by, is accepted, 573.
- VALENTINE**, a Roman, ninety-ninth pope, 208.
- character of, 208.
- death of, 208.
- ordination and instalment, or inthronation of, 208.
- pontificate of, 208.
- Venetians* and Genoese, war between, Alexander IV. interposes to effect peace, 571.
- Venice*, congress of, year 1177, 519; council of, year 1177, 520.
- Verberie*, council of, year 753, 123; year 869, 280.
- Vercelli*, council of, year 1050, 349.
- Verona*, council of, year 1184, 525.
- Veronica*, the; or Veronica's handkerchief, 29; carried in procession by Innocent III., 548; prayer to, 549; altar of, 29.
- VICTOR II.**, a German, one hundred and fiftieth pope, 361—363.
- Berengarius condemned in a council at Tours, 362.
- chosen, 361.
- death of, 362.
- Ferdinand, king of Castile, ordered not to take upon himself the title of emperor, 362.
- Florence, council held at, by, 361.
- Germany, goes into, and attends the emperor in his last hours, 362.
- life of, miraculously preserved, 363.
- pontificate of, 363.
- Simony, a bishop miraculously convicted of, 361.
- Toulouse, council of, 362.
- Victor*, anti-pope, resigns, and ends a schism, 470.
- Victor III.*, anti-pope, elected in opposition to Alexander III., both are consecrated; mutual excommunications; letter to the German bishops by, 503.
- cardinals of the party of, letter of, 504.
- death of, 511.
- emperor, the, sends two bishops to Rome to inquire into the disputed election, 505; who declare for, 506; requires his German and Italian subjects to acquiesce in the decision of the council of Pavia in favour of, 507.
- German bishops approve the election of, 509.
- St. Peter, the chapter of, write to the council of Pavia in favour of, 506; election of, approved by the council, 507.
- Vienne*, council of, year 892, 297; year 1201, 538.
- Virgilius*, charged with teaching a plurality of worlds, 89; was not condemned for asserting the antipodes, 90.
- Virgin Mary*, miraculous image of, 540.
- Viterbo*, council of, year 1261, 571.
- Waldrada*, a mistress of Lotharius, king of Lorraine, 238; on the divorce of the queen, is married to Lotharius, 239; council of Metz declares to be lawful wife, 243; accompanies the pope's legate to Rome; recalled by Lotharius, 252; excommunicated by Pope Nicholas, 253; absolved by Hadrian, 269.
- Wibert's* account of the election of Leo IX., 344.

- Wilfrid* of York, driven from his see and exiled, 9; is favoured by John VI., to whom he appeals, and goes to Rome, 10; is absolved by the pope and a council; returns to England, 11; appointed bishop of Hagulstad, 12.
- Will. One*, doctrine of, defined in a council, prevails all over the east, but is condemned in the west, 18.
- William*, archbishop of York, deposed, 479.
- William-Bras-de-fer*, chosen leader of the Normans, 355.
- William de Sancto Amore*, book of, condemned at Rome, 569.
- William*, earl of Holland, chosen king of Germany, 564.
- William*, duke of Naples, quarrels with the pope; is excommunicated; war between them; is reduced to great straits, 492; sues in vain for peace; gains a complete victory, and besieges the pope in Benevento, who is in turn obliged to sue for peace, 493.
- William*, king of Scotland, and the pope are reconciled, 530.
- William II.* of Sicily, sends ambassadors to Pope Alexander III., 513.
- William* of Warlewast, bold speech of, to the pope, 432; restored, 485.
- Wills, Two*, doctrine of, Philartemius, emperor, a zealous assertor of the; prevails all over the east, 19.
- Wirtzburg*, council of, 465, 512.
- Woman*, not impossible that one should have been raised to the pontifical dignity, 223.
- Women*, disguised, 223.
- Wonderful* handkerchief of Veronica, 29.
- Worms*, council of, 343, 384, 385.
- Worship* of images, 36, 37, 42—44.
- Wulfade*, contest between the pope and the Gallican bishops concerning the ordination of, 261; appeals to the pope, 262.
- York*, Gregory III. sends pall to Egbert of, 75; Wilfrid of, 9—12; Paschal II. favours the archbishop of, 451; Thurstan ordained archbishop of, by Calixtus III., 457; William, archbishop of deposed, 479.
- ZACHARY*, a Greek, ninetyeth pope, 76—90.
- Adelbert and Clement condemned in a council at Rome, 83.
- Boniface writes to, 82.
- chosen and ordained before his election was made known to the emperor, or exarch, 76.
- canonization of, 88.
- councils held at Rome by, 81, 83.
- death of, 88.
- discipline, council assembled to restore the decayed, by, 81.
- east, sends legates into the, 78, who find the usurper Astabasus in possession of the throne, 79.
- emperor, the, grants certain lands to the pope, who makes great pretensions of zeal for, 80.
- French clergy, debauched lives of the, 78.
- Germany, divided into three bishoprics, 78.
- Lombards, deputations sent to the king of the, by, who grants peace to the Romans, but obliges them to join him against the duke of Spoleti, 77; peace, 78; king of the, breaks into the exarchate, 80; the exarch and people apply to the pope, who sends legates, and goes himself to the king, by whom he is well received, and obtains of him whatever he asked, 81; Rachis, king of, invades the Roman dukedom, the pope repairs to his camp, 84; and persuades him to raise the siege of Perugia, and restore the places which he had taken, 85.
- Pepin of France, imparts to the pope his design of seizing on the French crown, which is approved by the pope, and accomplished, 86; the pope's share in that affair, 87.
- pontificate of, 88.
- public works of, 90.
- Rome, leaves, and repairs to the king's camp at Terni; reception by the king; persuades him to restore four cities which he had conquered, 77; pagan ceremonies still prevail in, 78; treasure discovered in, 90.
- Virgilius accused by Boniface of teaching a plurality of worlds, or ordered, if guilty, to be deposed by, 89.
- writings of, 89.

INDEX TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

ACCUSATIONS against John XXIII., in the council of Constance, 186.

Albert, emperor of Austria and king of the Romans, murdered, 61; subsequent doings of Pope Clement V., 62.

ALEXANDER V., native of Candia, two hundred and third pope, 167—171.

birth of, 167.

Bologna, goes to, 170.

competitors, revokes sentences of his, but confirms their collations of benefices, &c., 168.

character of, 171.

death of, 170.

education of, 167.

election of, 167.

Huss, John, summoned to Rome by, 170.

Gregory, holds council at Udine, 168; flight of, 169.

mendicants, issues bull in favour of the, 169.

Pisa, confirms acts of the council of, 168; forced by the plague to leave, 170.

pontificate of, 170.

preferments of, 167.

Wickliffe, doctrine of, now propagated in Bohemia, 170.

writings of, 171.

ALEXANDER VI., native of Valencia, two hundred and twelfth pope, 259—277.

Alphonso of Naples, treaty between, and; they apply to the Turk for assistance against Charles of France, 262; resigns in favour of his son Ferdinand, 265.

Bajazet, ambassadors sent to, 263.

baseness, unparalleled of, 270.

Benevento, erected into a duchy, and given by the pope to his eldest son, who is murdered by his brother, the cardinal; the pope's behaviour on that occasion, 269.

Borgia, Cæsar, son of the pope, at Rome, created archbishop of Valencia, and cardinal, 261; renounces the ecclesiastical state, and is created duke of Valence; marriage of, 271; is made duke of Romagna, 273.

Camerino, city of, seized on by Duke Valentine, 275.

cardinals, bargain with, before election, 260, which was not confirmed after it, 261.

character of, 276.

Charles VIII. of France, invited to the conquest of Naples, 261; enters Italy, 262; refused admission to Rome, forces it; his entry; agreement between, and the pope, 264; Naples submits to; returns to France; battle of the Taro, 266; the pope summons—the answer of, 267.

cruelty of, 271.

death of, 276.

education of, 269.

election of, 260.

Ferdinand of Naples, death of, 261.

Frederic of Naples, investitures granted to; Cardinal Valentine sent to crown him; quarrel; the pope concludes an alliance with France, against, 270.

ALEXANDER VI., life of, before his promotion to the holy see, 259.

Naples, subdued by Charles VIII. of France, 266; divided between kings of France and Spain, 273.

natural sons of, 261, 274.

Piombino, state of, invaded and reduced by Duke Valentine, 274.

pontificate of, 276.

preferments of, 259.

Rome, all things venal at, in the time of; disturbances in, at the death of, 277.

simoniacal practices of, 268.

Squillace, prince of Naples creates the pope's youngest son, and gives him his daughter in marriage; great rejoicings in Rome; their reception there, 262.

Urbino, duke of, treacherously seized on by Duke Valentine, 274.

Valentine, cardinal, treacherous conduct of, 265; crowns the king of Naples, 270; renounces the ecclesiastical state; is created duke of Valence; married, 271; cruelty and treachery of, 272; is made duke of Romagna, 273; persecutes the Orsini, 275; confederacy against—is broken up—and four of the chiefs murdered, 275.

vices of, 276.

writings of, 277.

ALEXANDER VII., native of Siena, two hundred and thirty-fifth pope, 331, 332.

Christina, queen of Sweden, abjures the protestant faith at this time, and turns Romanist, 331.

death of, 332.

election of, 331.

French ambassador insulted at Rome; the king resents it, 331.

Jansenists, the, bull against, 331.

Olympia, donna, banished by, 331.

pontificate of, 332.

ALEXANDER VIII., a Venetian, two hundred and thirty-ninth pope, 334, 335.

death of, 335.

election of, 334.

franchises, the French king relinquishes, 334.

Gallican church, doctrine of the, condemned by, 335.

pontificate of, 335.

Algezir, taken from the Moors; mosque of, erected into a cathedral, 103.

Amedeus, duke of Savoy, election of, as pope, by the council of Basil, 229.

Anathematized works, 351.

Annats, suppression of, 223, 401, 412.

Apostolical brethren, the, condemned, 36.

Appeals from the apostolical see forbidden by Pius II., 242.

Armagh, Richard, archbishop of, declares against the mendicant orders, 109.

Aragon, king of, crowned king of Sicily, 31; excommunicated, 32; writes to Charles, agreeing to decide their quarrel by single combat, 32; deprived of his kingdom by

- Arragon*, king of, —*continued*.
 in the pope; but the decree disregarded in Arragon, 33; death of, his two sons excommunicated, 35; peace concluded between the king of France and, 38; which is broken by the death of Alphonso, 39; Pope Boniface mediates peace between, and the king of Sicily, 5; Frederic of, crowned king of Sicily, 9; peace between Charles and, 49; declares for Pope Clement, forsaking Urban, 141; Martin V. and, disagreement between, 207; adopted by Joan of Naples, 208; the pope assists Lewis of Anjou against, 210, who is obliged to quit Naples, and return to Spain, 211; forbids the pope's legate to enter his kingdom; is summoned to Rome; submits, 212; the king's demands on the pope, 213; Peniscola yielded to, 216; peace concluded by the pope with, 232; misunderstanding between the pope and, 239.
- Augsburg*, diet of, year 1532, confirms edict of Worms, 308; year 1547, 315.
- Augustinus*, Jansenius' book entitled, condemned by Urban VIII., 329.
- Austria* and *Bohemia*, the use of the cup granted to the laity in, 319.
- Avignon*, Benedict XII. builds a palace at, 90.
 Charles, emperor, at, 111.
 chosen by Clement V. for his see, 62.
 France, united to, 401.
 Innocent VI. fortifies, 108.
 Joan of Naples, arrives at, and sells to Pope Clement VI., 98.
 John XXII. fixes his see at, 75.
 Minorites, two, burnt at, 106.
 plague, the, in, 108.
 Roman pontiffs, the, held see at, about seventy-two years, 121.
- Azparu*, the Spanish minister at Rome, strenuously opposes the Jesuits, 366.
- Bajazet*, Pope Alexander VI. and the king of Naples apply to, for assistance against the king of France, 263.
- Baltimore*, council of, 466; oath taken by the bishops of, 467.
- Banderesians*, the, 125, 126; suppression of, 150.
- Barnabo Visconti*, bull against, 110; crusade preached against; peace concluded with, 111.
- Barbareni*, the, persecuted by Innocent X.; France interferes in their behalf, 330.
- Basil*, council of, year 1431, 219; declared a lawful council; establishes the superiority of councils over the pope, 220; Pope Eugenius IV. and the cardinals summoned to; the pope accused of contumacy, submits, and retracts his bull dissolving the council, 221; abuses redressed by the, 222; suppresses the annats, adopts regulations relating to the election of pope, number of cardinals, &c.; rupture between the pope and, 223; declares the pope contumacious, 224; suspends the pope, 225; the pope deposed, regulations concerning the election of his successor, 228; elects Amedeus, duke of Savoy, who assumes the name of Felix V., 229; orders the acknowledgment of Felix, and makes provision for his support, 230; its last session, 233.
- Bavaria*, concord at, between Pius VII. and, 428.
- Beatific vision*, doctrine of Pope John XXII. concerning, 86; condemned by Benedict XII., 89.
- Beguardi* and *Beguines*, the, condemnation of, 69; differ from the nuns of Liege and Flanders, of the latter name, 70.
- Belgrade*, the Turks defeated at, 239.
- Bell*, practice of tolling the, 240.
- BENEDICT XI.*, native of Trevisa, one hundred and ninety-first pope, 568.
 birth, education, and preferments of, 56.
 character of, 57.
 Colonna family restored by; Sciara Colonna excommunicated, 57.
 death of, 57.
 disinterestedness of, 57.
 France, grants absolution to the king of, 56; all the decrees of Boniface against, annulled by, 57.
 pontificate of, 57.
 writings of, 58.
- BENEDICT XII.*, native of Saverdun, one hundred and ninety-fourth pope, 88—92.
 Avignon, resides at, why; and builds a palace, 90.
 beatific vision, condemns doctrine of John XXII., concerning, 89.
 birth, education, preferments, &c., 89.
 Bologna submits to, 91.
 cardinals, created six, 91.
 character of, 92.
 coronation of, 89.
 death of, 92.
 election of, 88.
 family and relations, are not provided for, by, 92.
 France, revokes the tenths granted by John to the king of, 91.
 memory of, aspersed, 92.
 pontificate of, 92.
 religious orders, reforms some of the, 91.
- BENEDICT XIII.*, a Neapolitan, two hundred and forty-third pope, 339.
 an enemy to ostentation and show, 339.
 character of, 339.
 Coscia, a favourite, made cardinal, rules uncontrolled, 339.
 death of, 339.
 election of, 339.
 kindness of, 339.
 Lateran, holds a provincial synod in the, 339.
 Noailles, cardinal, receives the bull *Unigenitus*, 339.
 pontificate of, 339.
 Unigenitus, the bull, confirmed by, 339.
- BENEDICT XIV.*, native of Bologna, two hundred and forty-fifth pope, 341.
 character of, 341.
 death of, 341.
 election of, 341.
 pontificate of, 341.
 styled "the protestant pope," 341.
- Benedict XIII.*, anti-pope, all appeals from the Roman pontiff declared null by, 147.
 besieged in his palace, 149.
 cardinals, abandoned by his, 149, who join those of Gregory, and appoint a council to meet at Pisa, 162; new ones created, 163; four of his, submit to Martin V., 205.
- Clement VIII. elected, 211; abdicates in favour of Martin V., 212.
 confinement of; escapes from it, 149.
 dissimulation of, 146.
 election of, 145.
 embassy sent to Boniface by, 152.
 excommunicates all who withdraw from his obedience, 161.
 Ferdinand of Arragon, excommunicated by, 197.
 France, acknowledged in, 146; obedience withdrawn from, 149; restored on conditions, 151; again withdrawn, 156; bull of, torn to pieces in, 162; decree of neutrality published in, 162.
- Genoa, repairs to, 155.
 Gregory XII. writes to, 157; is equally opposed to an union as, 159.
 Innocent VIII., death of, 156.

- BENEDICT XIII.**, Martin V. sends legates into Arragon against, 203.
obstinacy of, 196.
Perpignan, congress of, proposals made to, by the, 196.
Pisa, council of, pronounces sentence against both competitors, 164; both popes deposed, 166.
safe conduct demanded of Innocent VII. for, and refused, 155.
schism, the way of cession proposed as a means of ending the; but is rejected by, 146.
Sigismund, emperor, proposes meeting at Perpignan, 195.
Spain, retires to, 162.
Benedict XIV., anti-pope, election of; is lost sight of, 212.
Benevento, erected into a duchy, and given by Alexander VI. to his eldest son, 269.
Berthier, General, at Rome, 406, 407.
Bianca, the, 57.
Bible Society, the, condemnation of, by Leo XII., 450, 451; the aversion of Gregory XVI., 471.
Bishops, oath taken at Baltimore by the American, 467.
Black cardinals, 425.
Bohemia, doctrine of Wickliffe, propagated in, 170; disturbances in, 205.
Bologna, which had revolted, submits to the pope, 91; taken by the French, and restored to the family of Bentivogli, 284; besieged, 286; the siege raised, 287; recovered to the pope, 288.
BONIFACE VIII., native of Anagni, one hundred and ninetieth pope, 43.
arbitrary sentence of, 47.
Arragon and Sicily, mediates peace between the kings of, 45.
Celestine, how treated by, 44.
character of, 43, 55.
Colonna family persecuted by, 46; Sciarra Colonna plots against the pope, 53.
condemnation of, urged upon Benedict XI., 61, 64.
conspiracy against, 53.
coronation of, 44.
crimes, charged with many, 52.
death of, 55.
decrees of, against the king of France, annulled by Benedict XI., 57.
election of, 43.
England and France, mediates peace between the kings of, 46.
family of, 43.
Frederic of Arragon, the pope forms an alliance against, 46.
jubilee, bull concerning the, by, 48.
partisan, a, zealous, 56.
Philip the Fair, of France, and the pope, quarrel; the king's manifesto against the pope's constitution, 49; the rigour of which he moderates; quarrel renewed; insolent behaviour of the nuncio, who is arrested; another sent, who is banished the kingdom, 50; the pope writes to, and is answered; his monitions to the king, 51; messenger from the pope arrested, 52; bull to be published against, 53.
pontificate of, 53.
Præneste, city of, totally destroyed by order of, 47.
prisoner, is taken, but delivered by the people of Anagni, 54.
promotion by the favour of the king of Apulia, 44.
Rome, returns to, 55.
the pope's accusers appeal to a general council, 53.
writings of, 55.
- BONIFACE IX.**, a Neapolitan, two hundredth pope, 143—152.
Avignon, king of France at, 143.
Benedict XIII., anti-pope, elected, 145; sends an embassy to, 152.
birth of, 143.
cardinals created and restored by, 143; Clement's, oath of, 145.
Clement, anti-pope, death of, 145.
death of, 152.
education of, 143.
election of, 143.
jubilee celebrated at Rome, 143, 150.
Ladislaus, crowned king of Naples by, 144.
Paris, proposals of the university of, 145.
pontificate of, 152.
reconciliation, attempts at, by the two competitors for the see, 144.
Rome, tumult in, against, 146; absolute master of, 150.
Bonaparte, armistice granted to Pius VII. by, 404; abruptly terminated by, 405.
castration of boys, the suppression of, by Pius VI., demanded by, 405.
concordat between Pius VII. and, 420.
coronation of, 422.
demands made on Pius VII. by, 405.
dismembers the Roman territory, 423.
excommunication of, by Pius VII., 429, 434.
fall of, 426.
Italy, conquest of, confided to, 404; invaded a second time by, 420.
letter to Pius VII., by, 427.
marriage of, with Maria Louisa, 425.
Pius VI., demands on by, 405.
Pius VII. at Paris, 422; returns to Rome, 423; disagrees with, 423, and excommunicates, Bonaparte, 429; offers made to, 423; despoiled of some of his finest provinces, 424; exiled, 424; concordat with, 425, refuses to comply with its stipulations, 426.
restoration of, 427.
titles given to, by Pius VII., 420.
total overthrow and captivity of, 427.
Booksellers and printers, persecuted by Louis XVI., at the instigation of Pius VI., 399.
Borgia, Caesar, second son of Alexander VI., at Rome, created archbishop of Valencia and cardinal, 261; treacherous conduct of, 265; murders his eldest brother, 269; crowns Frederic king of Naples as legate *a Latere*, 270; renounces the ecclesiastical state, and made duke of Valence; married, 271; reduces Romagna; treachery and cruelty of, 272; created duke of Romagna, 273; invades and reduces Piombino; seizes on the duchy of Urbino, 274, and the city of Camerino; confederacy against, is broken up, and four of its chiefs murdered; persecutes the Orsini, 275; died by poison, intended by himself, for others, 276.
Bourbons, restoration of the, 426.
Boys, Bonaparte demands of Pope Pius VI. the suppression of the practice of castrating, 405.
Braschi, the infamous and doubly incestuous courtesan, the duchess of, 407.
Brief of Clement XIV., for the abolition of the Jesuits, 371—389.
Bull Apostolicum pascendi munus, by Clement XIII., 351.
Barnabo Visconti, against, 110.
Bonaparte, against, by Pius VII., 429, 434.
Dominus, ac Redemptor, abolishing the Jesuits by Clement XIV., 361, 371—389.
Elizabeth, against, by Pius V., 482, 483.
Henry VIII., against, by Paul III., 475—481.
In Cœna Domini, by Pius V., 321, 484—489.
Indulgences for granting, 295.

- Bull*, Ladislaus, king of Naples, excommunicating; its furious character, 173.
- Leo X., against Luther, which Luther burnt at Wittenberg, 297.
- Bulls* excommunicating Elizabeth and Henry VIII., and In Cœna Domini, remarks on the, 489.
- Cagliostro*, at Rome, denounced to the inquisition, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, 401.
- Cahors*, Hugh Gerald, bishop of, convicted of great crimes, condemned, suffers a most cruel death, 75.
- Calendar*, the, reformed by Gregory XIII., 321.
- CALIXTUS III.*, two hundred and seventh pope, 238—240.
- Arragon, misunderstanding between the king of, and, 239.
- bell, origin of the practice of tolling the, 240.
- birth, education, &c. of, 238.
- Belgrade, the Turks defeated at, 239.
- Christian princes, efforts to unite them against the Turks, vainly made by, 238.
- death of, 240.
- election of, 238.
- Ferdinand, the bull legitimating revoked by, 240.
- Mahometan princes, some of the, are stirred up against the Turks, by, 239.
- Naples, intrigues by, to place his nephew on the throne of, 240.
- pontificate of, 240.
- Cambridge* erected into an university, 76.
- Canary Islands*, discovery of the; the earl of Clermont appointed king of the, by Clement VI., 103.
- Canterbury*, archbishop of, appointed cardinal, 113.
- Capuchins*, the, banished the republic of Venice, 327.
- Carbonaro* of Italy, the, excommunicated by Pius VII., 428.
- Cardinals*, Alexander VI. bargains with the, before his election, 260; how he keeps it, 261.
- Benedict XIII., two with, at the time of his death, conceal it, and divide his effects, 211.
- choice of candidates by the, 347.
- council of Constance makes regulations concerning the number of, 223; institutes the conclave, 21.
- election of Celestine V., attended by a delay of more than two years, by the disagreement of the, 40.
- general council summoned by some of the, 285.
- Gregory X., constitution of the conclave by, 21.
- Julius III., creates his monkey-keeper a, 317.
- number of, fixed at seventy, 325.
- one of eight years of age, appointed by Clement XII., 340.
- quarrel about place of meeting, for two years, 73.
- red and black, 425.
- red hat sometimes sent to absent, 117.
- regulations made and sworn to, in conclave, by the, 104; which Innocent VI. declares null, 105.
- Rome, letter from those at, to those at Avignon, 129.
- six imprisoned and tortured by Urban VI., 137.
- Castration of boys*, Bonaparte demands of Pius VI. the suppression of the, 405.
- Catherine* of Siena, a great saint, instigates Charles of Durazzo to base ingratitude, 133.
- CELESTINE V.*, native of Isernia, one hundred and eighty-ninth pope, 40.
- account of, previous to his election, 40.
- Boniface VIII., treatment experienced from, by, 44.
- canonization of, 70.
- CELESTINE V.*, cardinals, the, disagree for more than two years preceding the election of, 40; promotion of, by, 42; offends the, who agree to accept the resignation of, 42.
- coronation of, 41.
- death of, 45.
- declines the pontificate, 41.
- election of, 40.
- Gregory X., constitution of, concerning the conclave, renewed by, 42.
- resigns, 43.
- Charles* of Anjou, at Rome, 11.
- Arragon, king of, writes to; answer of; they agree to decide their quarrel by single combat, 32.
- crowned at Rome, 11.
- death of, 34.
- fleet of, defeated, and his son taken prisoner, 34.
- Manfred marches against, 11; he is killed, and his army defeated, his kingdom submits to, 12.
- Messina, besieged by, 32.
- senator of Rome, 28.
- Sicily, invested and proclaimed by, 10.
- Charles* of Bohemia, crowned emperor at Rome, 107, and by the bishop of Ostia, why, 108.
- Lombardy, crowned king of, at Milan, 107.
- Romans, elected king of the, 95.
- Rome, at, with the empress, who is crowned by Urban V., 114.
- Charles* of Durazzo, urged by Urban VI. and Catherine of Siena, to seize on the kingdom of Naples, an act of base ingratitude towards Queen Joan, 133; crowned king of Naples, 134; enters the kingdom, defeats the queen's troops; she surrenders, and is put to death by, 135.
- Urban VI. goes to Naples, and is harshly treated by Charles; they are reconciled; Lewis of Anjou invades the kingdom, 136, dies, his army is dispersed, or defeated, 137; a new quarrel between the pope and, 137; Charles and his wife excommunicated, 138; Charles besieges the pope in the castle of Nocera, from which he escapes, 139; death of Charles, 141.
- Charles V.*, emperor, Clement resolves to stand neuter between the king of France, and, 303; enters into an agreement with, 307.
- France, king of, defeated and taken prisoner, 303.
- Hadrian forms an alliance with, against the king of France, 301.
- Paul III., interview between, and, 313.
- Rome, troops of, take and sack; the pope taken prisoner, 305.
- Worms, letter of, concerning the diet of, 306.
- Charles VI.* of France, strives to end the schism in the church; assembles a council, 146.
- Charles VIII.* of France, makes great preparations to invade Naples, 257, 261; marches, 262; arrives at, and enters Rome; treats with the pope, 264; is well received by the Neapolitans, 265; the whole kingdom submits to; returns to France; battle of the Tarò, 266; summons sent to, by the pope, the answer, 267; death of, 270.
- Charles X.*, letter of, to Leo XII., 459.
- Charles* of Naples, favours the suppression of the Jesuits, 367.
- Charles*, prince of Salerno, defeated and taken prisoner, 34; negotiates for his liberty, the pope rejects treaty granting it, 36; a new treaty; he is liberated; the conditions; crowned by Nicholas IV. king of Sicily and Apulia, 38; promotes Boniface VIII. to the pontificate, 44.
- Charles* de Valois, the kingdom of Arragon granted to, by Martin IV., 33.

- Chateaubriand*, letter of, to Leo XII., 445.
Christian Alliance, (American,) obnoxious to Gregory XVI., 472.
Christians, the, are entirely driven out of Syria, 39.
Christina, queen of Sweden, abjures the protestant faith, and turns Romanist, 332.
CLEMENT IV., native of St. Gilles, one hundred and eightieth pope, 9—15.
 birth of, 9.
 Charles of Anjou, is invested and proclaimed king of Sicily at Rome, 10; crowned at Rome; requires fresh supplies of men and money; the pope's answer, 11.
 chosen unanimously, 9.
 Conradin is forbidden to enter Italy, and excommunicated by, 13.
 consecration of, 9.
 death of, 14.
 education, employments, &c. of, 9.
 Frederic, determines to extirpate the family of, 10.
 letter of, 10.
 pontificate of, 15.
 relations of, how favoured, 9, 10.
 Sicilian vespers, the, 13.
CLEMENT V., native of Aquitain, one hundred and ninety-second pope, 58—72.
 Avignon, transfers his see to, 62.
 birth, employments, &c. of, 59.
 Beguardi and Beguinæ condemned by, 69.
 Bordeaux, whilst archbishop of, makes certain promises, and obtains the pontificate, 59.
 cardinals, divisions between the, causes a vacancy of ten months, 58; creates ten, 60; and five more, 64.
 character of, 72.
 Colonnas, the, restored by, 60.
 death of, 72.
 France, king of, absolved by, 60; other favours granted to, 61.
 Henry VII., crowned emperor at Rome, 70.
 Knights Templars, charges brought against in the council of Vienne, 65; everywhere arrested, 66; their order suppressed by, 67; proceedings against, illegal, which is owned by, 69.
 Lateran church rebuilt by, 62.
 Luxembourg, duke of, recommended by, is elected king of the Romans, 62.
 Lyons, orders the cardinals to, and is crowned there, 60.
 Mentz, raises a physician to see of, 62.
 Poitiers, removes to, 61.
 pontificate of, 72.
 Robert, son of Charles the Lame, crowned king of Sicily, 63.
 Venetians, the, excommunicated by, 63.
 writings of, 72.
CLEMENT VI., native of Limoges, one hundred and ninety-fifth pope, 93—104.
 birth of, 93.
 Canary Islands discovered; earl of Clermont appointed king of, by, 103.
 cardinals, creates ten, 93.
 character of, 102.
 Charles of Bohemia, recommended to the electors, for king of the Romans and emperor, 95.
 conclave, the rigours of the, mitigated by, 102.
 coronation of, 93.
 death of, 102.
 education, preferments, &c. of, 93.
 Edward III., king of England, and, quarrel, 104.
 elected unanimously, 93.
 emperor, the, excommunicated, sues for absolution, 94; excommunicated again, 95; death of, 96.
 fallible, owns himself, 102.
 Flagellantes, the, condemned by, 99.
 France, privilege granted to the kings of, by, 103.
 Vol. III.—63
- CLEMENT VI.**, Joan, queen of Naples, at Avignon; accused of the murder of her husband, makes her innocence manifest to the pope and cardinals; sells Avignon to, 98.
 jubilee reduced to every fiftieth year by, 94; of the year 1350, 100.
 learning of, 103.
 mendicants, the, are defended by, 101.
 plague, the, relief afforded during that calamity by, 99.
 pontificate of, 103.
 relations, enriches all his, 102.
 Rienzi in the ascendant, 96.
 Romans, the, send embassy to, 93.
 Rome, disturbances in, 96.
 writings of, 103.
CLEMENT VII., a Roman, two hundred and seventeenth pope, 302—310.
 account of, before promotion, 302.
 Bologna, the emperor and, have conference at, 307, 308.
 Colonnas, the, surprise Rome; the pope is revenged upon them, 304.
 council, averse to a general, 309.
 death of, 310.
 deceitful conduct of, 309.
 election of, 302.
 emperor and king of France, resolves to stand neuter between, 303; concludes agreement with the emperor, who comes into Italy, 307.
 England and France, declines entering into a confederacy with the kings of, 307.
 France, concludes treaty with king of, 303; the pope in, 309; confederacy between the pope and king of, 310.
 Henry VIII., the pope's conduct in relation to the divorce of, 310.
 league formed against the emperor by, 303.
 marriage between the pope's niece and the second son of the king of France, 309.
 pontificate of, 310.
 protestants, origin of the, 307.
 Reformation, the, progresses in Germany, 306.
 Rome, surprised by the Colonnas; the pope concludes a truce; revenges himself upon them; the Duke de Bourbon attacks, is killed, 304; the city taken, and terribly sacked; the pope retires to the castle of St. Angelo; pretended concern of the emperor at the imprisonment of the pope; he is restored to liberty, on conditions, 305; returns to, 310.
CLEMENT VIII., a Florentine, two hundred and twenty-ninth pope, 326.
 death of, 326.
 Dominicans and Jesuits, controversy between, concerning "grace and free will," 326.
 pontificate of, 326.
 three remarkable events of the pontificate of, 326.
CLEMENT IX., native of Pistoia, two hundred and thirty-sixth pope, 332.
 death of, 332.
 election of, 332.
 Jansenists, suspends the persecution of the, 332.
 pontificate of, 332.
CLEMENT X., a Roman, two hundred and thirty-seventh pope, 332.
 death and pontificate of, 332.
CLEMENT XI., native of Urbino, two hundred and forty-first pope, 335—338.
 bull Unigenitus, and Vineam Domini, of, 337.
 character of, 338.
 chosen unanimously, 335.
 death of, 338.
 embarrassments of, 336.
 2 R 2

- CLEMENT XI.**, Jesuits, dispute between the, and other missionaries, about the Chinese ceremonies, which are forbidden by Clement, yet tolerated by the Jesuits, 336; final decision of Clement concerning, 337; controversy between the Jansenists and, revived, 337.
pontificate of, 338.
Sicily, quarrels with the king of, 338.
Unigenitus, separates himself from the communion of all who refuse to receive his bull, 337.
- CLEMENT XII.**, native of Florence, two hundred and forty-fourth pope, 340.
cardinal of eight years of age appointed by, 340.
Coscia, calls the cardinal, to account, 340.
death of, 340.
election of, 340.
pontificate of, 340.
quarrels with most of the Christian princes, 340.
- CLEMENT XIII.**, a Venetian, two hundred and forty-sixth pope, 347—359.
average ages and reigns of some popes, 347.
behind the age in which he lived, 354.
bull *Apostolicum pascendi munus*, by, which the parliament of Paris orders torn in pieces by the hangman, and then burned, 351.
bull of excommunication against the kings opposed to the Jesuits by, 352.
Carvalho, works of, condemned by, 355.
Charles III. of Spain, expels the Jesuits, and informs the pope, 354.
constitution of, 356—358.
death of, 347.
election of, 347.
family of, 348.
France, the magistrates and rulers of, anathematized by, 350; the Jesuits expelled from, 351; Lewis, king of, becomes a devotee, 351; memorial of the king of, 353; demands the extirpation of the Jesuit order, 354; restrictions on, 355.
humbles himself under the formidable opposition against him, 352.
In *Cœna Domini*, repeated by, in a brief to Parma, 359.
Jesuits, the, are favoured by, 347; defended by, 348; expelled from various countries, swarm in the papal dominions, 352, 359; the pope forced to consent to the abolition of the order; is poisoned by them, previous to its consummation, 352.
Joseph I. of Portugal, banishes the Jesuits; the pope menaces him, if he does not revoke the decree; the king disregards his threats, 349.
Joseph II. of Germany, at Rome, visits the house of the Jesuits, 355.
Leopold of Tuscany, at Rome, 355.
letter to Louis XV., by, 356.
losses to his see, by, 359.
Maria Theresa of Austria, lends no support to, 354.
Mind, the, by Helvetius, condemned by, 355.
Paris, council of, 351.
pontificate of, 359.
priestly claims, 351.
works anathematized by, 351.
- CLEMENT XIV.**, native of Archangelo, two hundred and forty-seventh pope, 359—389.
Aquetta, death of, caused by the subtle poison of the, 362.
brief of, *Dominus, ac Redemptor*, 371—389; to the prelates of the Spanish Indies, 366.
burdens, endeavours to lessen the public, 360.
cautiousness of, 366.
character of, 359, 369.
Christianity, designs to restore to the popedom; the result, 359.
- CLEMENT XIV.**, death of, 362; prophesied, 363.
excommunicates various French writers, 360.
family of, 362.
France, works of various authors in, condemned to the flames, by the parliament, through the machinations of the pope and the Jesuits, 361.
illness of, 369.
In *Cœna Domini*, this famous bull is abrogated by; revoking the decrees of the council of Trent and the popes, relative to it, 360.
I. S. S. S. V., posted upon the gates of the pope's palace, 368.
Jesuits, their abrogation demanded of; institutes an inquiry into their affairs, 360; which is continued during four years, when he issues his celebrated bull, "*Dominus, ac Redemptor*," by which the society was utterly abolished, 371—389.
labours of, 360.
letters of, 369, 370.
"liberty of the press," a dreaded cry, 361.
menaced by the Jesuits, 363.
poisoning of, 362—364.
pontificate of, 362.
P. S. S. V., addressed to, 363.
Ricci, the Jesuit general, and some of his chief officers cast into prison by, 361.
secrecy of, 366.
simplicity of, 359, 365.
tempestuous times of, 365.
territory restored to, 364.
threatenings, and mysterious warnings to, 363, 368.
- Clement VII.**, anti-pope, Arragon, king of, forsakes Urban VI., and declares for, 141.
Avignon, arrives at, 133.
death of, 145.
election of, and its consequences, 132.
France declares for, 133; clergy of, burdened by, relieved by the king, 140.
Naples, retires to, 132; Joan of, receives and treats as lawful pope, 132.
Navarre, king of, forsakes Urban VI., and declares for, 141.
terms of accommodation proposed to Urban by, but rejected, 142.
- Clement VIII.**, anti-pope, abdication of, 212.
cardinals of, elect Martin V., already pope, 215.
election of, 211.
- Clergy**, decrees of France, and its civil constitution for the, 412—414.
- Clermont**, earl of, appointed by Clement VI. king of the Canary Islands, 103.
- Cologne** and Treves, archbishops of, deposed by Eugenius IV., 234.
- Colonna**, family of the, 46, 202.
Boniface VIII. persecutes with great cruelty, 46.
Clement V. favours, 60.
Eugenius IV., attempt made by, to seize, they are driven out of Rome, 219.
James, bold attempt of, in favour of John XXII., 82.
restored by Benedict XI., 57.
Rome surprised by, the pope's palace and St. Peter's church plundered, &c. by, 303, 304.
Sciara conspires against Boniface VIII., 53; excommunicated, 57.
- Combat**, the kings of Arragon and Sicily agree to decide a quarrel by single, 32.
- Commendams** revoked by Innocent VI., 105; their origin, 106.
- Communion**, in one kind, decree for, of the council of Constance, 188—190.
- Conclave**, institution of the, 21; constitution of Gregory X. concerning the, renewed by Celestine V., 42; Clement VI. mitigates the rigours of, 102; Gregory XI. suspends the constitution of Gregory X., 123.

Concluding observations of Dr. Cox, 473—475.

Concordat established in place of the pragmatic sanction, 293; between Bonaparte and Pius VII., 420, 421, 425.

Congo, king of, sends embassy to Paul V., 328.

Conradin, heir of the Sicilian throne, invited to assume the government, 12; excommunicated by the pope, is taken prisoner, and beheaded, 14.

Consecrated poignards, 426.

Constance, council of, year 1414, 178—203. articles approved in the third and fourth sessions, 182.

anti-popes Benedict and Gregory, send deputies to, 180.

Benedict deposed by, 200.

common in one kind, decree concerning, 188—190.

confession of faith, for the popes, drawn up by, 201.

convoked by Gregory, who resigns; favours bestowed on him, 191.

decree of the fifth session, 183.

emperor, the, at, 179.

general councils, superiority of, to the pope, established, 182; decree concerning the assembling of, 200.

Huss, John, at; imprisoned in defiance of his safe conduct, 178; heard by the council, 192; is not allowed to explain his doctrine; condemned, degraded, and burnt alive, 193; death of, 194.

Jerom of Prague, condemned by, retracts, 198; repents; is condemned, and burnt alive; dies with firmness, 199.

Martin V. presides at the last four sessions of, 203.

number and quality of persons at, 179.

Pope John XXIII. escapes from, 181; summoned to appear, 184, 185; suspended and deposed by, 187.

safe conduct, decree concerning, 197.

Wickliffe, doctrine of, condemned by, 184.

Constantinople taken by Mahomet II., 237.

Constitution of Clement XIII., approbatory of the Jesuits, 356—358.

Continuation of the history of the popes, by Dr. Cox, 343.

Coronation of Bonaparte, 422.

Coscia, the favourite of Benedict XIII., created cardinal, governs uncontrolled, 339; called to account by Clement XII., 340.

Councils of,

Baltimore, year 1829, 466.

Basil, year 1431, 219—233; refer to *Basil*.

Constance, year 1414, 178—203; refer to *Constance*.

Ferrara, council of Basil transferred to, by Eugenius IV., which the council declares null, 224; again transferred to Florence, 227.

France, a grand, in, year 1398, 148.

general, fifteenth, at Vienne, 65—70.

Lyons, year 1274, 19—22, refer to *Lyons*.

Lateran, year 1513, 289.

Mantua, year 1459, 241.

Paris, year 1395, 146, 351, 360; year 1811, 425.

Perpignan, 163.

Pisa, year 1409, 164—168; called by the cardinals, 285; year 1512, 286, 288.

Rome, year 1412, 174; by Eugenius IV., 233.

Salamanca, 148.

Trent, year 1545, 314—319; refer to *Trent*.

Udine, by Gregory, 168.

Vienne, year 1312, 65—70; refer to *Vienne*.

Wirtzburg, year 1287, 37.

Cox, Rev. Dr., conclusion of the history of the popes by, 343—492.

Crimes of Pope John XXIII., list of, presented to the council of Constance, 186.

Cyprus, king of, takes the cross at the hands of Urban V., 110.

D'Alembert, excommunication of, by Clement XIV., 360.

D'Aubigne, history of the reformation by, not palatable to Gregory XVI., 472.

D'Holbach, excommunication of, by Clement XIV., 360.

De Auxiliis, conclusion of the congregation, 328.

De Medicis, quarrel between Sixtus IV. and the, 249; Sixtus enters into a conspiracy against the; John is murdered; Lawrence escapes; is excommunicated, 250; Florence delivered up to the, 307.

Denmark, the king of, visits Urban V., 110.

De Propaganda Fide, college of, founded by Gregory XV., 328.

Diderot, excommunicated by Clement XIV., 360.

Dominicans, famous dispute between the Jesuits and the, concerning "grace and free will," 226.

"*Dominus, ac Redemptor*," the famous bull abrogating the Jesuits, by Clement XIV., 371—389.

Education by the Jesuits, 353.

Effigy of Pius VI. burnt at Paris, 415.

Election of a Roman pontiff, modes of, 434.

Elizabeth, excommunication of queen, by Pius V., 320; bull of excommunication, 482.

Elzearius, canonization of count, 114.

Eminence, title given to cardinals by Urban VIII., 329.

Ems, congress of, 397.

Etruria, queen of, kept in durance at Rome; death of, 449.

EUGENIUS IV., a Venetian, two hundred and sixth pope, 218—234.

acknowledged, by whom, 231.

Arragon, ignominious peace concluded with king of, by, 232.

Basil, council of, 219—233; dissolved by, and why, 219; the cardinal legate disapproves of the dissolution, and the emperor declares it a lawful council; establishes the superiority of councils over the pope, 220; proposals made by the pope for transferring the council, and the fathers answer; the pope accused of contumacy; submits, and retracts his bulls dissolving the council, 221; rupture between the pope and, 223; the pope declared contumacious, 224; transfers the council to Ferrara; that translation declaration null, 224; the pope suspended, 225; the pope deposed, 228.

Bourges, assembly of, both popes send legates to, 230.

character of, 235.

death of, 235.

deposes the archbishops of Cologne and Treves, 234.

eastern nations, several, conform to the doctrine of Rome, in the council of Florence, 231, 233.

employments of, before election, 218.

excommunicates the council of Basil, and annuls its acts, 228.

family of, 218.

Felix V. elected by the council of Basil, 229; resigns; death of, 237; excommunicated by Eugenius, whose sentence is declared by the council of Basil a scandalous libel, 230.

Germans, the, acknowledge, 235.

Greek emperor and patriarch, reception of, by, 224.

pontificate of, 235.

quarrels with the relations of Martin V., 219.

- EUGENIUS IV.**, Rome, great disturbances in, 219; the pope is forced to leave, 222. suspended, 225.
- Expectatives**, recommendations, &c., revoked by Innocent VI., 105.
- Excommunication** of numerous French philosophical writers, 360.
- "Faith**, defender of the," the title given to Henry VIII., by Leo X., 299; confession of, delivered to the diet of Augsburg, by the Reformers, 308; "fathers of the," 423; "brethren of," 421.
- Farnese**, Palazzo, built by Paul III., 317.
- Fathers** of the faith, 423.
- Felix V.**, anti-pope, 229.
by whom acknowledged, 231.
character of, 229.
council of Basil, orders the acknowledgment of, by all, on pain of excommunication, 230.
death of, 237.
election of, by council of Basil; is prevailed on to accept the dignity, 229.
excommunicated by Eugenius, 230.
provision made for, by the council of Basil, 230.
resign, agrees to, on terms; three bulls published prior to resignation, by, 236.
resigns, 237.
- Fenelon**, the Divine Love of archbishop, condemned by Innocent XII., 335.
- Ferdinand** of Arragon, renounces obedience to John XXIII., 197.
- Ferdinand**, king of Naples, Pius II. revokes the bull of Calixtus against, 241; the pope supports him in possession of his kingdom, 242; misunderstanding between Paul II. and, 245; Innocent VIII. quarrels with, 254; joins the barons against; the conspiracy discovered; the crown offered to the king's second son, 255; the pope espouses the cause of the barons; resented by the king, 256; Rome besieged by the king's troops; the pope obliged to conclude peace, 256; the barons put to death, contrary to the treaty of peace; the king is excommunicated, 257; the king and the pope reconciled, 258; death of the king, 261.
- Ferdinand**, son of Alphonso of Naples, elevated to the throne on the abdication of his father, 265; opposed by Charles, retires to the island of Ischia, 266; resolves to attempt the recovery of his kingdom, 267; Ferdinand of Spain espouses the cause of, 267; the Neapolitans invite his return, 267; restoration of, 268.
- Ferdinand** of Sicily, abolishes the inquisition, 398; forced to compensate Rome for the suppression of the haqueny, 428.
- Ferdinand** of Spain, treachery of, 273, 274.
- Ferrara**, city of, seized by the Venetians, 62; council of Basil transferred to, by Eugenius IV., which the council declares null, 224; the pope opens a council at, 226, which is removed to Florence, 227.
duke of, Julius II., quarrels with, 282; excommunicated, 283.
- Fete-dieu**, processions of the, suppressed, 416.
- Flagellantes**, the, condemned by Pope Innocent VI., 99.
- Florence**, council of, 398.
council of Basil transferred to, 227; removed to Rome, 232.
delivered to the De Medicis, 307.
erected into a grand duchy by Pius V., 320.
Ghibelines and Guefts, at, Gregory X., endeavours to reconcile, 17.
interdicted by Innocent V.; passes through, takes it off, but renews it as soon as out of it, 23; interdicted by Julius II., 286.
- Florentines**, the, invade the dominions of the church, 118; sentence pronounced by Gregory XI. against the, which they disregard; an army sent against them; St. Catherine of Siena chosen by them to negotiate peace, is unsuccessful, 119; treaty begun, but broken off, 121; Martin V. complains of the, 200, is appeased, erects their see into a metropolis, 207; Sixtus IV. declares war against the, 251; appeal to a general council, 286.
- Fortunate Islands**, or the Canaries, discovery of, 103.
- France**, Bologna lost to, 288.
Chonans, insurrection of the, 403.
churches of, Gregory XI. will permit no new taxes to be laid on the, 122.
Clement VII. in, 309.
clergy of, civil constitution for the, 412—414.
declares for Clement, anti-pope, 133.
Genoa revolts from, 288.
interdicted, 288.
Jansenists, the, are persecuted in, 331.
John XXIII., claims of, opposed in, 172.
Julius II. and the emperor, endeavour to stir up the Germanic body against, 280.
king of, offered the kingdom of Arragon, by Martin V., for his youngest son, 33; the son is taken prisoner, 34; a treaty for his liberation rejected by the pope, 36; a new one, he is set at liberty, 38; peace concluded between the kings of Arragon and, 38; privileges granted to, by Clement VI., 103; a visit to Urban V. at Avignon, by the king, 110; threatens Benedict, anti-pope, to withdraw obedience, 161; obedience withdrawn, Benedict excommunicates; punishment inflicted on the messengers who brought the pope's bull; decree of neutrality published, 162; vainly strives to divert Julius II. from attempting the conquest of Bologna and Perugia, 280; the king excommunicated, 288; the king is hated by Pope Julius II., 290; renounces the council of Pisa, 292; interview between the pope and; the king consents to the abolition of the Pragmatic sanction, 293; Innocent XI. quarrels with, 333.
league against, 286.
massacre of the citizens of, in the pope's dominions, 406.
Milan, duchy of, abandoned by, 288.
National Assembly of, some of its acts, 412.
Pius VI. excommunicates, 402; letter to, of the executive council of France, 402; armistice granted to Pius, by, 404; demands made on, by France, 405; burnt in effigy at Paris, 415.
Pragmatic sanction established in, 225.
Ravenna besieged by, a complete victory obtained, 287.
states general, acts of the, 401.
subjects of, forbidden to go to Rome, 150.
troubles in, 400.
- Francfort**, diet of, year 1344, 95; year 1397, 148; year 1438, 225; year 1447, 235.
- Franciscans**, Nicholas III. a zealous friend to the, 28.
- Frederic**, Clement IV. made it the business of his pontificate to endeavour to extirpate the family of, 10.
- Frederic** of Arragon, Boniface VIII. forms an alliance against, 46.
crowned king of Sicily, 45.
pays tribute to the pope, 57.
peace concluded with, 49.
- Frederic II.** of Arragon, the island of Sicily, yielded by Queen Joan to, 117.
- Frederic III.** acknowledges Nicholas V., 236; crowned by Nicholas, 237.

- Frederic* of Austria, defeated by Lewis of Bavaria, 78; agreement between, 80.
- Frederic*, duke of Brunswick, chosen king of the Romans, by, 151.
- Frederic* of Naples, Alexander VI. grants investiture to, 270; is driven out; treachery of the king of Spain, 273.
- Frederic II.* of Prussia, letters of, 409.
- French Democrats*, the, are excommunicated by Pius VII., 428.
- Frogs* of the Apocalypse, the Jesuits styled the, 353.
- Gallican* clergy, four propositions of the, condemned by Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII., 335.
- Gandia*, duke of, eldest son of Pope Alexander VI., created duke of Benevento, 269.
- General council*, fifteenth held at Vienne, year 1312, 65—70.
- Geneva*, Pope Martin V. at, 204.
- Genoa* revolts from the French, 288.
- Germany*, war in, 75; John XXII. declares himself vicar of, 76; disturbances in, 100; a new king elected, 101; princes of, embrace a neutrality between rival popes, 225; assembly of Mentz, 231; diets in, 312; Joseph II. of, determines to eradicate the ecclesiastical despotism, 416; the illuminati of, excommunicated by Pius VII., 428.
- Ghibelines* and *Guelfs* at Florence, Gregory X. strives to reconcile, 17.
- "*Grace* and free will," dispute between the Dominicans and Jesuits concerning, 326.
- Greeks* and *Latins*, conference between in the council of Ferrara, 225; union between the, 227; not acknowledged at Constantinople, 228.
- GREGORY X.*, native of Placentia, one hundred and eighty-first pope, 15—23.
Christian princes, the, are written to, in behalf of the Christians of Palestine, by, 16.
conclave, institution of the; constitution of the, by Gregory, instituted, 21.
council, appoints meeting of a general, 16.
death of, 23.
elected after a vacancy of nearly three years, 16.
Florence interdicted by, 17; suspends the interdict on occasion of passing through it, and renews it immediately on leaving the city; his remark on that occasion, 23.
Ghibelines and *Guelfs* at Florence, endeavours to reconcile the, 17.
Guido de Montfort, excommunicated by, 17.
Holy Land, sets out from the, to take possession of his see, 15.
Lyons, arrives at; council of, 18—22.
Milan interdicted by, 17.
pontificate of, 23.
Rudolph, elected king of the Romans, interview between, and, 22.
- GREGORY XI.*, native of Limoges, one hundred and ninety-eighth pope, 116—124.
Avignon, holds his see at, 116.
birth, education, &c., 116.
cardinals, creates twelve, 117, and nine more, 118.
character of, 124.
conclave, constitution of Gregory X. concerning the, suspended by, 123.
coronation of, 116.
death of, 124.
election of, 116.
Florentines, the, invade the dominions of the church, 118; bull against them by; which they disregard, 119; treaty begun between, and broken off, 121.
- France and England, endeavours to effect peace between, 116; recommends the abolition of an unchristian custom to the king of, 120; no new taxes allowed to be laid on the churches of, by, 122.
- GREGORY XI.*, journey to Rome, of, 121.
Lateran church, the, is declared first of all churches, by, 124.
learning of, 124.
Paris, refuses to exempt the see of, from the see of Sens, 123.
pontificate of, 124.
"Presentation of the Virgin Mary," festival of, instituted in the west, by, 124.
red hat, the, is sometimes sent to absent cardinals, 117.
residence at Rome enjoyed by, 118.
Rome, is invited to, by the Romans, 118; announces determination to remove to, 119; arrives at, 121.
Sicily, island of, erected into a separate kingdom, by, 118.
western schism, the great, follows the death of, 124.
Wickliffe, several letters against, written by, 122.
- GREGORY XII.*, a Venetian, two hundred and second pope, 157—167.
Benedict declines the way of cession, 158; excommunicates all who withdraw from his obedience, 161; France determines to withdraw, and embrace a neutrality, 161.
birth, education, &c., 157.
both popes averse to an union, 159.
cardinals, four, created by, 159; is forsaken by his, 159; and they appeal from, 161; Benedict's, join those of, and they appoint a council to meet at Pisa, 162.
conduct of, an account of the, by Leonardo, 160.
Constance, deputies sent to, by, 180; convoked by, 191.
death of, 192.
election of, 157.
employments of, 157.
favours conferred on, by the council of Constance, 191.
France, decree of neutrality published in, 162.
Perpignan, council of, called by Benedict, 163.
Pisa, council of, pronounces sentence against both competitors, 164; both are deposed, 166.
pontificate of, 191.
resignation of, 191.
Savona, the two popes agree to meet at; the interview subsequently declined by, 158.
schism, desires to put an end to the, 157.
Udine, council of, by, 164, 168; flight of, from, 169.
writes to his competitor, who answers his letter, 157.
- GREGORY XIII.*, two hundred and twenty-fourth pope, 321, 322.
an enemy to all strife and contention, 321.
calendar, the, is reformed by, 321.
character of, 322.
death of, 322.
elected unanimously, 321.
founds several colleges, 322.
instances of his pacific disposition, 321.
Japan, receives an embassy from, 322.
nepotism, is not free from, 322.
Paris, is accused of having approved the massacre at, 322.
pontificate of, 322.
- GREGORY XIV.*, a Milanese, two hundred and twenty-seventh pope, 325.
death of, 325.
declares for the "league" in France, 325.
Henry IV. excommunicated by, 325.
pontificate of, 325.
- GREGORY XV.*, native of Bologna, two hundred and thirty-second pope, 328.
college "De Propaganda Fide," founded by, 328.
death of, 328.

- GREGORY XV.**, election of, 328.
 Paris erected into a bishopric by, 328.
 pontificate of, 328.
 zealous against the reformed religion, 328.
- GREGORY XVI.**, a Venetian, two hundred and fifty-second pope, 470—472.
 Bible Societies disliked by, 471.
 character of, 470.
 Christian Alliance, the (American) is denounced by, 472.
 death of, year 1846, [since the printing of this work.]
 D'Aubigne's history of the Reformation is denounced by, 472.
 election of, 470.
 encyclical letters of, 471.
 insecurity of the papal throne, 472.
 pontificate of fifteen years and more than four months.
- Guido de Montfort**, excommunicated by Gregory X.; submits himself to the pope; punishment inflicted on him and his followers, 17.
- HADRIAN V.**, a Genoese, one hundred and eighty-third pope, 24.
 conclave, suspends the constitution of Gregory X. concerning the, 24.
 death of, 24.
 England, in, whilst cardinal, 24.
 pontificate of, 24.
- HADRIAN VI.**, native of Utrecht, two hundred and sixteenth pope, 299—302.
 birth, education, &c. of, 299.
 character of, 301.
 death of, 301.
 election of, and how it was brought about, 299.
 emperor, an alliance formed with the, against the king of France, by, 301.
 family of, 299.
 pontificate of, 301.
 Reformation, endeavours to stop the progress of the, 301.
 Rimini is recovered by, 300.
 Rome, arrives at, 300.
 Spain, viceroy of, at the time of election, 300.
- Hat**, the yellow, 319.
- "Heart, adorners of the Sacred,"** the Jesuits re-organized in France under the name of, 421.
- Helvetius** excommunicated by Clement XIV., 360.
- Henry VIII.** crowned emperor at Rome, 70;
 espouses the cause of the Ghibelines, 71;
 death of, 72.
- Henry VIII.** of England, conduct of Clement VII. in regard to, 310; excommunicated, 312.
- Henry**, king of Navarre, excommunicated by Sixtus V., 323; the pope refuses to confirm the sentence on the death of Henry III., 324; Gregory XIV. excommunicates, 325.
- Henry III.**, monitory to, issued by Sixtus V., for the murder of Cardinal Guise, 323; murder of, 324.
- Heretics**, Pius V. is a furious persecutor of pretended, 320.
- Hermits of St. Austin**, 37.
- Holy Ghost**, dispute concerning the procession of the, 226, 227.
- Holy Spear**, festival of the, instituted by Innocent VI., 109.
- HONORIUS IV.**, a Roman, one hundred and eighty-seventh pope, 35—37.
 apostolical brethren, the, condemned by, 36.
 Arragon, king of, dies; his two sons excommunicated by, 35.
 Charles, prince of Salerno, prisoner, makes a treaty for his liberation, which is rejected by, 36.
 death of, 36.
 election of, 35.
- Host**, directions for carrying the, by, 37.
- HONORIUS IV.**, orders of the "Carmelites" and "Hermits of St. Austin," confirmed by, 37.
 penance enjoined by, for the murder of a bishop, 36.
 Rudolph is written to, by, 35.
 Wirtzburg, council of, presided at by legate of, 37.
- Host**, directions for carrying the, to the sick, 37.
- Hungary**, king of, invades Naples; revenges his brother's death, 97; enters the city of; returns to Hungary, 98; Urban VI. revives the old quarrel between the king of, and the queen of Naples, 133.
- Huss, John**, summoned to Rome; birth, character, &c. of, 170; excommunicated by John XXIII., 174; at Constance; is imprisoned, notwithstanding his safe conduct, 178, 179; before the council of Constance, 192; condemned, degraded, and delivered to the secular power to be burnt alive, 193; dies with firmness, 194.
- Hussites**, the, Martin V. stirs up the emperor and other princes against, 216.
- Illuminati**, the, of Germany, excommunicated by Pius VII., 428.
- In Cena Domini**, Pius V., author of this celebrated bull, 321; abrogated by Clement XIV., 360; Joseph II. of Germany, effaces it from the missals, 417; the bull, 484—489.
- INNOCENT V.**, native of Burgundy, one hundred and eighty-second pope, 23, 24.
 consecration of, 23.
 death of, 24.
 election of, 23.
 Italy, restores peace to, 23.
 pontificate of, 24.
 writings of, 24.
- INNOCENT VI.**, native of Limoges, one hundred and ninety-sixth pope, 104—109.
 Alvarez, appointed legate a latere for Spain, by, 106.
 birth, education, &c. of, 105.
 cardinals, regulations made and sworn to by the, in conclave, 104; the pope declares them null, 105; creates fourteen, 108.
 character of, 108.
 Charles of Bohemia, crowned king of Lombardy at Milan, and emperor at Rome 107.
 commendams, &c. revoked by, 105.
 death of, 108.
 election of, 105.
 "Holy Spear," festival of the, instituted by, 109.
 Italy, dominions of the church in, recovered by, 106.
 pontificate of, 108.
 residence ordered by, 106.
 retrenches all unnecessary expenses, 106.
 Rota, orders salaries to the auditors of the, 106.
- INNOCENT VII.**, native of Sulmona, two hundred and first pope, 153—156.
 Benedict repairs to Geneva, and demands a safe conduct of; which he denies, 155.
 birth, education, &c. of, 153.
 death of, 156.
 election of, 153.
 general council, assembling of a, proposed by, 154.
 Ladislaus, excommunicated by, submits, and is absolved, 155.
 pontificate of, 156.
 Rome, disturbances in; the Romans recover their liberty, 153; new disturbances; the governor massacred by the pope's nephew; the pope leaves; John Colonna makes himself master of, but is driven out by the Romans, and the pope recalled, 154.

- INNOCENT VIII.**, a Genoese, two hundred and eleventh pope, 254—258.
actions, some particular, of, 257.
birth, employments, &c. of, 254.
cardinals appointed by, 258.
character of, 258.
children, natural of, 258.
Christian princes, tries to unite the, against the Turks, 254.
death of, 258.
Ferdinand and, reconciled, 258.
Naples, quarrels with the king of, 254; joins the rebel barons against the king; who discovers the conspiracy, 255; the barons proclaim the pope their lord and sovereign; who openly espouses their cause; the king resents his conduct; the king's troops besiege Rome; the pope obliged to conclude peace, 256; the barons put to death contrary to treaty; the king is excommunicated, 258.
pontificate of, 258.
Zizini, brother to Sultan Bajazet, delivered to; how treated by, 257.
- INNOCENT IX.**, native of Bologna, two hundred and twenty-eighth pope; death and pontificate of, 326.
- INNOCENT X.**, a Roman, two hundred and thirty-fourth pope, 330.
Barberini, the, persecuted by, 330.
brother's widow, has illicit commerce with his, 330.
death of, 330.
election of, 330.
Jansenius' five propositions condemned by; how eluded by the Jansenists, 330.
pontificate of, 330.
- INNOCENT XI.**, a Milanese, two hundred and thirty-eighth pope, 333, 334.
character of, 334.
death of, 334.
election of, 333.
France, quarrels with the king of, about the regale and the franchises, 333; the king gives up the franchises, 334.
franchises, the, suppressed by, 333.
Gallican clergy, four propositions of the; conduct of the pope in regard to the, 333.
nepotism abolished by, 333.
pontificate of, 334.
Quietism takes its rise, 334.
- INNOCENT XII.**, a Neapolitan, two hundred and fortieth pope, 335.
death of, 335.
election of, 335.
Fenelon's Divine Love, condemned by, 335.
Gallican clergy, the four propositions of the, condemned by, 335.
pontificate of, 335.
- INNOCENT XIII.**, a Roman, two hundred and forty-second pope, 338.
Alberoni, cardinal, received into favour by, 338.
death of, 338.
election of, 338.
emperor, the, is invested with the kingdom of Naples, by, 338.
pontificate of, 338.
Unigenitus, maintains and defends the bull, 338.
- Inquisition*, the, in Germany, abolished by Joseph II., 395.
"Interim," the, 315.
- Italy*, Innocent VI. recovers the dominions of the church in, 106; disturbances in, 252; war kindled in, 267; and by Leo X., 298; the Carbonari of, excommunicated, 428; weakness of the pope in, 472.
- Jansenists*, Alexander VII. issues bull against the, 331.
- Jansenists*, Clement IX. suspends persecution of the, 332.
France, persecuted in, 331.
Jesuits, controversy between the, and, 337.
propositions, the five famous, of the, condemned by Pope Innocent X.; how eluded by the, 330.
- Jerom* of Prague, account of, 198.
burnt alive, 199.
condemned in the council of Constance, 198.
council of Constance, he is arrested and sent to the, 198.
dies with great firmness, 199.
retraction, makes a solemn, 198; of which he repents; retracting his retraction, 199.
- Jesuits*, abolition of, universally demanded, 365.
Carvalho, character of the, by, 355.
Charles III. of Spain, suppresses the, 354.
Clement XIII. defends the, 348; forced to consent to their abrogation, is poisoned the day before issuing his bull, 352; constitution of, confirming the order, 356—358.
- Clement XIV., threats against, by the, 359; the suspension of the order demanded of, 360; issues his famous bull Dominus, ac Redemptor, after four years' investigation, by which he abrogated the order, 361; arrests and imprisons the General Ricci and other officers, 361; poisoning of the pope by the, 362, 364; P. S. S. V. of, 363; I. S. S. S. V. of, 368; the brief Dominus, ac Redemptor, 371—389.
- dishonourable conduct of the, in a commercial transaction, 349.
- Dominicans, famous controversy between the, and, 326.
- Dominus, ac Redemptor, brief for the abrogation of the, 371—389.
- education by the, 353.
- expelled from various countries, 351.
- founded in the time of Paul III., 316.
- France, their expulsion from, demanded, 350; they are expelled, 351, 352; restrictions on those permitted to remain in, 355; endeavour to reinstate themselves in, 393; arrested in, 404; restored in, 427.
- frogs of the Apocalypse, styled the, 353.
- Gregory XIV., no friend to the, 325.
- idolatry in China, charged with sanctioning, 336.
- Jansenists, controversy revived between the, and the, 337.
- Joseph I., banishes from Portugal, 349.
- Joseph II. of Germany, at Rome, visits the house of the, 355.
- Leo XII., brief in favour of, by, 451; grants made to, by, 452.
- losses sustained by the court of Rome in defence of, 359.
- Mexico, arrested in, 366.
- parliament of Paris, decree of the, concerning; abrogates the order; Clement XIII. anathematizes the parliament, 350.
- philosophers, the, controversy between the, and, 414.
- Pius VI., in relation to the, 391; is favourable to, 416.
- Pius VII. favours, 421, 423; re-establishes the, 426.
- Ricci, chief of the order, 358; imprisoned by Clement XIV., 361.
- Russia, protected in, 418.
- sea, driven about at, and not permitted to land in some countries, 354.
- Spain, expulsion from, 365.
- states of the church swarm with the expelled, 352.
- threats of the, 359.
- Venice, banished from the republic of, 327.
- Jesus*, picture of the name of, prohibited by Martin V., 216.

- Jews**, forced to wear the yellow hat in the papal states, 319; harsh treatment of the, 392; the Roman priests demand permission of Pius VII. to EAT A ROASTED JEW! persecution of the, 426.
- Joan**, queen of Naples, Clement VII., anti-pope, received as lawful, by, 132.
- death, is put to, 135.
- Lewis of Anjou, adopted by, 134.
- Rome, at, 113.
- surrender of, 135.
- troops of, defeated, 135.
- ultramontane cardinals protected by, 131.
- Urban V. bestows extraordinary honours on, 113; revives an old quarrel between the king of Hungary and, 133; excommunicated and deposed by, 134.
- Joan II.**, queen of Naples, Arragon, king of, adopted by, which is opposed by the pope; revokes it, and adopts Lewis, 208.
- Martin V., embassy sent to, by, 205; prevails on her to set her husband at liberty, 206.
- Joan of Navarre**, monastery of Pius IV., to, 319.
- JOHN XXII.**, native of Lisbon, one hundred and eighty-fourth pope, 25, 26.
- Christians in the east, zealous in behalf of the, 25.
- conclave, constitution of Gregory X. concerning the, revoked by, 25.
- consecration of, 25.
- death of, 25.
- election of, 25.
- pontificate of, 25.
- visions concerning the death of, 26.
- writings of, 25.
- JOHN XXII.**, native of Cahors, one hundred and ninety-third pope, 73—88.
- Avignon, fixes his see at, 75.
- beatific vision, doctrine of, concerning the; is opposed by many divines, 86; condemned also by the university of Paris, 87; Philip of France orders its retraction; owns error, and retracts, 87.
- Benedict XII. condemns the doctrine of, concerning the beatific vision, 89.
- birth, education, &c. of, 74.
- bishoprics, some divided, and new ones erected by, 75.
- Cahors, proceedings against the bishop of, by; he is condemned to a most cruel death, 75.
- Cambridge erected into a university, 76.
- cardinals, the, enter into the conclave; it is set on fire, and the cardinals dispersed; quarrel for two years about the place of meeting; how brought to meet at Lyons, 73; ten created, 81.
- chosen unanimously, 74.
- Colonna, bold attempt in favour of the pope, by James, 82.
- death of, 87.
- eludes the oath he had taken to go to Rome, 74.
- empire, the, two pretenders to, the pope writes to both, 75; declares himself vicar of the, 76.
- employments of, before promotion, 74.
- imperial edict requiring the pope to reside at Rome, 82.
- John de Poliac, doctrine of, condemned by, 76.
- John of Ghent, doctrine of, condemned by, 79.
- Lewis of Bavaria, defeats Frederic of Austria; the monastery to, by, 78; embassy from the king, to, 78; the king appeals to a general council; the pope excommunicates, 79; edict of the king against the pope, and his answer, 80; the king declares the pope a heretic; is crowned at Milan; excommunicated the third time; crowned emperor at Rome; deposes the pope, 81; returns to Germany, 84.
- Lyons, crowned at, 74.
- magic, study of, in vogue, forbidden by, 75.
- JOHN XXII.**, Marsilius of Padua, doctrine of, condemned by, 79.
- Milan, duke of, excommunicated, 78.
- Minorite friars quarrel; the refractory punished as heretics, 76; dispute concerning the poverty of the; their doctrine condemned by, 77.
- Peter de Corbario, elected pope, or anti-pope, and is styled Nicholas V.; his birth, character, and education, 82; creates seven cardinals; publishes two decrees against John, 83; well received at Pisa, and confirms his decrees against John, 84; deplorable situation of, 84; submits, and writes to John; abjures, and is absolved, 85; confined for life, 86.
- pontificate of, 87.
- Rome, disturbances at; the pope invited to, by the Romans, 80; revolution at, 83; emperor withdraws from; deposes the pope anew, 84.
- treasure, leaves an immense, 88.
- writings of, 88.
- JOHN XXIII.**, a Neapolitan, two hundred and fourth pope, 171—201.
- accusations against, 186.
- arrested and imprisoned, 186.
- Benedict sends deputies to the council of Constance, 180; is deposed by that council, 200.
- betrayed by his generals, 173.
- Brisac, retires to, 182.
- cardinals appointed by, 174.
- character of, 186, 187.
- consecration of, 172.
- Constance chosen for the meeting of a general council, 176; oath taken by the magistrates of, 177; council meets, 178—201; John Huss at, 178; the emperor at, 179.
- council, repents having consented to assembling of, but is persuaded by the cardinals to stand to his former resolution, 177.
- crimes of, 186.
- death of, 205.
- deposition of, 187.
- emperor, the, and, treat of assembling a general council, 175; invites all to it; conferences between the pope and; the pope approves the time and place of holding the council, 176; supports the council against the pope, 181.
- embassy to, from the council of Constance, 183.
- employments of, 171.
- escapes from Constance, 181.
- faith, confession of, to be made by every new pope, 201.
- France, the claims of, opposed in, 172.
- general councils, supremacy of, to the pope, defined by the council of Constance, 182; decree concerning assembling of, 200.
- Gregory sends deputies to the council of Constance, 180; the council convoked in the name of; favours bestowed on him, by the council, 191.
- Huss, John, excommunicated by, 174; at Constance, is imprisoned, 178; accusations against, 192; burnt alive, 193, 194.
- Ladislau, complete victory gained over, by; excommunicated by, 173; peace between, and, 174; takes and ransacks Rome; which the pope leaves, 175.
- Mantua, passes the winter at, 177.
- memorial against, presented to the council of Constance, 181.
- pontificate of, 188.
- resignation, method of, pointed out to, 180.
- Rome, returns to, 173; council of, 174; taken and ransacked by Ladislau, 175.
- Rupert, emperor, death of, 172.

JOHN XXIII., Schaffhausen, at, 181.
 sentence of deposition pronounced against, 187.
 Sigismund, elected emperor, 172.
 summoned to appear at Constance, 184, 185.
 suspended, 187.
 Wickliffe, doctrine of, condemned by, 174, and
 by council of Constance, 184.
John of Ghent, condemned by Pope John XXII.,
 79.
John Palæologus, the Greek emperor at Rome; is
 reconciled to the Roman church, 114.
Joseph I. of Portugal, attempt to assassinate, 348.
 conduct of, applauded, 349.
 Clement XIII. menaces, 349.
 favours the total extirpation of the Jesuits, 367.
 Jesuits, the, are banished, outlawed, and their
 property confiscated by, 349.
Joseph II. of Germany, congress of Ems assem-
 bled by, 397.
 determines to eradicate the ecclesiastical despot-
 ism in Germany, 416.
 favours the protestants, 409.
 In *Cœna Domini*, suppressed and effaced from
 the missals by, 395.
 inquisition in Germany, abolished by, 395.
 Jesuits, visits the house of the; profound con-
 tempt of, for the, 355.
 papal claims, cavalier treatment of, by, 397;
 supremacy, attacked by, 417.
 Pius VI. visits, at Vienna, but cannot dupe, 395;
 the emperor more than a match for, 396,
 418; demands of the pope the calling of a
 general council, 398; the pope's letter to,
 410, and the answer, 411.
 pontifical family, debauchery of the, disgusts,
 394.
 prohibitions on the papal power in Germany,
 by, 395.
 resolves to humble the Roman pontiff, 409.
 Rome, at, 355.
 supremacy of the pope not acknowledged by, 391.
 toleration, edict granting general, by, 417.
 Unigenitus, the bull, suppressed and effaced
 from the missals, by, 395.
Jubilee, celebration of the, 143.
 Clement VI. reduces to every fiftieth year, 94.
 fifth, 218.
 indulgences of the, 144.
 institution of the, 47.
 Leo XII. celebrates the, 452; difficulties grow-
 ing out of it, 453; regulations concerning,
 455, 456; closing of the, 461.
 Paul III. reduces to every twenty-fifth year, 247.
 sixth, 237.
 Sixtus IV. celebrates the, 249.
 Urban VI. reduces to every thirty-third year,
 142.
 year 1350, 100; year 1400, 150.
JULIUS II., native of Savona, two hundred and
 fourteenth pope, 278—290.
 army of, defeated, 284.
 Bologna and Perugia, resolves to recover the
 cities of; the king of France vainly strives
 to dissuade him from the attempt; marches
 against them—they submit, 280; Bologna
 taken by the French, is restored to the
 Bentivogli, 284; besieged, 286, the siege is
 raised, 287; is recovered to the pope, 288.
 cardinal of Pavia, the, is murdered by the duke
 of Urbino, 284.
 cardinals, some of the, summon a general coun-
 cil, 285; exhort the pope to peace, 287.
 character of, 289.
 council summoned by, 285.
 death of, 289.
 election of, 278.
 emperor, the, and, strive to stir up the Ger-
 manic body against the king of France, 280.
 family of, 278.
 VOL. III.—64

JULIUS II., Ferrara, quarrels with the duke of,
 282; excommunicated by, 283.
 Florentines, the, appeal to a general council, 286.
 France, king of, excommunicated, and the king-
 dom put under interdict, 288; the pope's
 hatred to the king of, 290.
 Genoa revolts from the French, 288.
 Lateran, council of, 289.
 league between the king of Spain, the Vene-
 tians, and, against France, 286; the king
 of England declines acceding to it, 287.
 Mirandola besieged by, who narrowly escapes
 falling into an ambuscade, 283; it is cap-
 tured, 284.
 nepotism, not guilty of, 290.
 peace, congress proposed for a general, rejected
 by, 284.
 Pisa, council of; the city of, interdicted; coun-
 cil of, adjourned to Milan, 286; end of the
 council, 288.
 pontificate of, 289.
 preferments of, 278.
 projects of, 290.
 Ravenna besieged by the French; battle of;
 the French victorious, 287.
 suspended by the council of Pisa, 288.
 Swiss, the, espouse the cause of, 288.
 Valentine, duke, arrested by order of; escapes
 to Naples, and is imprisoned there, 279;
 death of, 280.
 Venetians, misunderstanding between the pope
 and the, 279; excommunicated by; lose
 their dominions on the continent, 281;
 peace concluded with; absolves and re-
 ceives them into favour, 282; conspiracy
 against the, by the emperor and, 289.
 war, encouragements to, 288.
 wine and women, a lover of, 290.
 writings of, 290.
JULIUS III., a Roman, two hundred and nine-
 tenth pope, 317.
 cardinal, creates his monkey-keeper a, 317.
 character of, 317.
 death of, 317.
 pontificate of, 317.
Knights Templars, cardinals, sentiments of some,
 concerning the prosecution of the, 66.
 charges against the, in the council of Vienne,
 65; incredibility of the, 68.
 Clement V. suppresses the order, 67.
 condemned, whether justly or unjustly, 68.
 confession, some retract, others persist in the,
 66; extorted, 68.
 everywhere arrested, 66.
 France, all arrested on the same day, in, 65;
 king of, gains over the pope, 66.
 grand master of the, cruel fate of the, 67.
 guilty, plead in most cases, not, 66.
 many own the charges against them, 65.
 proceedings against, illegal; admitted to be so
 by the pope, 69.
Ladislaws, king of Naples, death defeats his pro-
 jects for the subjugation of all Italy, 177.
 defeated by the troops of Pope John XXIII., 173.
 defender, and standard bearer of the church, is
 appointed, by Innocent V., 155.
 excommunicated by Innocent VII., is absolved,
 155.
 Gregory, anti-pope, writes for assistance to,
 which is granted by; acknowledged for
 lawful pope, by, 169.
 Innocent VII., peace concluded between, and,
 155.
 Italy, desires to make himself master of all, 175.
 John XXIII., peace concluded between, and,
 174; war renewed, the pope flies from
 Rome, 175.

- Ladislaus*, king of Naples, Romans, strives to foment rebellions and seditions amongst the, 154.
- Rome, advances upon, designing to conquer, but is foiled in his designs, 153; a civil war in, 153; the people, generally headed by the Colonnas, endeavour to regain certain civil rights from the pope, in which they succeed by the intervention of, 154; John Colonna invites him into, but he is driven out, 155; takes and ransacks the city, 175; war on Rome, renewed by, 175.
- Lateran*, church of St. John, burnt; rebuilt by Clement V., 62; declared the first of all churches, 124; council of, 289—292; received by the king of France, 292.
- Latins*, conference between the Greeks and, 225; union between them, 227; which is not sanctioned at Constantinople, 228.
- League* between Julius II., the king of Spain, and the Venetians, against France, 286; the king of England does not accede to it, 287; the Catholic, in France, 323.
- LEO X.*, a Roman, two hundred and fifteenth pope, 291—299.
- cardinal-deacon, created, at thirteen years of age, 291.
- cardinal of Siena, the, plots against the life of; is discovered and put to death, 294.
- Cardinals Carvajal and Sanseverino, deposed, renounce the council of Pisa, of which they were the chief promoters, and are absolved by, 292; promotion of thirty-one, by, 295.
- character of, 298.
- coronation of, pompous ceremonies at the, 291.
- death of, 298.
- education of, 291.
- elected speedily, and why, 291.
- family of, 291.
- France, king of, renounces the council of Pisa, and receives the Lateran, 292; Francis I. of, confederacy entered in by the pope, first against, and afterwards with; interview between them at Bologna, 293; Pragmatic sanction abolished, and the concordat established in its stead, in, 293.
- "indulgence, plenary," the bull of, by, gives rise to the Reformation, 295.
- Luther confutes the absurdities of the publishers of the bull of indulgences, by, 295; summoned to Rome, by; doctrine of, concerning indulgences, condemned by, 296; appeals to a general council, and burns the pope's bull; disregards the pope's menaces; diet of Worms; pleads his cause before, but is condemned, 297; edict against, 298.
- perfidy and false dealing of, 293.
- plot against the life of, 294.
- pontificate of, 298.
- Pragmatic sanction abolished in France, 293.
- preferments of, 291.
- Reformation, rise of the, 295; Sleidan's history of the, 295; Merle D'Aubigne's, 472.
- Tetzel, blasphemies and absurdities of John, 295.
- Urbino, the duke of, driven out, and the pope's nephew made duke instead, 294.
- Worms, diet of, 297.
- LEO XI.*, a Florentine, two hundred and thirtieth pope; death and pontificate of, 327.
- LEO XII.*, native of Spoleto, two hundred and fiftieth pope, 434—464.
- attiring of, in his pontificals, 442.
- Bible Society, condemnation of, by, 450, 451.
- cardinals, adoration of the pope by the, 443.
- character of, 435, 444.
- Charles X., letter of, to, 459; stipend ordered to be paid to the pope, by, 463.
- Chateaubriand, letter of, to, 445.
- LEO XI.*, conclaves, rights, and pretensions of the, 441.
- consecration of, 443.
- death of, 461.
- election of, 442; modes of election, 434, 441; announcement of, 443.
- employments of, 435—437.
- encyclical letter of, 449.
- Etruria, death of the queen of, at Rome, 449.
- exclusion, the right of, in the election of a pope, 441.
- family of, 435.
- inquisition restored by, 464.
- Jesuits, grants to the, by, 452.
- jubilee, celebration of the, by, 452—461.
- Mexico, letter to the president of, by, 460.
- "novendiali," the, 440.
- Pius VII., monument erected to, by, 444.
- pontificate of, 461.
- Rome, a daughter of the Emperor Nicholas, at, 463.
- Leonardo* of Arezzio, account of the conduct of Pope Gregory XII, by, 160.
- Leopold*, grand duke of Tuscany, makes assaults on the papacy; sustains Scipio Ricci, in his reforms of abuses, 398; labours of Ricci; the duke reproved by Pius VI.; the duke's caustic reply, 410.
- Lepri*, *Amanzio*, a Milanese; character of; murdered by order of Pius VI., for the purpose of securing his wealth, which he accomplishes; scandal attending that transaction; indignation against the pope, created by it, 297.
- Lewis* of Anjou, adopted by Queen Joan of Naples, 134; is excommunicated by Urban VI., 137; crowned king of Naples by Boniface IX., 143; Alexander V. appoints standard bearer of the church, 168.
- Lewis III.*, duke of Anjou, into Naples, 207; Joan II. adopts, and the pope supports, 208, 210.
- Lewis* of Bavaria, appeals from the pope to a general council, 79.
- Austria, defeats Frederic of, and acts as king, 78.
- crowned by Nicholas V., 83.
- death of, 96.
- deposes Pope John XXII., 81, and renews his deposition, 84.
- edict published by, against the pope, 80, and another, ordering residence at Rome, 82.
- excommunicated by John XXII., 79; and by Clement VI.; sues for absolution; which is granted on terms, 94; rejected by the German states; excommunicated anew, 95.
- Frederic and, agreement between, 80.
- Germany, returns to, 84.
- John XXII., monitory of, to; embassy sent to him, by, 78; declared a heretic by the king, 81; deposed by the king, 81.
- Milan, crowned king at, 81.
- Peter de Carbario, appointed, and crowned pope, and styled Nicholas V., by, 82; abjures, and is absolved; death of, 85.
- proposes terms of accommodation to the pope, which he rejects, 86.
- Rome, crowned emperor at, 81; leaves, 84.
- Lewis XII.* of France, prepares to attack Naples; the pope concludes alliance with, 270; Duke Valentine created duke of Valence, by, 271; agrees with the king of Spain, to divide the kingdom of Naples, 273; death of, 293.
- Lewis XIV.* and Pope Innocent XI. quarrel, 333.
- Liege*, bishop of, deposed, and why; his vices, 20, 21.
- Llorente*, the historian, persecuted by Pius VII.; death of, 428.
- Louis XV.*, letter of Clement XIII. to, 356; address of the French priests to, 360.

- Louis XVI.*, cardinal error of, 399; beheaded, 402.
Louis XVIII., enthroned in the Tuilleries, 426; death of, 453.
Louvain, university of, founded, 217.
Lucca and Pisa, after a long and bloody war, restored to peace through the intervention of Innocent V., 24.
Luther, Martin, appeals to a general council, 296; renews his appeal, 297.
 Augsburg, appears before Cardinal Cajetan, at, 296.
 concessions of, 297.
 confutes the absurdities advanced by the publishers of the bull of indulgences, by Leo X., 295.
 denounced to Gregory X., 295.
 doctrine of, condemned by Leo X., 296.
 edict issued against, by the diet of Worms, 298.
 Frederic of Saxony, protects, 296.
 indulgences, not excited to oppose the bull of, by jealousy or resentment, 206.
 Miltitz, treats with, 296.
 propositions, ninety-five, of, 295.
 Reformation, the, spreads, 301.
 Rome, summoned to, 296.
 Worms, diet of; pleads his cause before, but is condemned, 297.
Luxembourg, duke of, elected king of the Romans, at the instigation of Clement V., 62.
Lyons, council general of, year 1274, 18—22.
 conclave instituted by, 22.
 constitutions read to the, 22.
 ambassadors sent to, by all the Christian states and princes, 19; and from the cham of Tartary, 21.
 Greek emperor sends ambassadors to, 19; their arrival, 20.
 last session of the, 22.
Madrid, in year 1516, 300.
Magic, the study of, in vogue in the time of John XXII., is forbidden by him, 75.
Magnus, Ægidus, anti-pope, elected, and styled Clement VIII., 211.
Mahometan princes, some of the, are stirred up against the Turks, by Calixtus III., 239.
Malgrida, Gabriel, the Jesuit, 348.
Manfred, Clement IV. endeavours to drive from Sicily, 10; Charles of Anjou, marches against; peace sought by, 11; defeated and slain, 12.
Manfredi, Astor, lord of Faenza, makes a vigorous resistance against Duke Valentine, but finally capitulates; is treacherously dealt with by Valentine; and said to have been basely used by Pope Alexander VI., 272, and then drowned in the Tiber, 273.
Mantua, John XXIII., passes a winter at, 177; council of, year 1459, 241.
MARCELLUS II., native of Monte Fano, two hundred and twentieth pope, 318.
 character, death, and pontificate of, 318.
Marie Antoinette, queen of France, profligacy of, 400.
Marriages, the subject of mixed, agitated in the reign of Leo XII., is renewed under Pius VIII., 467; brief of Pius in relation to, 467—469.
Marsilius of Padua, doctrine of, condemned by John XXIII., 79.
MARTIN IV., native of Brie, one hundred and eighty-sixth pope, 29—34.
 Arragon, king of, deprived of his kingdom, by, 33.
 cardinals, some are roughly used by, 29.
 Charles de Valois, kingdom of Arragon granted to, by, 33.
 consecration of, 29.
 death of, 34.
MARTIN IV., Greek emperor excommunicated by, 30.
 miracles said to have been wrought at the tomb of, 34.
 Orvieto, is consecrated and crowned at, 29.
 pontificate of, 34.
 Rome, elected senator for life, of, 29.
 Sicilian vespers, conspiracy of the, 30; all concerned in, excommunicated by, 32.
 Viterbo, disturbances in, during the vacancy, 29.
MARTIN V., a Roman, two hundred and fifth pope, 201—218.
 Arragon, sends legates into, against Peter de Luna, 203; misunderstanding between king of, and, 207; king of, adopted by Queen Joan, which the pope successfully opposes, 208; another legate sent into, is forbidden to enter; the king summoned to Rome, submits and receives the legate; imprudent conduct of the legate, 212; his demands; the king's demands; they are approved by the pope, 213.
 Balthazar Cossa, (John XXIII.,) submits to; death of, 205.
 Benedict XIV., anti-pope, elected, and lost sight of, 212.
 cardinals promoted by, 218.
 character of, 203, 217.
 circulatory letters of, 202.
 Clement, anti-pope, abdication of, 214.
 Colonna family, the, 202.
 Constance, council of, declares the see vacant, in the fortieth session, 201; four last sessions of, presided at by, 203; sets out in great state from, 204.
 death of, 217.
 election of, 202.
 employments of, before promotion, 202.
 family of, 202.
 Florence, at, 205.
 Florentines, the, are complained of, by, 206; appeased; erects their see into a metropolis, 207.
 fortitude of, 217.
 Geneva, resides some time at, 204.
 Hussites, the emperor and other princes stirred up against the, by, 216.
 Jesus, the picture of the name of, prohibited by, 216.
 Joan II. of Naples, sends embassy to, 205; is prevailed on to set her husband at liberty; crowned by the legate of; sends an army to assist the pope, 206.
 Lewis of Anjou, assisted by, 210.
 Magnus, Ægidus, elected under the name of Clement VIII., anti-pope, 211.
 nepotism, whether justly charged with avarice and, 217.
 obstinacy of, 203.
 Pavia, council of, translated to Siena; dissolved, 209.
 Peter de Luna, styled Benedict, anti-pope, four cardinals of, submit to, 205; death of, 209.
 pontificate of, 217.
 reformation in the church, work of, put off, 203.
 Rome, arrives at, 207.
 schism, the great western, ended, 216.
 universities of Louvain and Rostook, founded, 217.
 writings of, 218.
Massacres of the French, insurrections and assassinations, instigated by Pius VI., at Rome, and throughout the papal states, 406, 408.
Maximilian, emperor, and Pope Julius II., endeavour to excite the Germanic body against the French, but do not succeed, 281.

- Mendicant orders*, the, are suppressed by Gregory X., with the exception of the Dominicans and Franciscans, 22; defended by Clement VI., 101; protected by Innocent VI., 109; bull of Alexander V. in favour of the, 169.
- Mentz*, diet of, 231.
- Mexico*, imprisonment of the Jesuits in, and banishment from, 366.
- Milan*, interdicted by Gregory X., 17; the Visconti, lords of, 18; duke of, excommunicated by John XXII., 78; duchy of, taken by the French; general insurrection against them, which they quell, 272; Lewis of Bavaria, crowned at, 81; council of Pisa, adjourned to, 286.
- Miltitz*, sent into Saxony to negotiate with Luther; his success, 296.
- Mind*, the, by Helvetius, condemned by Clement XIV., 355.
- Minorites*, friars, quarrel among themselves; the refractory are punished as heretics, 76; dispute concerning the poverty of the, 77; two burnt at Avignon, 107.
- Mirandola*, besieged by Julius II., in person; he narrowly escapes falling into an ambuscade, 283; is conquered, 284.
- Molinos*, *Michael de*, father of the Quietists, 334.
- Montefiascone*, erected into a bishopric by Urban V., 113.
- Names of the popes*, signification of the, 471.
- Naples*, Charles, king of France, is invited to the conquest of, 261; the kingdom submits to; enters the city of; returns to France, 266.
- Charles VI. invested with the kingdom of, by Innocent XIII., 338.
- city of, a scene of carnage, 408.
- disturbances in, 141.
- inquisition, Paul III. attempts to introduce into, 317.
- invaded by the king of Hungary, who avenges the death of his brother, 97.
- Innocent VIII. quarrels with the king of, 254.
- Joan, queen, behaviour of, on the murder of her husband, 96; marries again; retires from the kingdom, 97; convinces the pope of her innocence; invited back by her subjects; sells Avignon to the pope, 98; returns to Naples, 99; at Rome, honours paid to, by the pope, 113; protects the ultramontane cardinals, 131; Clement VII., anti-pope, treated as lawful, by, 132; Urban VI. revives old quarrel between the king of Hungary and, 133; excommunicated and deposed by Urban VI., 134; death of, 135.
- Joan II. of, sends embassy to Martin V., 206, who insists upon her setting her husband at liberty; is crowned by the pope's legate, 207; adopts Lewis III., 208, whom the pope supports, 210.
- king of, murdered, causes great disturbances in, 96.
- kings, five on the throne of, in two years, 268.
- Ladislaus crowned king of, by Boniface IX., 144.
- Lewis, king of, death of, 108.
- plague, the great, 99.
- revolt in, 267.
- Urban VI. attempts to seize on, 141; but forced to desist, 142.
- war kindled in, 99, 208.
- Narbonne*, congress of, 196.
- Necklace*, affair of the pearl, 399.
- Nepotism*, abolished by Innocent XI. and XII., 333, 335; an inherent sin of the papacy, 416.
- NICHOLAS III.*, a Roman, one hundred and eighty-fifth pope, 26—28.
- "composed," surnamed the, 26.
- NICHOLAS III.*, coronation of, 26.
- death of, 28.
- election of, 26.
- family of, 26; immoderate desire of aggrandizing, by, 28.
- Franciscans, a zealous friend to the, 28.
- Greek ambassador, sends embassy to, 27.
- nuncios sent to Constantinople, by, 27.
- pontificate of, 28.
- Rudolph written to by; confirms all the grants made by former emperors to the apostolic see, 27.
- Sicily, the pope is not friendly to, 27; privy to a conspiracy against the king of, 28.
- NICHOLAS IV.*, one hundred and eighty-eighth pope, 37—40.
- Anjou, cause of the family of, espoused by, 38.
- character of, 40.
- death of, 40.
- election of, 37.
- France and Arragon, peace concluded between, 38; broken by the death of the king of Arragon, 39.
- pontificate of, 40.
- Rome, adorns the city of, 40.
- Salerno, prince of, crowned king of Sicily and Apulia, by, 38.
- Syria, the Christians are driven out of, 39.
- writings of, 40.
- NICHOLAS V.*, native of Sarvana, two hundred and sixth pope, 235—238.
- birth and employments of, 235.
- cardinals, creates eleven, 235.
- character of, 238.
- Constantinople taken by Mahomet II., 237.
- death of, 238.
- election of, 235.
- emperor, the, acknowledges, 236; is crowned by, 237.
- Felix, anti-pope, agrees to resign, 236; resigns, 237.
- jubilee, the sixth, 237.
- pontificate of, 238.
- Noailles*, cardinal, receives the bull *Unigenitus*, which causes great joy to Benedict XIII., 339.
- Neri*, the, 57.
- Nogaret*, William de, conspires with Sciarra Colonna against Boniface VIII., 53; excommunicated by Benedict XI., 57; absolved by Clement XI., 64.
- Northampton*, council of, year 1266, 24.
- "*Novendiali*," the, 440.
- Nuremberg*, diet of, years, 1523, 1524, 301, 306; peace of, 308.
- Oath of bishops at Baltimore*, 467.
- Observations in conclusion*, on the history of the popes, by Dr. Cox, 473.
- Olympia*, donna, banished from Rome, by Alexander VII.; death of, 331.
- Orsini*, the, Alexander VI. makes war upon; is defeated, 268; peace between, 269; persecution of the, 275.
- Otho*, duke of Brunswick, haughty behaviour of Urban VI., to, 130.
- Otranto*, taken by the Turks, 251; retaken by the Christians, 252.
- Palæologus, John*, emperor of the east, at Venice; repairs to Ferrara; reception by Eugenius IV., 224; death of, 228.
- Palæologus, Michael*, emperor of the east, invited to a general council by Gregory X., 16; sends ambassadors to, 19; letter from the Greek bishops and, 20; sends ambassadors to Pope Nicholas III., 27; Martin IV. excommunicates, 30.

- Palafox*, John, bishop of Angelopolis, canonization of, demanded by Spain, and why, 365; quarrel concerning it, 391.
- Paris*, archbishop of, exiled by Louis XV., 351. city of, erected into a bishopric by Gregory XV., 328.
- councils of, 66; year 1395, 146, 351, 425.
- Gregory XIII. accused of approving the massacre of, 322.
- Pius VII. at, 422.
- see of, Gregory XI. refuses to exempt from the jurisdiction of the see of Sens, 123.
- university of, condemns doctrine of John XXII. concerning the beatific vision, 87; proposes methods of ending the great schism, 145; appeal of the, 147.
- PAUL II.**, a Venetian, two hundred and ninth pope, 244—248.
- actions, some particular, of, 147.
- Bohemia, king of, deposed by, 246.
- cardinals created by, 248.
- character of, 247.
- death of, 247.
- election of, 245.
- family of, 245.
- Ferdinand, king of Naples, misunderstanding between, and, 245.
- Frederic, emperor, at Rome, 247.
- grandeur of the papal court increased by, 248.
- jubilee ordered to be celebrated every twenty-five years, by, 247.
- learning, an enemy to, 248.
- oath, violates his, 248.
- Platina, imprisonment of, by, 245, 246.
- pontificate of, 247.
- Rimini, besieged, but not reduced by, 247.
- simony, charged with, 247.
- PAUL III.**, a Roman, two hundred and eighteenth pope, 311—317.
- Augsburg, diet of, 311.
- birth, education, &c. of, 311.
- character of, 316.
- council, not averse to a general, 311.
- death of, 316.
- emperor, king of France, and, interview between, 311; and the emperor and, at Lucca, also at Busseto, 313; subject of their conferences, 314; confederacy with the pope against the protestants, by, 315.
- employments of, before promotion, 311.
- France, confederacy with, against the emperor, 315.
- Germany, diets held in, for reconciling religious differences, 312.
- Henry VIII. of England, excommunicated by, 312; bull of excommunication, 475—481.
- “interim,” the, displeases both papists and protestants, 315.
- Jesuits, order of the, founded in the time of; some account of the order, 316.
- Mantua, named for the meeting of a general council, is objected to by the protestants, 311.
- Naples, vainly attempts to introduce the inquisition into, 317.
- Pier-Luigi, natural son of, murdered, 316.
- pontificate of, 316.
- protestants, confederacy between the emperor and, against the; they are entirely defeated, 315.
- rules, a plan for the reformation of the, 311.
- Spire, diet of, year 1542, 313; year 1544, resolutions of, favourable to the protestants, 314.
- Trent, the general council appointed to meet at; the protestants object to the council and the place, 313; opening of the council, year 1545, 314; its closing session, year 1563, 319; entirely regulated by the pope, 315.
- Vicenza, council appointed to meet at, 311.
- PAUL IV.**, a Neapolitan, two hundred and twenty-first pope, 318, 319.
- character of, 318.
- death of, 318.
- election of, 318.
- emperor, the, and Ferdinand his brother, the pope quarrels with, 318.
- Naples, invites the French to the conquest of, 318.
- nephews, severe conduct of, towards his, 318.
- pontificate of, 318.
- Roman people, he is hated by the, 318.
- PAUL V.**, a Roman, two hundred and thirty-first pope, 327, 328.
- character of, 328.
- Congo, king of, sends an embassy to, 328.
- death of, 328.
- election of, 327.
- kings, Saurez’s book concerning the murder of, approved by, 327.
- pontificate of, 327.
- Venice interdicted by, 327.
- Pavia*, council of, year 1423, 209; cardinal of, murdered by the duke of Urbino, 284.
- Pearl necklace*, affair of the, 399.
- Perpignan*, council of, 163; congress of, 196.
- Perugians*, the, subdued by Urban VI., 114.
- Peter the Hermit*, elected pope, 40; styled Celestine V., 41.
- Peter*, de Corbario, elected pope, styled Nicholas V.; an anti-pope, 82—86.
- Philip the Fair*, king of France, Benedict XI. absolves, 56.
- Boniface VIII. quarrels with; constitution of, 49; moderates it; quarrel renewed; nuncio of, arrested; another sent, is banished the kingdom, 50; revokes all privileges granted to the kings of France; writes to the king—the king’s answer; monitory to the king, 51; sends Cardinal Lemoine into France, 52; machinations against the king, by, 53; the king seeks the condemnation of, after death, 64.
- Bordeaux, archbishop of, engages the interest of, to secure his promotion to the papacy; the conditions, 59; takes the name of Clement V., 60.
- Clement V. absolves, 60; other favours granted to the king, by, 61.
- cross, promises the pope to take the, 69.
- death of, 73.
- Knights Templars, prosecution instituted against the, by, 65—69; Clement V. takes position against, 66.
- letter to Benedict XI., by, 56.
- manifesto of, against the constitution of Boniface VIII.; the pope’s answer, 50; the pope moderates his constitution, 50.
- Nogaret sent into Italy by, 53.
- Peter Flotte, ambassador of, at Rome; his behaviour, 51.
- supported against the pope, by the three states of the kingdom, 51.
- Vienne, at, with his three sons, 67.
- Philip VI.* of France, orders John XXII. to retract his doctrine concerning the beatific vision, 87.
- Philosophers*, the, in France, excommunication of certain, by Clement XIV., 360.
- expectations of the, 419.
- Jesuits and, contest between, 414.
- persecution of the, 392, 399.
- Seguier, advocate-general, directed to prosecute the; an expression of his opinions, 361.
- their writings universally disseminated, 399; printers and publishers of, prosecuted, 399.
- works of, condemned, 392.
- Pisa* and Lucca, conclude peace at the intervention of Innocent V., after a long and devastating war, 23, 24.

- Pisa*, councils of, year 1409, 164—168; year 1512, 286, 288; which latter, the king of France renounces, 292.
- Pistoia*, council of, held by Stipio Ricci, 398.
- PIUS II.*, native of Siena, two hundred and eighth pope, 241—244.
appeals from the apostolic see, forbidden by, 242.
birth, education, &c., 241.
Calixtus, bull of, against Ferdinand of Naples, revoked by, 241.
character of, 243.
Christian princes, endeavours to unite the, against the Turks, 241; in vain, 243.
death of, 243.
election of, 241.
employments of, before promotion, 241.
fleet, equips a, with design to embark on it, but is prevented by death, 243.
Mantua, council of, 241.
Naples, Ferdinand of, supported by, 242.
pontificate of, 243.
Pragmatic sanction in France, strives to get it revoked, 242.
retraction, bull of, 243.
writings of, 244.
- PIUS III.*, native of Siena, two hundred and thirteenth pope, 277, 278.
death of, twenty-six days after his election, 278.
election of, 278.
family of, 278.
pontificate of, 278.
Rome, civil war in, 278.
supposed to have been poisoned, 278.
- PIUS IV.*, native of Milan, two hundred and twenty-second pope, 319, 320.
character of, 320.
cup, the use of the, granted to the laity of Austria and Bohemia, by, 319.
death of, 320.
election of, 319.
Joan of Navarre, monitory against, by, 319.
nephews of the late pope, called to account, by; their punishment, 319.
pontificate of, 320.
Trent, council of, reopened and closed by; its reception by the Catholic princes, 319.
- PIUS V.*, native of Boschi, two hundred and twenty-third pope, 320.
character of, 320.
death of, 320.
election of, 320.
Elizabeth, queen, excommunicated by, 320; bull of excommunication, 482, 483.
Florence, duchy of, erected into a grand duchy by, 320.
heretics, a furious persecutor of pretended, 320.
In Cœna Domini, author of the famous bull, 321; the bull, 484—489.
pontificate of, 320.
- PIUS VI.*, native of Cesena, two hundred and forty-eighth pope, 390—419.
accusations against, 391.
affection of, 390.
American revolution, nuns and nunneries at the period of the, 398.
armistice granted to, by Bonaparte, 404.
Avignon taken from; united to France, 401.
Bonaparte, demands made by, on the pope; terminates the armistice, 405.
Braschi, impudence of the duke de, 403; the doubly incestuous courtesan, the duchess de, 407; the duke robs the pope and flies, 408.
briefs of, 411, 413—415.
cabals in and out of conclave, 390.
Cagliostro, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, by, 401.
castration of boys, the suppression of, demanded by Bonaparte, 405.
- PIUS VI.*, Catharine II. of Russia, protects the Jesuits, 418.
character of, 390, 391.
clergy in France, regulations of the, 412; decree of banishment of all who refuse to take the constitutional oath, 414; the pope commands them to retract the oath, 415.
death of, 409, 416.
debauchery of, 391, on the increase, 396.
disgraceful conduct of, 393.
effigy, burnt in, 413, 415.
election of, 390.
exiled, 407.
factions in Rome, during the vacancy, 390.
Frederic II. of Prussia, letter of, 409.
- France, the philosophers of, persecuted, also the printers and publishers of their works, 399; profligacy of the queen of, 400; annats, the suppression of, demanded, 400; suppressed, 401; reforms in the ecclesiastical government of, 401; the priests foment great disturbances in; revolution in, 402; troubles increase in, 404; regulations of the clergy in, 412.
illegitimate progeny of, 394.
“incestuous fool, sodomite, and robber,” epithets applied to, by the Roman priests, 406.
Jesuits, the, are favoured by, 391; seek settlement in France again, 392; remodelled by, 419.
Jews, persecution of, by, 392.
- Joseph II., emperor of Germany, an ardent adversary of the papal supremacy, 391; avows his disgust at the debauchery of the pontifical family, 394; suppresses the bulls In Cœna Domini and Unigenitus, and effaces them from the missals, 395; the pope at Vienna; apparent cordiality of esteem between, unreal; reforms continued by, 396; terms of amity with the pope no longer maintained by, 397; resolves to humble the pope, 409; the pope’s letter to—the emperor’s answer, 411; grants liberty of conscience, 417.
- La Vendee, civil war in, 402.
- Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, assaults the papacy, and carries forward reforms, notwithstanding the pope’s opposition, 398; caustic reply to the pope, by, 410.
- Lepri, murder of Amanzio, by order of; the scandal attending the robbery of the heirs by, 397.
- licentiousness of, consequences of the, 406.
- Maria Theresa of Germany, convinced of the necessity of reform, 416; slighted after death by, 417.
- massacre of the French in the papal dominions, 406.
- monastic orders suppressed, and monastic vows, abolished, in France, 412.
ostentation of, 416.
outwits both diplomatists and monks, 416.
- Palafox, John, bishop of Angelopolis, quarrel concerning the canonization of, 391.
- Pius V. professes to follow in the footsteps of, 390.
“pontificals, the,” organized by, 401.
pontificate of, 416.
Pontine marshes, attempt to drain by, and why, 393, 394; some account of the, 393.
“pope is—what?” by Febronius, 418.
“priest,” the pope is justly styled “an incestuous sodomitical,” 396.
prisoners, cruelties practised on, by, 401.
proclamation of, 403.
prostitution, the nunneries in Tuscany, suppressed as houses of, by Scipio Ricci, 398.
- Rome, massacre and revolt in, 406, 407; revolution in, 407.

PIUS VI., Rota, tribunal of the, 397.
 Scripture, application of, by D'Alembert, 415.
 "secatore," nicknamed by the people, 393.
 slipper, worship of the pope's, 396.
 suspected of connivance at the death of Clement XIV., 391.
 Vienna, visit to, by; his journey to, 395; act; worship of his slipper, at, 396.
 works, condemned, 392.

PIUS VII., native of Cesena, two hundred and forty-ninth pope, 419—434.
 anathematizes the Gallican hierarchy, 423.
 Autorem Fidei, the bull, confirmed by, 423.
 Bonaparte, coronation of, the pope is present at, 422; demands on the pope by, 423; the Roman territory dismembered by, 423; the pope excommunicates, 424; fall of, 426; restoration of; letter to the pope, by; final overthrow of, at the battle of Waterloo, 427.
 Bourbons restored, in the person of Louis XVIII., 426.
 bull of, excommunicating Bonaparte and his adherents, 429—434.
 cardinals, the, assembled at Venice, 420.
 concordat, the, 421.
 death of, 428.
 declares his unconquerable hostility to all liberal opinions, 428.
 election of, 420.
 exiled, 424.
 family of, 420.
 "Fathers of the Faith," 423.
 humbled completely, by Bonaparte, 425.
 Jesuits, directs return to France of the, under the names of "Adorers of the Sacred Heart," and "Brethren of Faith," 421; restores the, 425.
JEW, the Roman priests demand of the pope the privilege of EATING a ROASTED, which is only prevented by the interference of the foreign ambassadors, 426.
 Llorente, persecuted to his death by, 428.
 monument erected to, by Leo XII., 444.
 ordered to Paris, 422.
 papacy, characteristics of the, 420.
 Paris, at, 423.
 philosophers, expectations of the, 419.
 pontificate of, 428.
 question and answer, 423.
 restitution made to Rome, 427, 428.
 restored, 425.
 retracts and revokes treaty entered into with Bonaparte, 426.
 Rome, occupation of, 420; returns to, 423; territories of, annexed to France, 424.
 slipper of, carried in procession in Paris, 422.
 Venice, elected at, departs from, 420.

PIUS VIII., native of Cingoli, two hundred and fifty-first pope, 464—470.
 Baltimore, great anxiety of, to receive the acts of the council of, 466; oath of the bishops of, 467.
 character of, 465.
 college of philosophy established by the university of Louvain, abolished at the instigation of, 467.
 death of, 469.
 marriages, brief in relation to mixed, by, 467—469.
 pontificate of, short, 469.
 writings of, 465.

Plague, a general, 99.

Platina, imprisonment of, by Paul II., 245; new persecution against, 246.

Poignards, distribution of consecrated, by the Roman priests, 426.

Pontine marshes, attempts to drain the; some account of them, 393.

"**Pontificals**," Pius VI. organizes a band of ruffians, whom he styles the, 401.

Pope, adoration of the, 443.
 announcement of the election of a, 443.
 attire of the, 442.
 average age of the, 347.
 Benedict XIV., styled the "Protestant," 341.
 consecration of a, 443.
 councils, superiority of, over the, established, 220.
 difficulties on the election of a, 126, 127.
 effigy of a, burnt in Paris, year 1791, 401, 415.
 election of a new, regulations concerning, by the council of Basil, 223; methods of, 434.
 "exclusion," right of, on the election of a, 441.
 "is—what?" question by Febronius, 418.
 names of the, signification of some of the, 471.
 slipper of the, worship of the, 396; carried in procession in Paris, 422.
 weakness of the, in Italy, in the nineteenth century, 472.
 whether he is told at his coronation, that he shall not see the years of St. Peter, 210.

Præneste, city of, totally destroyed by order of Boniface VIII., 47.

Pragmatic Sanction, establishment of the, in France, 225; origin of the, 226; Pius II. endeavours to have it revoked, 242; abolished, 293.

"**Press**, the liberty of the," the terror of tyrants, 361.

Priests, claims of the French, 351.
 France kept in a state of agitation by the, 416.
 incestuous, sodomitical, worship of the slipper of an, 396.
 Louis XVI. endeavours to defend the, 402.
 refractory, in France, prosecution of, 401.
 regulations of the French, 412; decree banishing the refractory, 414.
 required to take the civil oath in France, 402, 404.
 Roman, denounce Pius VI., calling him "old incestuous fool, sodomite, and robber," 406.
 silenced in France, 351.

Printers and booksellers in France, prosecution of, 399.

Prostitution, the nunneries in Tuscany abolished by Scipio Ricci, as houses of, 398.

Protestants, origin of the, 307; entirely defeated in battle, 315; Benedict XIV. styled the "Protestant Pope," 341.
 P. S. S. V., 363.

Question to, and answer by, Bonaparte, 423.

Quietism and the Quietists, 334.

Ratisbon, assembly of, 306; diet of, 315.

Ravenna, besieged by the French; battle of; is taken, 287.

Red Hat, the, is sometimes sent to absent cardinals, 117.

Red and black cardinals, 425.

Reformation, rise of the, 295; Hadrian VI. endeavours to stop progress of, 301; progress of the, in Germany, 306; history of, by Merle D'Aubigne, 472.

Regale. Innocent VI. quarrels with the king of France about the, 333.

Remarks on the bulls excommunicating Elizabeth and Henry VIII. of England, and In Cœna Domini, 489—492.

Reservations, commendams, &c., revoked by Innocent VI., 105.

Revolution in France, 402.

Ricci, Lorenzo, general of the Jesuits, arrested and imprisoned by Clement XIV., 361.

Ricci, Scipio, bishop of Pistoia, reforms abuses in the churches; purges the nunneries of Tuscany, 398; continues his work of reformation, with the sanction and support of the Grand Duke Leopold, 410.

Ruenzo, Cola di, the Roman Tribune, 96.

- Rimini*, recovered to the church by Hadrian VI., 300.
- Robert*, son of Charles the Lame, crowned by Clement V. king of Sicily, 63; created senator of Rome, and vicar of the empire, 72.
- Robert*, cardinal, elected pope, styled Clement VII.; an anti-pope, 132.
- Ro magna*, some cities of, reduced by Duke Valentine, 272; he is created duke of, 273.
- Rome*, Bourbon, the duke de, sacks, 305.
- Charles of Anjou, at, 10; crowned king of Sicily, at, 11.
- civil war in, 219.
- Colonna, John, makes himself master of, 154, 155; the Colonnas surprise, 304.
- councils of, 174, 232.
- famine in, years 1764, 1766, 359.
- Gregory XI. arrives at, 121.
- Holy Years, or the "Jubilee," institution of, 47; at, 48, 100, 110, 111, 143; indulgences of the, 144, 150, 237, 249; celebrated by Leo XII., 452—461.
- Joan, queen of Naples, at, 113.
- Ladislaus takes and ransacks, 175.
- Martin V. arrives at, 207.
- massacre in, 406, 407.
- murders, frequency of, in, 269.
- Nicholas IV. adorns and improves, 40.
- police of, 454.
- pope ordered by an imperial edict, to reside in, 82.
- priests of, demand permission of the pope to eat a roasted Jew, in the nineteenth century, 426.
- revolt in, 406.
- revolution at, 83, 96, 407.
- senators of, persons prohibited from being, 27.
- Sixtus V. improves, 324.
- Urban V. arrives at, 113.
- vacancy in the see of, year 1265, five months, 9; years 1268—1271, three years, 15; year 1276, eleven days, 23; year 1276, nineteen days, 24; year 1276, twenty-eight days, 25; year 1277, six months and eight days, 26; year 1280, six months, 29; year 1285, four days, 35; year 1288, ten months, 37; years 1292—1294, two years, three months, and one day, 40; year 1294, eleven days, 43; year 1303, eleven days, 56; year 1304, ten months, 58; years 1314—1316, two years, four months, sixteen days, 74; year 1334, sixteen days, 88; year 1342, eleven days, 93; year 1352, eleven days, 104; year 1362, one month and sixteen days, 109; year 1371, eleven days, 116; year 1371, twelve days, 126; year 1389, eighteen days, 143; year 1404, seventeen days, 153; year 1406, twenty-six days, 157; year 1409, eleven days, 167; year 1410, thirteen days, 171; year 1417, a few days, 201; year 1431, eleven days, 218; year 1447, eleven days, 235; year 1455, fourteen days, 238; year 1458, thirteen days, 238; year 1464, sixteen days, 245; year 1471, fourteen days, 248; year 1484, sixteen days, 254; year 1492, eight days, 259; year 1503, thirty-five days, 278; year 1503, thirteen days, 278; year 1513, eighteen days, 291; year 1522, one month and nine days, 299; year 1523, two months and five days, 302; year 1534, eighteen days, 311; year 1549, two months and twenty-seven days, 317; year 1555, thirteen days, 318; year 1555, twenty-two days, 318; year 1560, four months and seven days, 319; year 1566, one month, 320; year 1572, thirteen days, 321; year 1585, fourteen days, 322; year 1590, one month, 325; year 1590, two months and twenty days, 325; year 1591, fourteen days, 326; year 1592, one month, 326; year 1605, twenty-seven days, 327; *Rome*, vacancy in the see of, year 1605, twenty days, 327; year 1623, twenty-nine days, 329; year 1644, one month and seventeen days, 330; year 1655, three months and one day, 331; year 1667, twenty-nine days, 332; year 1670, four months and two days, 332; year 1676, four months and eighteen days, 333; year 1689, one month and twenty-four days, 334; year 1689, five months and twelve days, 325; year 1700, one month and seven days, 335; year 1721, five months and nineteen days, 338; year 1724, two months and twenty-two days, 339; year 1730, four months and twenty-one days, 340; year 1740, six months and eleven days, 341; year 1758, two months, 347; year 1769, three months, 359; year 1775, four months and twenty days, 390; year 1800, six months and fourteen days, 420; year 1823, two months and twenty-two days, 442; year 1829, eighty-five days, 466; year 1831, sixty-four days, 470.
- Rosseau*, excommunication of, by Clement XIV., 360; death of, 399.
- Rostock*, university of, founded, 217.
- Rota*, the, 106; organization of the, 397.
- Rudolph* of Hapsburg, elected king of the Romans, 18; Gregory X. confirms the election of, 22; Nicholas III. writes to; all the grants made by former emperors, confirmed to the pope, by, 27; Honorius IV. writes to, 35; death of, 39.
- Rupert*, Count Palatine, elected king of the Romans, 151; death of, 172.
- Russia*, Catharine II. of, protects the Jesuits, 418; Pius VII. re-establishes the order in, 421; Alexander, emperor, expels them, 427.
- Safe Conducts*, decrees of the council of Constance, concerning, 197.
- Salamanca*, council of, 148.
- Schism*, commencement of the great western, 124; continuation, 132; abuses in the church during the, 201; termination of the, 216.
- Seals*, the papal, 16.
- Sermonetta*, duchy of, erected by Alexander VI., and why, 274.
- Sicilian Vespers*, the, 30, 31.
- Sicily*, Arragon and, peace between the kings of, 45; the island of Sicily yielded to Frederic of Arragon, 117.
- Charles of Anjou, is invested and proclaimed king of, 10.
- Charles, prince of Salerno, crowned king of, 38.
- Clement VI. sends legate into, 102.
- Conradin is declared for, in, 13.
- fate of, decided, 12.
- Gregory XI. erects into a separate kingdom, 118.
- Hungary, king of, invades, 97.
- king of, murdered, 96.
- Lewis of Anjou, crowned king of, 134.
- Nicholas III. no friend to the king of, 27, the reason, 28.
- Robert, son of Charles the Lame, crowned king of, 63.
- vespers, the, 30, 31.
- war in, 48, 99.
- Siena*, the cardinal of, plots against the pope; discovered, and put to death, 294.
- Sigismund*, duke of Luxembourg, army of, invades Austria, 182; reconciled to the duke of, 185.
- Constance, at, 179.
- death of, 224.
- elected king of the Romans, 172.
- Eugenius IV., conduct of, disapproved by, 220.

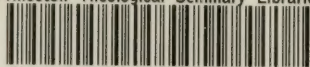
- Sigismund*, John XXIII. treats with, about appointing a general council, 175.
 Perpignan, sets out for, 295.
SIXTUS IV., native of Cella, two hundred and tenth pope, 248—254.
 birth, &c. of, 248.
 character of, 252.
 Christian princes, strives to unite the, against the Turks, 249.
 death of, 252.
 De Medicis, occasion of the quarrel between the, and, 249; conspiracy against the, entered into by the pope; Lawrence, excommunicated, 250.
 employments of, before his promotion, 248.
 Florence interdicted by, 250.
 Florentines, war declared against the, by; but he is forced to conclude peace, 251.
 Italy, new disturbances fomented in, by, 252.
 jubilee celebrated by, 249.
 nepotism of, 252.
 Otranto taken by the Turks, 251; retaken, 252.
 pontificate of, 252.
 public works of, 253.
 tyrants, the state freed from the petty, by, 249.
 Vatican library founded by, 253.
 venality of his reign, 253.
 Venetians, war made upon the, by, 252.
 writings of, 253.
SIXTUS V., native of Le Grotte, two hundred and twenty-fifth pope, 322—325.
 birth, education, &c. of, 322.
 Catholic league in France, not countenanced by, 323.
 character of, 324.
 cardinals, number of, fixed at seventy, by, 325.
 criminals, severity shown, by, 323.
 death of, 324.
 election of, 322.
 employments of, before promotion, 322.
 Henry of Navarre, excommunicated by, 323.
 Henry III., monetary against, for the murder of the Cardinal Guise, by, 323.
 Jesuits, no friend to the, 325.
 nepotism of, 325.
 Philip of Spain, asks assistance from, against Queen Elizabeth, which is declined by, 324.
 pontificate of, 324.
 Rome, beautified and improved by, 324.
 state, the, is cleared from assassins and robbers, by, 323.
 treasure left by, 324.
Sleidan, history of the Reformation in Germany, by, 295.
Slipper, the pope's worshiped at Vienna, 396; carried in procession at Paris, 422.
Smalcald, league of, 308.
Spanish ambassadors' account of the post mortem examination of Clement XIV., 362.
Spain, the Jesuits, by a preconcerted movement of the king, Charles III., are all seized at the same hour throughout the dominions of, and banished, 354; demands the canonization of the bishop, Palafox, and why, 365.
Spire, diet of, year 1526, favourable to the Reformation, 306; year 1542, 313; year 1544, 314.
Spiritual Brethren, the, extirpated by John XXII., 76.
Squillace, younger son of Pope Alexander VI., created duke of, 262.
St. Catharine of Siena, 119.
Suarez, book of, concerning the murder of kings, approved by Paul V., 327.
Swiss, the, espouse the cause of Julius II., 288.
Syria, the Christians entirely driven out of, 39.
Tartary, the cham of, sends ambassadors to the council of Lyons, but not with relation to religious affairs, 21.
Tetzel, John, absurdities and blasphemies of, in publishing the bull of indulgences of Leo X., which led to the Reformation, 295.
Thuringia, Gunther Schwartzembourg, count of, elected king of the Romans; edict of; asserts the supremacy of the empire over the pope; looked upon as the deliverer of the empire from the papal tyranny; death of, 101.
Toulouse, erected into an archiepiscopal see, by John XXII., 75.
Treves, archbishop of, deposed by Eugenius IV., 234.
Trent, council of, year 1545, 314.
 Bologna, removed to, on the breaking out of the plague, by Paul III., 317.
 Catholic princes, how it is received by the, 319.
 Clement XIV. revokes decrees of, relative to the temporal supremacy of the pope, 360.
 continued by Pius IV., 319.
 last session of, 319.
 regulated entirely by the pope, 315.
 returned again to Trent, by Julius III., 317.
 suspended for ten years, by Julius III., 317.
Turks, a crusade against the, undertaken at the instigation of Urban V., 110.
 Alexander VI. and Alphonso of Naples, apply to the, for assistance against the king of France, 262.
 Bajazet, sultan, letters of, to Alexander VI., 263.
 Belgrade, defeated at, 239.
 Christian princes, efforts to unite the, against the, by Calixtus III., 238; by Innocent VIII., 254; by Pius II., 241, 243; by Sixtus IV., 249.
 fleet of the, great victory over, by the Christians, 320.
 fleet sent against the; success attending it, 249.
 Mahomet, death of, 252.
 Mahometan princes, some, are stirred up by Calixtus III., against the, 239.
 Otranto taken by the, 251; retaken, 252.
 Rhodes besieged by the, 251.
 Zizini, brother of the sultan, in custody of the pope, 257; death of; supposed cause, 264.
Turriani and Visconti, quarrel between the families of the, terminates in civil war; the Visconti, victorious, become lords of Milan, 18.
Tyrant, doctrine concerning the killing of a, condemned by the council of Constance, 195.
Udine, council of, 168.
Unigenitus, bull of Clement XI., 337; Innocent XIII. maintains and defends, 338; Joseph II. effaces from the German missals, 417.
URBAN V., native of Grisac, one hundred and ninety-seventh pope, 109—116.
 averse to all pomp and show, 110.
 Avignon, enthroned and crowned at; prefers his brother to the see of, 110; goes to, whether with a design to settle there; arrives at; taken ill; dies, 115.
 birth, education, &c. of, 110.
 character of, 115.
 death of, 115.
 elected whilst at Naples, 109.
 emperor, the, at Avignon, 111; invited into Italy, 114.
 empress, the, crowned at Rome, by, 114.
 France, death of the king of, 110.
 Genoa, at, 112.
 Joan, queen of Naples, at Rome; extraordinary honours bestowed on her, 113.
 kings, visited by three, who are engaged in a crusade against the Turks, 110.
 Montefiascone, retires to, and erects it into a bishopric, 113.
 Palæologus, John, the emperor of the east, at Rome, 114.

- URBAN V.**, Peter and Paul, the heads of, adorned by, 113.
 pontificate of, 115.
 Rome, invited to, 111; resolved to go to, 112; arrives at, 113; several churches in, repaired by, 114.
 Visconti, bull against Barnabo, by, 110; crusade against; peace between, and, 111.
 Viterbo, at, 113.
- URBAN VI.**, a Neapolitan, one hundred and ninety-ninth pope, 124–142.
 Arragon, king of, forsakes, and declares for Clement VII., 141.
 birth, &c. of, 129.
 cardinals, the ultramontane deposed, 126; letter from those at Rome to those at Avignon; the pope disoblges the, 129; the ultramontane, resolve to proceed to a new election, and retire to Anagni; exhort Urban to resign, 130; manifesto to Urban by; summon him to appear before them; declare his election null; the Italians forsake Urban, 131; they are enticed to join the ultramontane, and elect Cardinal Robert, of Geneva, pope, who takes the name of Clement VII., 132; Clement creates six, and Urban twenty-nine, 132; six imprisoned and cruelly tortured by, 137.
 character of, 142.
 Charles of Durazzo, crowned king of Naples by, 134; enters the kingdom and is joined by many of the barons; defeats the queen's troops under the Duke of Brunswick; the queen surrenders and is put to death by, 135; ill treats the pope and confines him in a castle; reconciliation, 136; quarrel anew, 137; Charles and his wife, excommunicated, 138; treats the friends of Urban with great severity, 138.
 Clement VII., election of; treated as lawful pope by Queen Joan, 132; France declares for, 133; terms of accommodation proposed to Urban, which he rejects, 142; death of, 145.
 coronation of, 129.
 cruelty of, 139.
 death of, 142.
 election of, account by an anonymous and contemporary writer, 125, 126; account by St. Antoine; accounts favourable to, 127; deemed valid, though not free, 128.
 employments of, before promotion, 129.
 family of, 129.
 French clergy burdened by, 140.
 Genoa, arrives at, 139.
 Joan of Naples, the old quarrel between the king of Hungary and, revived by; Charles of Durazzo, encouraged to drive her from her throne, 133; excommunicated and deposed by the pope, 134; Lewis of Anjou, adopted by; crowned king of Sicily by Clement VII., 134.
 jubilee, the, reduced to thirty-three years by, 147.
 Lewis, of Anjou, invades the kingdom of Naples, 136; excommunicated by Urban; death of, 137.
 Lucca, repairs to, 140.
 Naples, Urban retires to 136; attempt to seize, by, 141.
 Navarre, king of, forsakes, and declares for Clement VII., 141.
 Nocera, besieged in, 138; escapes, 139.
 Otho, duke of Brunswick, haughty behaviour towards, by, 130.
 pillages the churches and monasteries, 134.
 plot against, 137.
 pontificate of, 142.
 princes, some acknowledge Urban, and others Clement VII., 132.
 prisoners put to death by, 140.
- URBAN VI.**, schism, commencement of the great western, 124.
 university of Paris, letter to the, 130.
 writings of, 242.
- URBAN VII.**, a Roman, two hundred and twenty-sixth pope; death and pontificate of, 325.
- URBAN VIII.**, a Florentine, two hundred and thirty-third pope, 329, 330.
 cardinals, the title of Eminence given to, by, 329.
 Castro, sends an army to seize on the city of, but is defeated, and forced to conclude a dishonourable peace, 329.
 character of, 330.
 death of, 329.
 Jansenius' book entitled Augustinus; doctrine of; condemned by, 329.
 nepotism of, 329.
 poems of, 330.
 pontificate of, 329.
 princes, stands neuter in disputes between, 329.
- Urbino**, seized on by the treachery of Duke Valentine; the duke of, driven out, and the pope's nephew made duke instead, 294; the duchy of, reverts to the church, 329.
- Valentine**, second son of Alexander VI., arrested by order of Julius II., 279.
 Camerino, the city of, seized on by, 275.
 cardinal, created, 261.
 confederacy against; the confederacy broken, and four of the chiefs barbarously murdered, 275.
 cruelty and treachery of, 272.
 death of, 280.
 ecclesiastical state, the, renounced by, 271.
 flies to Naples; is imprisoned, and sent to Spain, 279.
 Frederic, king of Naples, crowned by, 270.
 illness of, and the pope's death; the consequences, 277.
 marriage of, 271.
 murders his brother, the duke of Gandia, 269.
 Orsini, the, persecuted by, 275.
 Perugia, makes himself master of, 275.
 Piombino invaded and reduced by, 274.
 Romagna reduced by, 272; created duke of, 273.
 Rome thrown into confusion by the partisans of the Orsini, and, 278.
 St. Angelo, obliged to seek safety in the castle of, 278.
 treachery of, 265.
 Urbino, seizes on, by treachery, 274.
 Valence, created duke of, by the king of France, 271.
 Valencia, made archbishop of, 261.
- Vatican Library**, founded by Sixtus IV., 253.
- Venetians**, Cambray, league concluded at, against the, 281.
 excommunicated by Clement V., 63.
 Faenza, make themselves masters of, 279.
 Ferrara, city of, seized by the, 62.
- Julius II.**, misunderstanding between, and the, 279; concludes peace with the, 287; enters into a confederacy with the emperor against, 289.
 Paul V., his contest with the; interdicts the, 327.
 Sixtus IV. makes war upon the, 252.
- Vespers**, the Sicilian, 30, 31.
- Vicenza**, council appointed to meet at, 311.
- Vienne**, council of, the fifteenth general, year 1311, 65–70; the Knights Templars accused to, and tried by the, 65.
- Vienna**, Pius VI. visits, 395; at, 396; brief concerning his determination to visit, 411; prelate of Gorice at, 418.
- "Vineam Domini,"** of Clement XI., 337.
- Visconti**, the, lords of Milan, 18.
- Viterbo**, disturbances at, 29; Urban V. at, 113; Innocent VIII. flies to, 154.

- Voltaire*, excommunication of, 360; death of, 399.
- Wenceslaus*, emperor, approves the wars of cession, to heal the great schism, 148; deposition of, 150.
- Wickliffe*, Bohemia, doctrine of, received in, 170. councils of Constance and Rome condemn works of, 174, 184. doctrine of, 122, 184. Gregory XI. writes several letters into England against, 122. silenced, 123. some account of, 184.
- Wirtzburg*, council of, year 1287, 37.
- Works* condemned in France, by an ecclesiastical assembly, 392.
- Worms*, diet of, year 1521, 297; edict of, confirmed in diet of Augsburg, 308.
- York*, John Kemp, archbishop of, created cardinal, by Eugenius IV., 230.
- Zinzini*, brother to the Sultan Bajazet, delivered up to Innocent VIII.; kept prisoner, 257; negotiations concerning, between Alexander VI. and Bajazet, 263; death of; supposed to have been poisoned by order of Alexander, 264.



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